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Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese

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Table of Contents

	Abstracts	v
	Preface	xxv
1	<i>Emilia Banou and Louise Hitchcock</i> The 'Lord of Vapheio': the social identity of the dead and its implications for Laconia in the Late Helladic II–IIIA period.	1
2	<i>Diana Burton</i> God and hero: the iconography and cult of Apollo at the Amyklaion.	25
3	<i>Nikolaos Dimakis</i> The display of individual status in the burials of Classical and Hellenistic Argos.	33
4	<i>Eleini Drakaki</i> Late Bronze Age female burials with hard stone seals from the Peloponnese: a contextual approach.	51
5	<i>Rachel Fox</i> Vessels and the body in Early Mycenaean funerary contexts.	71
6	<i>Florentia Fragkopoulou</i> Sanctuary dedications and the treatment of the dead in Laconia (800–600 BC): the case of Artemis Orthia.	83
7	<i>Stamatis Fritzilas</i> Grave stelai and burials in Megalopolis.	99
8	<i>Pepi Gavala</i> The sculpted monuments in Laconian cemeteries (late 19 th – early 20 th century).	129
9	<i>Oliver Gengler</i> Leonidas and the heroes of Thermopylae: memory of the dead and identity in Roman Sparta.	151
10	<i>Mercourios Georgiadis</i> Honouring the dead in Mesolithic and Neolithic Peloponnese: a few general observations.	163
11	<i>Grigoris Grigorakakis</i> New investigations by the 39 th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical antiquities at Helleniko, n. Kynouria. The burial of Late Classical date from the western roadside cemetery.	183
12	<i>Georgia Kakourou-Chroni</i> Nikiforos Vrettakos: "Let us depart ascending ..."	201
13	<i>Konstantinos Kalogeropoulos</i> The social and religious significance of palatial jars as grave offerings.	207
14	<i>Dimitrios Katsoulakos</i> The moiroloi (dirge) of the southern Laconian basin and the historical troubles of the area.	237
15	<i>Theodoros Katsoulakos</i> The relationship of the moiroloi singer with the deceased as a source of inspiration.	253

16	<i>Georgia Kokkorou-Aletras</i> Funerary statuary of the Archaic period in the Peloponnese.	269
17	<i>Eleni Konstantintidi-Syvidi and Konstantinos Paschalidis</i> Honouring the dead behind the scenes: the case of the chamber tomb to the south of Grave Circle B at Mycenae.	289
18	<i>Angeliki Kossyva</i> The invisible dead of Delpriza, Kranidi.	329
19	<i>Sokrates S. Koursoumis and Anna-Vassiliki Karapanagiotou</i> Anthropomorphic stele from Levidi, Arcadia: A typological and interpretative study	371
20	<i>Sotiris Lambropoulos, Panagiotis Moutzouridis and Kostas Nikolentzos</i> Hybrid burial monuments of the Late Bronze Age in two recently excavated sites in Elis (Strephi and Arvaniti).	391
21	<i>Marioanna Louka</i> Votive jewellery in the Archaic Peloponnese.	401
22	<i>Jean-Marc Luce</i> Iron Age burial customs in the Peloponnese and their place in the funerary geography of the Greek world.	415
23	<i>Christina Marabea</i> The tholos tomb at Kambos, Avia: excavation by Christos Tsountas, 1891.	427
24	<i>Eleni Marantou</i> Ancestor worship and hero cult in the central and southern Peloponnese: the evidence from Pausanias	441
25	<i>Iro Mathioudaki</i> Honouring the dead with polychrome pots: the case of mainland polychrome pottery in Peloponnesian funerary contexts (an interpretative approach).	459
26	<i>Nikolas Papadimitriou</i> “Passing away” or “passing through”? Changing funerary attitudes in the Peloponnese at the MBA/LBA transition.	467
27	<i>Metaxia Papapostolou</i> ‘Honourable death’: the honours paid in ancient Sparta to dead war-heroes and mothers dying in child-birth.	493
28	<i>Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki</i> Dishonouring the dead: the plundering of tholos tombs in the Early Palatial period and the case of the tholos tomb at Mygdalia Hill (Petroto) in Achaia.	501
29	<i>Annalisa Paradiso</i> Did Herodotus ever see the list of the Three Hundred?	521
30	<i>George Paraskeviotis</i> Agamemnon’s death in Seneca.	537
31	<i>Nicolette Pavlides</i> Worshipping heroes: civic identity and the veneration of the communal dead in Archaic Sparta.	551
32	<i>Leonidas Petrakis</i> A child’s remembrance of living through the Nazi atrocity against the ‘118 Spartans’ in autumn 1943.	577

33	<i>Angeliki Petropoulou</i>	
	The Spartan royal funeral in comparative perspective.	583
34	<i>Eleni Psychogiou</i>	
	Mycenaean and modern rituals of death and resurrection: comparative data based on a krater from Hagia Triada, Elis.	613
35	<i>James Roy</i>	
	Anyte of Tegea and the other dead.	643
36	<i>Yanis Saitas</i>	
		657
	Cemeteries and settlements of Mani in Medieval and later periods: a second contribution.	
37	<i>Nicholas Sekunda</i>	
	IG V.1 1124: the dead of Geronthrai fallen at Mantinea.	719
38	<i>Nadia Seremetakis</i>	
	Antiphony, ritual and the construction of truth.	725
39	<i>Naya Sgouritsa</i>	
	Remarks on the use of plaster in tholos tombs at Mycenae: hypotheses on the origin of the painted decoration of tombs in Mainland Greece.	737
40	<i>Georgios Steiris</i>	
	Exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese: Plutarch's study of death and its revision by Georgius Trapezuntius Cretensis.	755
41	<i>Anthi Theodorou-Mavrommatidi</i>	
	A composite pendant in an EH I burial at the Apollo Maleatas site in Epidauros: an attempt at a biography.	773
42	<i>Erika Weiberg</i>	
		781
	The invisible dead. The case of the Argolid and Corinthia during the Early Bronze Age.	
43	<i>Theodora Zampaki</i>	
	The burial customs for Alexander the Great in Arabic historiography and the Alexander Romance.	797

Abstracts

- 1 **Emilia Banou and Louise Hitchcock. The 'Lord of Vapheio': the social identity of the dead and its implications for Laconia in the Late Helladic II-III A period**

The paper examines the social identity of the dead buried in the cist-grave of the tholos tomb of Vapheio, on the basis of the funerary gifts which accompanied him and the symbolism of the tomb's architecture. It also combines the evidence from Vapheio with the picture we possess of the Eurotas valley in the LHII-III period.

It is concluded that the occupant of the cist in the Vapheio tholos was an important ruler, having established (at least in the transition from the LHIIA to the LHIIIB period) significant contacts with Minoan Crete. These contacts permitted him and his immediate successors to stand at front in the developments of their time in the mainland, having by that time set the territory they controlled on the way to becoming a state. Having their seat presumably on Paliopyrgi, they had to rival at least two other local centres of power in the Eurotas valley, namely Vouno Panayias and Ayios Vassileios, at a close distance. How they may have succeeded in achieving and maintaining their position remains to be elucidated through systematic research and excavation of all three sites, which would also shed light on the process leading to the rise of Mycenaean states in the Argolid, where the same pattern of intervisible important Mycenaean sites can be observed.

Ο «Αρχοντας του Βαφειού»: η κοινωνική ταυτότητα του νεκρού και η σημασία της για την Λακωνία κατά την ΥΕΙΙ-ΙΙΙΑ περίοδο

Αυτή η ανακοίνωση εξετάζει την κοινωνική ταυτότητα του νεκρού στον κιβωτιόσχημο τάφο του θολωτού τάφου του Βαφειού, επί τη βάσει των ταφικών ικερισμάτων τα οποία τον συνόδευαν, και του συμβολισμού της αρχιτεκτονικής του τάφου. Έμφαση δίδεται στις θρησκευτικές και οικονομικές πτυχές της ταυτότητάς του, οι οποίες συγκρίνονται με την εικόνα που έχουμε για τα θρησκευτικά θέματα μέσα από τη μελέτη των πινακίδων Γραμμικής Β. Αν και μεταγενέστερη της ταφής, η οποία θα μπορούσε να χρονολογηθεί στην ΥΕ ΙΙΒ περίοδο, η παραπάνω εικόνα είναι ιδανική για τη μελέτη των κοινωνικοπολιτικών εξελίξεων στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα κατά την Υστεροελλαδική ΙΙ περίοδο, οι οποίες δημιούργησαν το ανακτορικό σύστημα της ΥΕ ΙΙΙ περιόδου, όπως υποδεικνύεται από την ξεχωριστή ταφή και αρχιτεκτονική του Βαφειού, ενός από τους πρωιμότερους μνημειώδεις θολωτούς τάφους. Επιπλέον, συνδυάζοντας τα στοιχεία από το Βαφειό με τα αντίστοιχα από την κοιλάδα του Ευρώτα κατά την ΥΕ ΙΙ-ΙΙΙ περίοδο, οδηγούμεθα στο συμπέρασμα πως η Λακωνία πρέπει να ήταν στο προσκήνιο - εάν δεν κατείχε ηγετικό ρόλο - των εξελίξεων γύρω από τη Μυκηναϊκή κατοχή της Κνωσού και λίγο αργότερα.

- 2 **Diana Burton. God and Hero: the iconography and cult of Apollo at the Amyklaion**

Cult and art recognise an ambivalence between Olympian and underworld gods, which is generally lacking in literary sources. The Peloponnese was rich in divinities who carried epithets associating them with the underworld. This paper explores the iconography of one such divine figure, the statue of Apollo at Amyklai, and his cult, in the context of the associated hero-cult of Hyakinthos.

Θεοί, ήρωες και ο κάτω κόσμος: λατρεία και εικονογραφία

Στην λατρεία και την τέχνη υπάρχει μια διφορούμενη στάση μεταξύ των Ολύμπιων και χθόνιων θεοτήτων, η οποία όμως δεν εμφανίζεται γενικά στις γραπτές πηγές. Στην

Πελοπόννησο αφθονούν οι θεότητες που έφεραν επίθετα σχετικά με τον Κάτω Κόσμο. Αυτή η ανακοίνωση ερευνά την εικονογραφία τέτοιων θεοτήτων όπως το άγαλμα του Διός Μειλίχιου, έργο του Πολυκλείτου στο Άργος, και το λατρευτικό άγαλμα του Απόλλωνα στις Αμύκλες, καθώς και την λατρεία τους στο πλαίσιο τοπικών ηρωολατρειών. Κάποιες λατρείες όπως αυτή του Διός Μειλίχιου, αποτέλεσαν το αντικείμενο διαδεδομένης λατρείας, αν και ενδεχομένως συνεχίζουν χαρακτηριστικά ντόπιας εικονογραφίας.

3 Nikolaos Dimakis. The display of individual status in the burials of Classical and Hellenistic Argos

This paper aims to outline the ways in which burials can be analysed in order to investigate the display of individual status in the mortuary record of Classical and Hellenistic Argos. Subsequently, this study will throw light on social inequality and the degrees of socio-political ranking within the Argive society of the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Η επίδειξη ατομικής κοινωνικής ταυτότητας στις ταφές του Άργους των κλασικών και ελληνιστικών χρόνων

Σκοπός αυτής της παρουσίασης είναι η αναφορά στον τρόπο με τον οποίο μπορούν να αναλυθούν οι ταφές προκειμένου να ερευνηθεί η επίδειξη ατομικής κοινωνικής ταυτότητας στα ταφικά σύνολα του Άργους κατά τους κλασικούς και ελληνιστικούς χρόνους. Ακολούθως, η παρούσα μελέτη θα διαφωτίσει ζητήματα κοινωνικής ανισότητας και το βαθμό κοινωνικο-πολιτικής διαστρωμάτωσης στην Αργειακή κοινωνία των κλασικών και ελληνιστικών χρόνων.

4 Eleni Drakaki. Late Bronze Age female burials with hard stone seals from the Peloponnese: a contextual approach

In Mycenaean Greece, hard stone seals were predominantly deposited with burials and are often regarded by scholars as emblems of their owners' personal and social identity. In an effort to achieve a better understanding of the mechanisms of seal ownership, this paper undertakes a detailed examination of the contextual associations of a small corpus of hard stone seals associated with nine Late Bronze Age elite female burials from the Peloponnese. The conclusion reached is that the seals do not always reflect the wealth/status differences of the burials, while in their overwhelming majority they are not engraved with 'female appropriate' motifs. Finally, the comparison of some of these female burials with male burials of equal status helps to establish that the former were furnished more modestly and with significantly fewer seals.

Γυναικείες ταφές της Ύστερης Εποχής του Χαλκού από την Πελοπόννησο με σφραγίδες απο σκληρούς λίθους: προσέγγιση πλαισίου.

Η ανακοίνωση αυτή παρουσιάζει μια διαχρονική μελέτη δέκα (πιθανώς) γυναικείων ταφών, οι οποίες είναι κτερισμένες με σφραγίδες από σκληρούς λίθους. Στις περιπτώσεις που αυτό καθίσταται δυνατόν, ο πλούτος και τα χαρακτηριστικά κτερίσματα συγκρίνονται με εκείνα σύγχρονων ανδρικών ταφών ανάλογης κοινωνικής θέσης (status), σε μια προσπάθεια να διακριθούν διαφορές ή/και ομοιότητες ανάμεσα τους. Ιδιαίτερη προσοχή δίδεται στην εικονογραφία των σφραγίδων, καθώς τα μοτίβα τους εκλαμβάνονται συχνά ως σύμβολα της προσωπικής και κοινωνικής ταυτότητας των κατόχων τους. Το (ίσως) εκπληκτικό συμπέρασμα είναι ότι η χρήση μοτίβων τα οποία θα μπορούσαν να θεωρηθούν ως «κατάλληλα για γυναίκες» ήταν η εξαίρεση, ενώ ορισμένες σφραγίδες πιθανώς να εκτιμούνταν για ιδιότητες ανεξάρτητες της εικονογραφίας τους.

5 Rachel S. Fox. Vessels and the body in Early Mycenaean funerary contexts

The capsule-type nature of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae means that they are an ideal dataset upon which to perform an analysis of the vessels found within them. In this paper I examine the metal and ceramic vessels from both Grave Circles, noting the forms that predominate and from these drawing conclusions regarding the ritual practices surrounding the interment of a body and the ways in which social messages could be conveyed to the funeral attendees. Following this, I consider how the vessels can be correlated with sex, age and other grave-goods, thus demonstrating how feasting practices were a method of displaying and accruing socio-political status in the Early Mycenaean period.

Τα αγγεία και το ανθρώπινο σώμα στα ταφικά σύνολα της πρώιμης μυκηναϊκής περιόδου

Λόγω έλλειψης στοιχείων, η Πρώιμη Μυκηναϊκή περίοδος συχνά επισκιάζεται από την ΥΕ ΙΙΙ ανακτορική περίοδο. Ωστόσο, τα στοιχεία όταν ερμηνεύονται ενδελεχώς μπορεί να είναι ιδιαίτερα κατατοπιστικά σχετικά με την τελετουργική συμπεριφορά και το κοινωνικό πλέγμα. Θα επικεντρωθώ σε ένα σύνολο στοιχείων - αγγεία τοποθετημένα σε ταφικά σύνολα - προκειμένου να διερευνήσω τα νεκρόδειπνα/ ταφικά τελετουργικά πόσεως και τις κοινωνικές δομές πίσω από αυτά. Αναλύοντας τους τύπους των μεταλλικών και κεραμικών αγγείων - εστιάζοντας στους Ταφικούς Κύκλους των Μυκηνών - και τη σχέση τους με το ανθρώπινο σώμα, θα εξαχθούν συμπεράσματα σχετικά με τις τελετουργικές δραστηριότητες δίπλα στο ταφικό μνημείο, το ρόλο του συμποσίου και την κοινωνικο-πολιτική ρευστότητα κατά την περίοδο αυτή.

6 Florentia Fragkopoulou. Sanctuary dedications and the treatment of the dead in Laconia (800–600 BC): the case of Artemis Orthia

This paper focuses on two ivory plaques NM 15518 and NM 16432 retrieved from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia during the excavations conducted by the British School at Athens during the 1906–10 seasons. The uniqueness of these plaques lies in their iconography (each one is decorated with a *prothesis* scene which is a rather unusual decorative element for sanctuary dedications), their luxurious material, and the fact that no other ivory parallels of this sort are known from other contemporaneous Lakonian sanctuaries. Since their recovery, scholars have concentrated on their stylistic production and chronological implications within the context of Spartan-Near Eastern relationships during the Archaic period. This paper focuses on their interpretation within the ritual context of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia itself with the aim of defining their role within the ritual context of the Limnai sanctuary.

Αναθήματα και η θεραπεία των νεκρών στη Λακωνία (800-600 π.Χ.): η περίπτωση της Αρτέμιδος Ορθίας

Η έρευνα που αφορά στη θέση και την κοινωνική οργάνωση των ιερών, ειδικότερα από τον 8ο αι. π.Χ., έχει μελετήσει με λεπτομέρεια το ρόλο τους στο θέμα των επικρατειών της πρώιμης δημιουργίας κρατών. Η οργάνωση των ιερών κατά τη διάρκεια της δημιουργίας του σπαρτιατικού κράτους, αποτελεί μια ξεχωριστή περίπτωση στη Λακωνία καθώς φαίνεται να συνδέεται στενά με τον τρόπο θεραπείας των νεκρών. Το σπαρτιατικό κράτος δημιουργήθηκε μέσω της κατάληψης ή/και της ενσωμάτωσης διαφόρων εδαφικών περιοχών. Ταυτόχρονα με αυτή τη διαδικασία, διαφορετικές κοινωνικές ομάδες κατέληξαν να συμπεριληφθούν (ή και επισήμως να αποκλειστούν από) στη Σπαρτιατική πολιτική κοινότητα. Θα περίμενε, λοιπόν, κανείς να ανακαλύψει την επίσημη έκφραση αυτών των σχέσεων στα τελετουργικά δρώμενα. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, συγκεκριμένα αναθήματα όπως σκηνές πρόθεσης που βρίσκονται ανάμεσα σε προσφορές στο ιερό της Αρτέμιδος Ορθίας αποκτούν συγκεκριμένο νόημα. Έτσι, μέσω της εξέτασης των στοιχείων για την απεικόνιση διαφορετικών υπο-ομάδων αναθημάτων από το αρχαιολογικό υλικό ιερών εντός της λακωνικής επικράτειας κατά την πρώιμη περίοδο της δημιουργίας του σπαρτιατικού κράτους (π. 800-600 π.Χ.), η παρούσα ανακοίνωση επιχειρεί να διαφωτίσει το ρόλο που έπαιξε η θεραπεία των νεκρών στη

διαμόρφωση κοινωνικής συνοχής εντός της Λακωνίας κατά τη διάρκεια μιας καθοριστικής για κοινωνικο-πολιτικές αλλαγές περιόδου, με ιδιαίτερη αναφορά: α) στην εξέλιξη των τελετουργικών πρακτικών αυτή την περίοδο, και β) στις διαφορετικές ομάδες που εμπλέκονται: τι επέλεξαν να θυμούνται/τιμούν, τι επέλεξαν (ή ήταν υποχρεωμένες) να ξεχνούν, και ποιοι επέβαλαν το κυρίαρχο πλαίσιο που όφειλαν να ακολουθούν;

7 **Stamatis Fritzilas. Grave stelai and burials in Megalopolis**

This paper examines certain representative examples of grave stelai found in the region of the federal capital of ancient Arcadia. These are a small but characteristic group of funerary stelai, mainly of Hellenistic and Roman date, and forming part of the Archaeological Collection of Megalopolis. They are presented with a commentary and illustrated, in some cases for the first time. They comprise characteristic funerary monuments which display not only a particular concern to make the grave visible, but also to preserve the deceased's name, in order to keep his memory alive. The inscribed stelai provide important cultural and demographic information. They enlarge the prosopography of Megalopolis, since they mention certain names of its inhabitants and their family or social relationships. They also include dictums which reflect the spirit of the times, record the passage of the deceased into the next world and ensure his eternal fame. Epigraphic material as well as available data from excavations are brought together. There is a variety of types of burial, brought to light by rescue excavations carried out by the Greek Archaeological Service in the area of Megalopolis, as a result of building activity mainly in the southern part of the ancient city and of public works in the countryside.

Επιτύμβιες στήλες στη Μεγαλόπολη

Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή εξετάζονται ορισμένα αντιπροσωπευτικά παραδείγματα ταφικών στηλών που βρέθηκαν στην επικράτεια της ομοσπονδιακής πρωτεύουσας της αρχαίας Αρκαδίας. Πρόκειται για μικρή αλλά χαρακτηριστική σειρά επιτύμβιων στηλών, κυρίως της ελληνιστικής και ρωμαϊκής εποχής, που φυλάσσονται στην Αρχαιολογική Συλλογή της Μεγαλόπολης. Σχολιάζονται και απεικονίζονται, ορισμένα για πρώτη φορά, χαρακτηριστικά ταφικά μνημεία που μαρτυρούν όχι μόνο την ιδιαίτερη φροντίδα να σημειωθεί ο τάφος του νεκρού αλλά και να διασωθεί το όνομά του, ώστε η μνήμη του να διατηρηθεί ζωντανή. Οι ενεπίγραφες στήλες παρέχουν σημαντικά πολιτισμικά και δημογραφικά στοιχεία. Εμπλουτίζουν την προσωπογραφία της Μεγαλόπολης, καθώς μας πληροφορούν για τα ονόματα των κατοίκων της και για τις οικογενειακές ή φιλικές τους σχέσεις. Στα μνημεία αυτά έχουν γραφεί και αποφθέγματα που αντανακλούν το πνεύμα της εποχής, σηματοδοτούν τη μετάβαση του νεκρού στον άλλο κόσμο και του εξασφαλίζουν υστεροφημία. Στη μελέτη συγκεντρώνονται όχι μόνον τα επιγραφικά αλλά και τα διαθέσιμα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα. Πρόκειται για ταφές διαφόρων τύπων που έχουν έρθει στο φως στις σωστικές ανασκαφές που διεξάγει η Ελληνική Αρχαιολογική Υπηρεσία τα τελευταία χρόνια στα εδάφη της Μεγαλόπολης, αποτέλεσμα της σύγχρονης οικοδομικής δραστηριότητας στο νότιο κυρίως τμήμα της αρχαίας πόλης και της εκτέλεσης δημόσιων έργων στην ύπαιθρο χώρα.

8 **Pepi Gavala. The sculpted monuments in Laconian cemeteries (late 19th – early 20th century)**

Many funerary monuments in the cemeteries of Greek cities and towns, including those in Laconia, bear the stamp of Classicism, an important school of art in Western Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries, which greatly influenced Greek art and architecture in the 19th century. The identification and recording of those monuments helps their preservation through the ages, since they are constantly at risk of being damaged. The types of monument and their decoration as well as their inscriptions and epigrams are also recorded. The main

target of such efforts is focused on an awareness of the historical and aesthetic value of these monuments.

Τα μνημεία των κοιμητηρίων της Λακωνίας

Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή παρουσιάζονται τα ταφικά μνημεία των Κοιμητηρίων της Λακωνίας του 19ου και 20ου αιώνα (επιτύμβιες στήλες, προτομές, σταυροί, βάθρα, κ.α.).

9 Olivier Gengler. Leonidas and the heroes of Thermopylae: memory of the dead and identity in Roman Sparta

Through a new examination of the evidence relating to the contest organised in Sparta in honour of Pausanias, Leonidas and the Three Hundred, essentially known from Pausanias the *Periegete* and various inscriptions, this paper proposed a new insight into the construction of Spartan identity in Roman imperial times. A comparison with a text of Plutarch reveals how the organisation of the *Leonideia* constituted for the Spartan of the second century AD a further attempt to equal their ancestors.

Ο Λεωνίδας και οι ήρωες των Θερμοπυλών: η ανάμνηση των νεκρών και η κοινωνική ταυτότητα στη ρωμαϊκή Σπάρτη

Σκοπός της εργασίας αυτής είναι να επανεξετάσει τα στοιχεία σχετικά με τα Λεωνίδεια στο ευρύτερο πλαίσιο της μεταμόρφωσης των σπαρτιατικών παραδόσεων κατά τους Αυτοκρατορικούς χρόνους, και σε σχέση με την εικόνα της σπαρτιατικής ιστορίας στη λογοτεχνία αυτής της περιόδου.

10 Mercourios Georgiadis. Honouring the dead in Mesolithic and Neolithic Peloponnese: a few general observations

The change from the Mesolithic way of life and the introduction of agriculture in the Neolithic period has been fundamental for local societies. New economic and social conditions appeared, transforming at the same time the local belief systems and the way of everyday life. This paper will show how these changes can be traced in the funerary context, where the emphasis was concentrated and how honouring of the dead altered from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic, in the examples we have from the Peloponnese. Although the available examples are very limited for these long periods of time, they can provide useful insights into the social conditions of these phases.

Τιμώντας τους νεκρούς στη μεσολιθική και νεολιθική Πελοπόννησο: μερικές γενικές παρατηρήσεις

Η αλλαγή από τον Μεσολιθικό τρόπο ζωής και η εισαγωγή της γεωργίας στην νεολιθική περίοδο υπήρξε ουσιώδης για τις τοπικές κοινωνίες. Εμφανίστηκαν νέες οικονομικές και κοινωνικές συνθήκες, μετασχηματίζοντας την ίδια στιγμή τον τοπικό τρόπο σκέψης και την καθημερινή ζωή. Αυτή η παρουσίαση θα δείξει πώς αυτές οι αλλαγές μπορούν να εμφανιστούν μέσα από το ταφικό περιεχόμενο, πού δίνεται έμφαση και πώς οι τιμές των νεκρών άλλαξαν από την Μεσολιθική στην Νεολιθική περίοδο, από τα παραδείγματα που έχουμε από την Πελοπόννησο. Αν και τα παραδείγματα που διαθέτουμε είναι λιγοστά για αυτές τις μακρές περιόδους, μπορούν να προσφέρουν χρήσιμες πληροφορίες για τις κοινωνικές συνθήκες αυτών των φάσεων.

11 Grigoris Grigorakakis. New investigations by the 39th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Helleniko, N. Kynouria. The burial of Late Classical date from the western roadside cemetery

200 m west of the grave enclosure on the west slopes of Teichio at Helleniko in northern Kynouria, in the framework of rescue excavations by the Ephoreia, a tomb of the mid-4th century BC was investigated. The large number of offerings categorizes it as a 'wealthy'

burial, and provides us with valuable information both about the mortuary practices, and about the conception of the next world. Finally, the location of the grave, the extent of the cemetery along the road and its relationship both to other cemeteries in the vicinity and, in particular, to the spectacular acropolis at Teichio, indicates the significance of this site in the Thyreatis.

Νέες έρευνες της ΛΘ' Εφορείας Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων στο Ελληνικό βόρειας Κυνουρίας. Η ταφή των ύστερων κλασικών χρόνων του δυτικού παρόδιου νεκροταφείου

Διακόσια μέτρα δυτικότερα των περιφραγμένων τάφων στις δυτικές υπώρειες του Τειχιού, στο Ελληνικό της βόρειας Κυνουρίας, στο πλαίσιο σωστικής ανασκαφής της Εφορείας διερευνήθηκε τάφος των μέσων του 4ου π.Χ. αι. Ο μεγάλος αριθμός κτερισμάτων παραπέμπει σε 'πλούσια' ταφή, και μας δίδει πολύτιμες πληροφορίες τόσο για τα ταφικά έθιμα, όσο και για τις αντιλήψεις σχετικά με τον επέκεινα κόσμο. Τέλος, η θέση του τάφου, η έκταση του παρόδιου νεκροταφείου και η σχέση του με τα άλλα νεκροταφεία στην περιοχή, και κυρίως με την επιβλητική Ακρόπολη στο Τειχίο, καταδεικνύει και τη σπουδαιότητα της θέσης αυτής της Θυρεάτιδος.

12 Georgia Kakourou-Chroni. Nikiforos Vrettakos: "Let us depart ascending ..."

The poetry of Laconian-born Nikiforos Vrettakos might be said to have death as one of its defining themes. This paper traces the development of the poetical ego from his first collection where "death permeates", to his last where "light rises from the soul". The transition begins to take shape and form during World War II when death has the power to "kill God" but also to "shed light on the pain of the world".

The purpose of this paper is to introduce the attitude to death that emerges in the poetry of Nikiforos Vrettakos and unfolds in three stages: nihilism and the dominance of death; heroic death; and the recognition of human immortality.

Critical studies of a lifetime of literary work seen as a whole frequently divide the work into periods on the basis of certain characteristics that pervade each one. This approach is widely accepted by both critics and readers since it facilitates study, though they recognise the fact that the periods are not separated by brick walls and the characteristics of one period overlap those of the next, often making it difficult to see where one period ends and another begins. Neither do all concerned agree over the timeframes.

Having pointed this out, I shall refer to the three different attitudes to death that evolve in the poetry of Nikiforos Vrettakos, keeping within the constraints of time imposed by an introduction of this kind. These attitudes are: nihilism and the dominance of death; heroic death; and the recognition of human immortality.

Νικηφόρος Βρεττάκος: «ας φεύγουμε ανεβαίνοντας ...»

Η ποιητική του λάικωνα λογοτέχνη Νικηφόρου Βρεττάκου θα μπορούσε να ισχυρισθεί κανείς ότι οριοθετείται και από το θέμα του θανάτου. Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή καταγράφεται, από την πρώτη συλλογή, η πορεία του ποιητικού εγώ, όταν «υπερικαλύπτεται από τον θάνατο», έως την τελευταία που «φως βγάζει η ψυχή του». Η μεταστροφή αυτή αρχίζει να συντελείται κατά το Δεύτερο Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο, τότε που ο θάνατος μπορεί να «δολοφονεί το Θεό», αλλά και να «φωτίζει τον παγκόσμιο πόνο».

13 Konstantinos Kalogeropoulos. The Social and religious significance of palatial jars as grave offerings

It is generally accepted that the monumental and very finely painted jars found mainly during LH IIA in rich Peloponnesian tombs (so called palatial jars) are prestige items connected with the early Mycenaean Peloponnesian elite. The aim of this paper is not to refute the basic idea behind such a general identification but to enlarge upon it. It is argued

that the use of 'palatial jars' in mortuary ceremonies has a certain religious connotation also, since several syntactic and iconographic elements on these vases point to their ritual use and symbolism.

Η κοινωνική και θρησκευτική σημασία των «ανακτορικών αμφορέων» ως ταφικών προσφορών

Είναι γενικά αποδεκτό ότι οι μνημειώδεις και περικαλείς αμφορείς - οι λεγόμενοι «ανακτορικοί αμφορείς» - που έχουν βρεθεί σε πλούσιους πελοποννησιακούς τάφους της ΥΕ ΙΙ περιόδου είναι αντικείμενα ιώρους συνδεδεμένα με την ανώτερη κοινωνική τάξη στην Πελοπόννησο της Πρώιμης Μυκηναϊκής Εποχής. Ο στόχος της ανακοίνωσης αυτής δεν είναι να απορρίψει την βασική ιδέα πίσω από αυτή την γενική ταύτιση αλλά να την διευρύνει. Θα υποστηριχθεί ότι η χρήση των «ανακτορικών αμφορέων» σε ταφικές τελετές έχει επίσης συγκεκριμένη θρησκευτική χροιά καθώς αρκετά τεχνικά, εικονογραφικά και συντακτικά στοιχεία πάνω στους αμφορείς καταδεικνύουν τη θρησκευτική τους χρήση και συμβολισμό.

14 Dimitrios Katsoulakos. The lament in southern 'koile Lakedaimon' and the turbulent history of Greece

The Moiroloi carries within it historical witness to the collective memory. It is a treasury of the human reaction to extreme experiences. The violent events undergone by the nation (the Balkan Wars, the War in Asia Minor, the Greco-Italian War, the Civil War) deeply moved the popular sensibility, which lamented in an imaginative manner the untimely death of the young. What is particularly striking in researching this brilliant literature is the theme of injustice, which is never personalised. The injustice lies only in the loss of a young life.

Το μοιρολόι της νότιας 'κοίλης Λακεδαίμονος' και οι ιστορικές περιπέτειες της χώρας

Το μοιρολόι συνιστά ιστορική μαρτυρία που απηχεί στη συλλογική μνήμη. Αποτελεί θησαυρισμένη σοφία από την έσχατη εμπειρία του ανθρώπου. Οι αιματηρές περιπέτειες της χώρας (Βαλκανικοί Πόλεμοι, Μικρασιατικός Πόλεμος, Ελληνοϊταλικός Πόλεμος, Εμφύλιος Πόλεμος) συγκίνησαν βαθύτατα τη λαϊκή ψυχή, η οποία θρήνησε με τρόπο ευρηματικό την απώλεια νέων ανθρώπων. Εκείνο που προκαλεί εντύπωση στο ερευνητή της λαμπρής αυτής λογοτεχνίας είναι το θέμα της αδικίας, το οποίο ποτέ δεν προσωποποιείται. Το άδικο συνίσταται μόνο στην απώλεια του νέου ανθρώπου.

15 Theodoros Katsoulakos. The relationship of the moiroloi singer with the deceased as a source of inspiration

Vital data for research into the Moiroloi are the date of its recording and knowledge of the relationship between the singer and the deceased. If these facts are known, the researcher will have at their disposal a picture of the circumstances of its composition, insofar as this is possible. The Moiroloi, as a discrete artistic creation, must, for this reason, be accompanied by as much information as possible.

Η σχέση της μοιρολογίστρας με το νεκρό ως πηγή έμπνευσης

Κρίσιμα στοιχεία της έρευνας της σχετικής με το μοιρολόι αποτελούν ο χρόνος καταγραφής αυτού και η γνώση της σχέσης της μοιρολογίστρας με το νεκρό. Εάν τα στοιχεία αυτά γίνουν γνωστά, ο μελετητής θα έχει στη διάθεσή του, κατά το δυνατόν, εικόνα των συνθηκών δημιουργίας αυτού. Το μοιρολόι, ως αυτοτελές λογοτεχνικό κείμενο, είναι απαραίτητο, ως εκ τούτου, να συνοδεύεται από όσο το δυνατόν πιο πλήρη υπομνηματισμό.

16 Georgia Kokkorou-Alevras. Funerary statuary of the Archaic period in the Peloponnese

During the Archaic period in Attica and in the Aegean islands there are many stone funerary monuments commemorating the dead. These monuments include a variety of statuary types such as kouroi and korai, lions, sphinxes, gorgons and so forth as well as the more common relief stelai bearing representations of the dead. On the other hand, the number of stone funerary monuments in the Peloponnese is very small and consists mainly of statues of lions, rarely of sphinxes and other types. It seems most probable that the statues of lions, which were represented sitting on high columns that were erected over the tombs, symbolized the bravery of the dead as indicated by the ancient written sources.

The fact that the Peloponnesian funerary statuary has been found mainly in the territory of Corinth and in the Argolid, may be explained by the vicinity of these areas to Attica and the Cycladic islands and by the influence exercised by these areas in the north-east Peloponnese.

Finally, the main reason for the general rarity of funerary sculpture in the Peloponnese may be the different, 'Doric' ideal that existed in this area and which is documented by the Spartan, Lykourgan, attitude towards honouring the dead, which did not favour the distinction of the individual through lavish grave monuments.

Ταφική λιθογλυπτική της αρχαϊκής περιόδου στην Πελοπόννησο

Κατά την αρχαϊκή περίοδο στην Αττική και τα νησιά του Αιγαίου απαντούν πολλά λίθινα ταφικά μνημεία προς τιμήν των νεκρών. Αυτά τα μνημεία περιλαμβάνουν ποικιλία ειδών όπως κούρους και κόρες, λέοντες, σφίγγες, γοργόνεια κ.λπ., καθώς και πιο κοινές ανάγλυφες στήλες που φέρουν αναπαραστάσεις νεκρών. Από την άλλη πλευρά, ο αριθμός των λίθινων ταφικών μνημείων στην Πελοπόννησο είναι πολύ μικρός και αποτελείται κυρίως από αγάλματα λεόντων, σπανιότερα δέ από σφίγγες και άλλους τύπους. Επιπλέον, τα πελοποννησιακά ταφικά αγάλματα εντοπίζονται κυρίως στην επικράτεια της Κορίνθου. Η ανακοίνωση αυτή έχει ως στόχο να διερευνήσει και να ερμηνεύσει αυτό το αξιοσημείωτο φαινόμενο.

17 Eleni Konstantintidi-Syvridi and Konstantinos Paschalidis. Honouring the dead behind the scenes: the case of the chamber tomb to the south of Grave Circle B at Mycenae

During the summers of 1952 and 1953 in the course of the excavations of Grave Circle B at Mycenae, Ioannis Papadimitriou located and excavated an Early Mycenaean chamber tomb, which has remained unpublished up to now. Its location and the finds from the tomb preserve information about the granting of honours to the dead and ancestors over the ensuing periods, with a different content on each occasion. Following analysis of the architectural form and the offerings in the tomb, the evidence for *hero worship* is examined, which was the excavator's interpretation of the rich remains of the Late Geometric period from within and above the chamber. Likewise, the proximity of a number of important funerary monuments (Grave Circle B, the Tomb of Clytemnestra, the chamber tomb) to the Hellenistic theatre of the town, where the tragedies of the Atreids would have been re-enacted, is emphasised. Finally, the memory of the excavator is honoured, whose diaries reveal the thoughts of a great archaeologist and the concerns of an everyday human being.

Τιμώντας τους νεκρούς στα παρασκήνια: η περίπτωση του θαλαμωτού τάφου νότια του Κύκλου Β των Μυκηνών

Τα καλοκαίρια του 1952 και του 1953 κατά την ανασκαφή του ταφικού Κύκλου Β, ο Ιωάννης Παπαδημητρίου εντόπισε και ανέσκαψε έναν πρώιμο μυκηναϊκό θαλαμωτό τάφο, που παρέμενε αδημοσίευτος έως σήμερα. Η θέση και τα ευρήματα του τάφου διασώζουν στοιχεία για την απόδοση τιμών σε νεκρούς και προγόνους σε διαδοχικές χρονικές περιόδους και με διαφορετικό κάθε φορά περιεχόμενο. Μετά την αναλυτική παρουσίαση της αρχιτεκτονικής και των κτερισμάτων του τάφου, εξετάζονται τα

στοιχεία της ηρωολατρίας, όπως ερμήνευσε ο ανασκαφέας τα πλούσια κατάλοιπα της ύστερης Γεωμετρικής περιόδου μέσα και πάνω από το θάλαμο. Σχολιάζεται επίσης η γειτνίαση των σημαντικών ταφικών μνημείων (Κύκλος Β, θολωτός Κλυταιμνήστρας, θαλαμωτός τάφος) με το ελληνιστικό θέατρο της πόλης, όπου αναβίωναν τα πάθη των Ατρεϊδών. Τέλος, αποτίεται φόρος τιμής στον ανασκαφέα, τα ημερολόγια του οποίου αποκαλύπτουν τις σκέψεις ενός μεγάλου αρχαιολόγου και τις ανησυχίες ενός καθημερινού ανθρώπου.

18 Angeliki Kossyva. The invisible dead of Delpriza, Kranidi

Despite the wealth of data for habitation in the southern Argolid from very early times, very little is known about the framework of society and its economy during the Early Bronze Age as it can be established through the burials and the behaviour of the community towards the dead.

As regards the Classical period also, the tombs of ordinary people reveal unknown aspects of the organization of small rural communities of the region, the economic potential and the external contacts of the rural population living in the shadow of the urban centres of Hermione and Halieis.

Some aspects of the above-mentioned points were possible to be detected through the finds of the rescue excavation in the Delpriza area, which is only 2.5 km away from the Franchthi cave and about 8 km from Halieis.

Οι αφανείς νεκροί της Δέλπριζας Κρανιδίου

Η αποκάλυψη τμήματος ενός οργανωμένου νεκροταφείου μιας αγροτικής κοινότητας των ύστερων κλασικών-ελληνιστικών χρόνων, στο πλαίσιο σωστικής ανασκαφής που διενεργείται από τη Δ' ΕΠΚΑ στην περιοχή 'Δέλπριζα' Κρανιδίου, συσχετίζεται με την περιορισμένη παρουσία νεκροταφείων στο αρχαιολογικό τοπίο της Αργολίδας. Δύο χιλιόμετρα νότια από το Φράγχθι και 2,5 χλμ. ανατολικά του χωριού της Κοιλάδας, στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της οποίας τοποθετείται και η αρχαία πόλη Μάση, ανιχνεύουμε μέσα από τις ταφικές πρακτικές την οικονομική επιφάνεια απλών ανθρώπων.

19 Sokratis S. Koursoumis and Anna-Vassiliki Karapanagiotou. Anthropomorphic stele from Levidi, Arcadia: a typological and interpretative study

The anthropomorphic stele of Levidi is one of the earliest colossal statues of Arcadian monumental sculpture, dated in the late 7th – early 6th century BC. Due to its size, shape and monumental character, it is interpreted as a funerary monument, erected on a tomb in the north Orchomenian plain, which probably belonged to Aristokrates, the mythical king of Arcadia punished by death for his sacrilege.

Ανθρωπόμορφη στήλη από το Λεβίδι Αρκαδίας: τυπολογική και ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση

Η ανθρωπόμορφη στήλη του Λεβιδίου αποτελεί ένα από τα πρωιμότερα, κολοσσιακά έργα της αρκαδικής μεγάλης πλαστικής, χρονολογούμενη περί τα τέλη του 7^{ου} - αρχές του 6^{ου} αιώνα π.Χ. Το μέγεθος, η μορφή και ο μνημειώδης χαρακτήρας της οδηγούν στην ερμηνεία της ως επιτάφιος μνημείο, ανιδρυμένου στο βόρειο ορχομένιο πεδίο, σε τύμβο ο οποίος πιθανόν ανήκε στον αρκάδα βασιλιά Αριστοκράτη, που τιμωρήθηκε με θάνατο λόγω των ανοσιουργημάτων του.

20 Marioanna Louka. Votive jewellery in the Archaic Peloponnese

Jewellery in the Peloponnese is characterized by various categories, ranging from sumptuous earrings to carefully crafted pins, fibulae and bracelets. These specimens, recovered either from a funerary or a sanctuary/votive context, reveal the local workshops' artistic connections with other important artistic centres of the time on the Greek mainland and the islands, as

well as the impact of earlier traditions. The Peloponnese provides us with a very interesting research field, as these finds prove that the restrictions imposed by the Spartan regime evidently did not apply to all regions, nor to all circumstances in the life of Peloponnesian women – and therefore speak of the multi-levelled character of this centuries-old and ever appealing craft.

Η κοινωνική προέκταση των κτερισματικών και αναθηματικών κοσμημάτων στην αρχαϊκή Πελοπόννησο

Τα κοσμήματα της αρχαϊκής περιόδου από την Πελοπόννησο με την σημαντική τους τυπολογία, από τα πολυτελή ενώτια έως τις περόνες, τις πόρπες και τα ψέλια, αναδεικνύουν τις δημιουργικές σχέσεις των τοπικών εργαστηρίων με άλλα σημαντικά καλλιτεχνικά κέντρα της εποχής στην κυρίως Ελλάδα και τα νησιά, καθώς και με παλαιότερες παραδόσεις. Η Πελοποννησιακή γη αποτελεί ένα ενδιαφέρον πεδίο έρευνας σχετικά με τα ταφικά έθιμα, όπως αυτά εκφράζονται μέσα από τα κοσμήματα που συνόδευαν τις γυναίκες-κατόχους τους στο επέκεινα, αλλά και τα κοσμήματα στην κοινωνική τους διάσταση, όταν αυτά διατηρούνταν στους κόλπους της οικογένειας ως προίκα ή για να ανατεθούν στα μεγάλα ιερά της εποχής, προβάλλοντας έτσι τον πολλαπλό χαρακτήρα αυτής της πανάρχαιας τέχνης που συνεχίζει να μας γοητεύει.

21 Jean-Marc Luce. Iron Age burial customs in the Peloponnese and their place in the funerary geography of the Greek world

As appears from a wide survey of more than 6000 Iron Age graves in the Greek world, burial practices in the Peloponnese are very similar to those in Akarnania, Aitolia and Lokris. Comparison of the map of burial types based on the above with the dialect map affords surprising and unexpected results. The striking difference between the practices in the Peloponnese and those described by Homer should be noted. The role of burials in signalling ethnic identity will also be discussed. Specifically, the question raised here is whether the graves of this period can be interpreted as 'geo-symbols' as defined by the geographer Joël Bonnemaison in 'Voyage autour du patrimoine' *Espace géographique* 4 (1981) 249-62.

Ταφικά έθιμα της Εποχής του Σιδήρου στην Πελοπόννησο και η θέση τους στην ταφική γεωγραφία του ελληνικού κόσμου

Όπως προκύπτει από μία ευρύτερη έρευνα περισσότερων των 6000 τάφων της Εποχής του Σιδήρου στον Ελλαδικό κόσμο, οι ταφικές πρακτικές στην Πελοπόννησο παρουσιάζουν ομοιότητες με αυτές της Ακαρνανίας, Αιτωλίας και Λοκρίδας. Με βάση τα παραπάνω στοιχεία η σύγκριση στον χάρτη των ταφικών τύπων με το χάρτη των διαλέκτων προσφέρει εκπληκτικά και απροσδόκητα αποτελέσματα. Πρέπει να σημειωθεί η εντυπωσιακή διαφορά μεταξύ των πρακτικών στην Πελοπόννησο και αυτών που περιγράφονται στον Όμηρο. Θα συζητηθεί επίσης ο ρόλος των τάφων στη σηματοδότηση εθνικής ταυτότητας. Συγκεκριμένα, το ερώτημα που τίθεται είναι κατά πόσον οι τάφοι της περιόδου αυτής μπορούν να ερμηνευθούν ως «γεω-σύμβολα», όπως αυτά έχουν οριστεί από το γεωγράφο Joël Bonnemaison στο έργο του «Voyage autour du Patrimoine» στο *Espace géographique* 4 (1981) 249-62.

22 Christina Marabea. The tholos tomb at Kambos, Avia: excavation by Christos Tsountas, 1891

This paper is a short presentation of the Mycenaean tholos tomb at Kambos, Avia (prefecture of Messinia) whose full study and publication has been undertaken by the author. The tomb, investigated by Christos Tsountas in 1891, was found looted; however, it yielded a number of small objects, among them two well-known lead figurines of Minoan character. Of particular importance are the reports and other documents, now deposited in the Archives of the Archaeological Society at Athens, in which Christos Tsountas revealed aspects of his

investigation. Preliminary estimates are put forward for the dating of the monument and historical implications are outlined.

Ο θολωτός τάφος στον Κάμπο Αβίας: η ανασκαφή του Χρήστου Τσουντα, 1891

Το παρόν άρθρο αποτελεί σύντομη παρουσίαση του Μυκηναϊκού θολωτού τάφου στον Κάμπο Αβίας (Νομού Μεσσηνίας), του οποίου την πλήρη μελέτη και δημοσίευση έχει αναλάβει η υπογραφόμενη. Ο τάφος, ο οποίος ερευνήθηκε από τον Χρήστο Τσουντα το 1891, βρέθηκε συλημένος. Ωστόσο, απέδωσε αριθμό μικροαντικειμένων, μεταξύ των οποίων τα δύο γνωστά μολύβδινα ειδώλια Μινωικού τύπου. Ιδιαίτερη σημασία έχουν οι αναφορές και τα άλλα έγγραφα, σήμερα στο Αρχείο της Εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, όπου ο Χρήστος Τσουντας αποκαλύπτει πλευρές της έρευνάς του. Δίδονται πρώτες εκτιμήσεις για τη χρονολόγηση του μνημείου και διαγράφονται ιστορικές προεκτάσεις.

23 Eleni Marantou. Ancestor worship and hero cult in the central and southern Peloponnese: the evidence from Pausanias

In antiquity, ancestors and heroes held a special place in people's memory and in their hearts. It was extremely common for funerary monuments of distinguished individuals to be set up in conspicuous places, and frequently cult ceremonies took place to honour them. In his guide, Pausanias describes *inter alia* the funerary monuments which he encounters. The present paper will bring together the many funerary monuments which Pausanias noted in Arcadia, Elis, Messenia and Laconia with the aim of identifying the location of the funerary cults, in order to link them with the history of the region and to understand the reasons behind their existence.

Η προγονολατρεία και ηρωολατρεία στην κεντρική και νότια Πελοπόννησο: η μαρτυρία του Πανσανία

Οι πρόγονοι και οι ήρωες κατείχαν ιδιαίτερη θέση στη μνήμη και την καρδιά των ανθρώπων κατά την αρχαιότητα. Η εγκαθίδρυση ταφικών μνημείων για εξέχουσες προσωπικότητες σε περιβλεπτα σημεία αποτελούσε σύνηθες φαινόμενο, ενώ συχνά αφιερώνονταν θρησκευτικές τελετουργίες προς τιμήν τους. Στην *Περιήγησή* του ο Πανσανίας περιγράφει, εκτός άλλων, τα ταφικά μνημεία που συναντά. Συγκεντρώνοντας τα στοιχεία για όλα τα ταφικά μνημεία που αναφέρει ο Πανσανίας στους νομούς Αρκαδίας, Ηλείας, Μεσσηνίας και Λακωνίας και εντοπίζοντας τους χώρους ταφικής λατρείας, σκοπός της παρούσας ανακοίνωσης είναι η σύνδεσή τους με την ιστορία της κάθε περιοχής και η κατανόηση των λόγων εγκαθίδρυσής τους.

24 Iro Mathioudaki. Honouring the dead with polychrome pots: the case of Mainland Polychrome pottery in Peloponnesian funerary contexts (an interpretative approach)

The subject of this paper concerns the fine pottery type of the early Late Helladic period, known as 'Mainland Polychrome', well represented in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae and sometimes decorated with pictorial motives such as birds and griffins. The pottery has specific character and function, being elaborate and technologically advanced; it carries a certain aesthetic value. The example provides an appropriate case-study for the application of theoretical models developed and tested by Material Culture Studies (i.e. aesthetics, object biographies), also taking methodological issues into consideration. Pottery with such inherent qualitative properties becomes the material manifestation of concepts developed and expressed by "communities of the dead" of a certain spatio-temporal context.

Τιμώντας τους νεκρούς με πολύχρωμα αγγεία: η περίπτωση της ηπειρωτικής πολύχρωμης κεραμικής στα ταφικά σύνολα της Πελοποννήσου (ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση)

Το θέμα μου είναι η λεπτή κεραμική της Πρώιμης Ύστεροελλαδικής περιόδου, γνωστή ως «ηπειρωτική πολύχρωμη κεραμική», η οποία εκπροσωπείται στους Κάθετους Λαϊκοειδείς Τάφους των Μυκηνών και είναι συχνά διακοσμημένη με εικονιστικά μοτίβα όπως πουλιά και γρύπες. Η κεραμική έχει ιδιαίτερο χαρακτήρα και λειτουργία, επεξεργασμένη με ακρίβεια και τεχνολογικά προηγμένη. Φέρει δε μια συγκεκριμένη αισθητική αξία. Αυτό το υλικό προσφέρει την κατάλληλη βάση για την εφαρμογή των θεωρητικών μοντέλων που αναπτύσσονται και δοκιμάζονται σε μελέτες υλικού πολιτισμού (π.χ. αισθητική, βιογραφίες αντικειμένων). Μεθοδολογικά ζητήματα θα ληφθούν επίσης υπ' όψη. Η κεραμική αυτού του είδους που διαθέτει τέτοιες ποιοτικές και εγγενείς ιδιότητες, γίνεται η υλική εκδήλωση εννοιών που αναπτύσσονται και εκφράζονται από την «κοινότητα των νεκρών» σε ένα συγκεκριμένο χωροχρονικό πλαίσιο.

- 25 Sotiris Lambropoulos, Panagiotis Moutzouridis and Kostas Nikolentzos. Hybrid burial monuments of the Late Bronze Age in two recently excavated sites in Elis (Strephi and Arvaniti)**

This paper reviews the conclusions of archaeological research on two new sites of the Late Bronze Age, in the municipal prefectures of Strephi and Arvanitis (prefecture of Elis). The sites present particular interest, because of the diversity of burial architecture (co-existence of chamber tombs, burial pits and niches). In addition, burial customs, social stratification, anthropological data and possible interregional contacts are also being studied.

Υβριδικά ταφικά μνημεία της Ύστερης Εποχής του Χαλκού σε δύο νέες θέσεις του νομού Ηλείας (Στρεφι και Αρβανίτη)

Η ανακοίνωση πραγματεύεται τα ανασκαφικά πορίσματα της έρευνας σε δύο νέες θέσεις της Ύστερης Εποχής του Χαλκού, στα Δ.Δ. Στρεφίου και Αρβανίτη. Οι θέσεις παρουσιάζουν ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον ως προς την ποικιλομορφία της αρχιτεκτονικής των ταφικών μνημείων. Σε δεύτερο επίπεδο, εξετάζονται έθιμα ταφής, η κοινωνική διαστρωμάτωση, ανθρωπολογικά δεδομένα και πιθανές επαφές με άλλες περιοχές.

- 26 Nikolas Papadimitriou. "Passing away" or "passing through"? Changing funerary attitudes in the Peloponnese at the MBA/LBA transition**

This paper examines the formation and the possible symbolic meaning of the *dromos-stomion-chamber* layout in Mycenaean tombs. This distinctive arrangement was the outcome of a gradual restructuring of the funerary space associated with the adoption of multiple burial and the need for a permanent access to the tomb. The form of access originated in the tumulus tradition, went through an experimental stage and crystallized in the dromoi of LH IIA tombs. It is argued that the observed changes in funerary attitudes were *not* motivated by competition among 'powerful elites'; rather, they reflect an increasing sophistication in ritual performance and symbolic representation, resulting from a widespread renegotiation of social identities in the MH/LH transition.

"Πεθαίνοντας" ή "μεταβαίνοντας"; Η αλλαγή ταφικής νοοτροπίας στην Πελοπόννησο κατά τη μετάβαση από τη Μέση στην Ύστερη Εποχή του Χαλκού

Το άρθρο εξετάζει την διαδικασία διαμόρφωσης της χαρακτηριστικής διάταξης των μυκηναϊκών τάφων σε δρόμο, στόμιο και θάλαμο, και την πιθανή συμβολική σημασία της. Καταδεικνύεται ότι η διάταξη αυτή προέκυψε σταδιακά ως αποτέλεσμα της υιοθέτησης του εθίμου της οικογενειακής ταφής και της ανάγκης διαρκούς πρόσβασης στον τάφο. Το είδος της πρόσβασης αυτής άρχισε να διαμορφώνεται στους ΜΕ τύμβους, πέρασε από ένα στάδιο πειραματισμού και αποκρυσταλλώθηκε κατά την ΥΕ ΙΙΑ περίοδο. Προτείνεται ότι οι παρατηρούμενες αλλαγές στα ταφικά έθιμα δεν οφείλονται σε κοινωνικούς ανταγωνισμούς μεταξύ «ισχυρών ελίτ» αλλά αντανακλούν μια ευρύτερη

αναδιαπραγμάτευση των κοινωνικών ταυτοτήτων κατά την μεταβατική ΜΕ/ΥΕ περίοδο, η οποία οδήγησε στην υιοθέτηση συνθετότερων τελετουργιών και μορφών συμβολικής αναπαράστασης.

27 Metaxia Papapostolou. 'Honourable death': the honours paid in ancient Sparta to dead war-heroes and mothers dying in child-birth

In accordance with a levelling tendency in Spartan life, its burial and funerary customs were simple and austere. Offerings were not allowed at Spartan funerals. The Spartans observed a law in their code concerning burial, under which, according to Pausanias, it was not permitted to inscribe the name of the deceased over their graves, with the exceptions only of men who died in battle and women who died in child-birth. Modern historians have speculated that only through dying in child-birth could a Spartan woman earn the distinction of escaping anonymity. Sparta has been distinguished as the city which advocated the ideal of a 'good death' for a citizen who died in the front line, a death which Tyrtaios praises in his poetry. Certainly the female version of the 'good death' did not extend beyond the boundaries of Lacedaemon. Consequently, the high esteem held for death in child-birth must be explained strictly within the bounds of Sparta. In this paper reference will be made in turn to the honours which the Spartans paid to those who died in battle and at the same time we shall examine which women could gain the privilege of such honours. In other words, were death in battle and death in child-birth held in equal esteem?

Ο 'τιμημένος θάνατος': οι τιμές στον νεκρό ήρωα της μάχης και στη γυναίκα λεχώνα στην αρχαία Σπάρτη

Ανάλογες με την ομοιομορφία της Σπαρτιατικής ζωής ήταν και οι επικήδειες και ταφικές τελετές, λιτές και αυστηρές. Στις Σπαρτιατικές κηδείες δεν επιτρέπονταν κτερίσματα. Οι Σπαρτιάτες υπάκουαν σε μια επιταγή της νομοθεσίας τους για την ταφή, δυνάμει της οποίας, σύμφωνα με τον Πλούταρχο, δεν επιτρεπόταν να αναγράφονται πάνω στους τάφους τα ονόματα των νεκρών, εκτός εάν επρόκειτο για άνδρες που έπεσαν στον πόλεμο και γυναίκες που πέθαναν στον τοκετό. Οι σύγχρονοι ιστορικοί έχουν θεωρήσει ότι μόνο το γεγονός του θανάτου στον τοκετό θα μπορούσε να δώσει σε μια Σπαρτιάτισσα το δικαίωμα να ξεφύγει από την ανωνυμία. Η Σπάρτη θεωρούνταν η πόλη που είχε επινοήσει το ιδανικό του 'καλού θανάτου' για τον πολίτη που έπεσε στην πρώτη γραμμή, του θανάτου που εξυμνεί ο Τυρταίος. Βέβαια, η γυνακεία εκδοχή του 'καλού θανάτου' δεν περνά καθόλου έξω από τα σύνορα της Λακεδαίμονος. Έτσι, η υπερεκτίμηση θανάτου κατά τον τοκετό πρέπει να εξηγηθεί με όρους καθαρά Σπαρτιατικούς. Στην εισήγησή μας θα αναφερθούμε διεξοδικά στις τιμές που απέδιδαν οι Σπαρτιάτες στους νεκρούς της μάχης και παράλληλα θα εξετάσουμε ποιες ήταν οι γυναίκες που μπορούσαν να κερδίσουν το προνόμιο αυτών των τιμών. Άραγε ήταν ισοδύναμος ο θάνατος στη μάχη και ο θάνατος στον τοκετό;

28 Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki. Dishonouring the dead: the plundering of tholos tombs in the Early Palatial period and the case of the tholos tomb at Mygdalia hill (Petroto) in Achaea

The tholos tombs in Achaea, at the Mygdalia hill, Kallithea and Pharai were built in LH II and their main use came to an abrupt end in LH IIIA. This applies to most of the tholos tombs excavated at the non-palatial centres on the Greek mainland. The plundering of the interior of the tholos is usually violent, maybe deliberate, and their later use as ossuaries and for unfurnished burials does not constitute a proper reuse. The destruction of early Mycenaean settlements at the same period adds to the picture of the disturbances at the transition to the Mycenaean palatial period.

Ατιμάζοντας τους νεκρούς. Η λεηλασία των θολωτών τάφων στην Πρώιμη Ανακτορική περίοδο και η περίπτωση του θολωτού τάφου στο λόφο της Μυγδαλιάς (Πετρωτό) στην Αχαΐα

Οι θολωτοί τάφοι της Αχαΐας στο λόφο Μυγδαλιά, Καλλιθέα και Φαραί είναι κτισμένοι στην ΥΕ ΙΙ και η κύρια χρήση τους τερματίζεται αιφνίδια στην ΥΕ ΙΙΙΑ. Αυτό ισχύει για τους περισσότερους θολωτούς τάφους που ανασκάφηκαν σε μη ανακτορικά κέντρα στην Πελοπόννησο. Η λεηλασία του εσωτερικού του τάφου είναι συνήθως βίαια και η μετέπειτα χρήση τους ως οστεοθηκών και ως ακτέριστων τάφων δεν συνιστά πρόπουσα επαναχρησιμοποίησή τους. Η πρόωρη καταστροφή των μυκηναϊκών οικισμών κατά την ίδια περίοδο, η οποία βεβαιώνεται επίσης στο Αίγιο στην Αχαΐα, έρχεται να προσθέσει στην εικόνα των διαταραχών που σηματοδοτούν την έναρξη της περιόδου αυτής.

29 Annalisa Paradiso. Did Herodotus ever see the list of the Three Hundred?

“In that travail - says Herodotus - fell Leonidas, fighting most gallantly, and with him other famous Spartans, whose names I have learnt for their great worth and desert, as I have learnt besides the names of all the three hundred” [Hdt.7.224]. In this emphatic and very dense sentence, Herodotus expresses his judgement about Leonidas, when he tells us of his death, and about the warriors who died with him. Leonidas was *aristos*; to a lesser degree, the others were *onomastoi*. He claims to have gathered information about these *axioi* men, about all the Three Hundred. The emphasis here covers a logical contraction of his thought: he declares that he has gained information; however this information apparently concerns only their names and even all the names, not their deeds. Herodotus perhaps knows all these warriors’ names, but evidently he does not quote them all. On the other hand, he evidently knows something else, not simply their names but also the last exploits of some of them, the positive or negative last deeds or sayings of six of them: Dienekes, Alpheios, Maron, Euritos, Aristodemos and Pantites. Where did Herodotus derive his information from? An official list or oral sources? Did he see the official list inscribed on the stele and described by Pausanias 3.14? Can we deduce anything from the very form of Herodotus’ declaration?

Είδε άραγε ποτέ ο Ηρόδοτος τον κατάλογο των Τριακοσίων;

«και Λεωνίδης τε εν τούτω τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος καὶ ἕτεροι μετ’ αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων» (Ηροδ. 7.224). Σε αυτή την δυνατή και πολύ δραματική φράση, ο Ηρόδοτος εκφράζει την εκτίμηση του για τον Λεωνίδα, όταν μας εξιστορεί το θάνατό του, και για τους πολεμιστές που έχασαν τη ζωή τους μαζί του. Ο Λεωνίδας ήταν *άριστος*. Σε μικρότερο βαθμό, οι υπόλοιποι ήταν *ονομαστοί*. Ο ίδιος ισχυρίζεται ότι έχει συγκεντρώσει πληροφορίες σχετικά με αυτούς τους *άξιους* άνδρες, σχετικά με όλους τους Τριακοσίους. Η έμφαση εδώ καλύπτει ένα λογικό κενό στη σκέψη του: δηλώνει ότι έχει συγκεντρώσει πληροφορίες, ωστόσο αυτές φαίνεται να αφορούν μόνο τα ονόματά τους, ακόμη και όλα τα ονόματα, όχι όμως και τα ανδραγαθήματά τους. Ο Ηρόδοτος ίσως γνωρίζει τα ονόματα όλων των πολεμιστών, αλλά δεν τα παραθέτει όλα. Αντιθέτως γνωρίζει, προφανώς, όχι απλά τα ονόματά τους, αλλά και τα τελευταία κατορθώματα κάποιων, τις τελευταίες θετικές ή αρνητικές πράξεις ή ρήσεις των έξι εξ αυτών: των Διηνέκη, Αλφειού, Μάρωνος, Εύριτου, Αριστόδημου και Παντίτη. Από πού άντλησε ο Ηρόδοτος τις πληροφορίες αυτές; Από επίσημο κατάλογο ή από προφορικές πηγές; Μήπως είδε τον επίσημο κατάλογο που αναγραφόταν στη στήλη και περιγράφεται από τον Πausανία (3.14); Μπορούμε να φτάσουμε σε συμπεράσματα από την ίδια τη μορφή της δήλωσης του Ηροδότου;

30 George C. Paraskeviotis. Agamemnon’s death in Seneca

Agamemnon was a mythical figure of high importance in the ancient world, whose life and death inspired several works in Greek and Roman literature. The main aim of this paper is to

offer a detailed examination of the way in which Seneca uses and manipulates Agamemnon's death in his tragedy *Agamemnon*. A parallel reading with earlier Greek literary treatments of the same incident will enable us, through close examination of the similarities and differences, to find out its literary role and function in the Roman tragic play.

Ο θάνατος του Αγαμέμνονα στον Σενέκα

Ο Αγαμέμνονας, του οποίου η ζωή και ο θάνατος αποτέλεσε πηγή έμπνευσης για σημαντικούς εκπροσώπους της αρχαίας ελληνικής και ρωμαϊκής λογοτεχνίας, υπήρξε προεξάρχουσα μυθική μορφή της αρχαιότητας. Στην παρούσα ανακοίνωση επιχειρώ να εξετάσω τον τρόπο με τον οποίο ο Σενέκας χειρίζεται το θάνατο του Αγαμέμνονα στην τραγωδία *Agamemnon*. Σύγκριση και παράλληλη ανάγνωση με αντίστοιχες περιγραφές όπως αυτές αντλούνται από την προγενέστερη λογοτεχνική παράδοση (ελληνική και ρωμαϊκή) μας επιτρέπει να εντοπίσουμε ομοιότητες και διαφορές γύρω από την περιγραφή του θανάτου του ήρωα, και έτσι να κρίνουμε πιο ολοκληρωμένα τη δραματική τεχνική του Σενέκα, αλλά και τον ιδιαίτερο χειρισμό της έννοιας του θανάτου στις τραγωδίες του.

31 Nicolette Pavlides. Worshipping heroes: civic identity and the veneration of the communal dead in Archaic Sparta

This paper examines the role of hero cult in the creation of communal identity in Archaic Sparta. Through the analysis of the archaeological evidence it treats the gradual development of a Spartan community identity between the 7th and 5th centuries BC. This paper argues that heroic cult both influenced and was influenced by the communal consciousness arising at this time. In particular, it contends that the area of Limnai, rich in Geometric burials, became a focus of hero cult from the 7th century onwards. The cult site on Stauffert Street offers a paradigmatic example of this phenomenon.

Η λατρεία τοπικών ηρώων: η εκ νέου ανακάλυψη της ταφής και η ταυτότητα στη Σπάρτη

Η ανακοίνωση αυτή θα εξετάσει τους χώρους ταφής της Ύστερης Γεωμετρικής / πρώιμης Αρχαϊκής εποχής στη Σπάρτη, όπου εμφανίζεται η μεταθανάτιος λατρεία των νεκρών από την Αρχαϊκή στην Ελληνιστική Περίοδο. Θα επικεντρωθώ σε τρεις θέσεις: στο «Ηρώον» κοντά στον ποταμό Ευρώτα, και στα οικοδομικά τετράγωνα 98 και 101 της σύγχρονης πόλης της Σπάρτης. Η λατρεία των νεκρών ως ηρώων μέσα στον οικισμό της Σπάρτης αντιπροσωπεύει μία τοπικιστική μορφή σεβασμού με αφιερωματικές προσφορές όμοιες με αυτές προς τιμήν ηρώων όπως του Αγαμέμνονα και της Αλεξάνδρας-Κασσάνδρας στις Αμύνκες. Προτείνω, λοιπόν, ότι η εκ νέου ανακάλυψη των ταφών από την Αρχαϊκή περίοδο και εξής, συνέβαλε σε μια τοπική Σπαρτιατική ταυτότητα που εκφράστηκε μέσα από τη λατρεία «μικρότερων» ηρώων.

32 Leonidas Petrakis. A child's remembrance of living through the Nazi atrocity against the '118 Spartans' in autumn 1943

I remember the Germans bombing the retreating British in 1941 and then entering Sparta on the main Tripolis-to-Sparta road, just two blocks from my home. Shame felt by the occupation, starvation, and deprivations culminated in the taking (with help from local collaborators) of over a hundred hostages in the autumn of 1943, and transporting them on open trucks; how the horrible news spread of the execution of 118 of them at Monodentri; seeing the blood-splattered bodies passing underneath my window on Hosios Nikon Street on their way to the cemetery; their burial directly across from my grandmother's grave. I remember Sparta gripped by fear, when I spent a week during the summer of 1946 next to the Monodentri killing field where distant relatives kept their flocks; and fear of the junta in 1970 when I stopped at the neglected Monodentri monument to leave some flowers.

Οι αναμνήσεις ενός παιδιού που έζησε την ωμότητα των Ναζί κατά των '118 Σπαρτιατών' το φθινόπωρο του 1943

Θυμάμαι τους Γερμανούς να βομβαρδίζουν τους Βρετανούς ενώ οπισθοχωρούσαν το 1941 και μετά να εισέρχονται στη Σπάρτη από τον κεντρικό δρόμο Τρίπολης-Σπάρτης, μόλις δύο τετράγωνα από το σπίτι μου. Η ντροπή της Κατοχής, η πείνα και οι στερήσεις έφτασαν στο αποκορύφωμά τους με τη σύλληψη –με τη βοήθεια ντοπίων δωσίλογων– πάνω από εκατό αιχμαλώτων το 1943. Θυμάμαι να τους μεταφέρουν σε ανοικτά φορτηγά. Να διαδίδονται τα φρικτά νέα της εκτελέσεως 118 εξ αυτών στο Μονοδέντρι. Είδα να μεταφέρουν τα αιματοβαμμένα κορμιά κάτω από το παράθυρό μου στην οδό Οσίου Νίκωνος καθ' οδόν προς το νεκροταφείο. Θυμάμαι την ταφή τους ακριβώς απέναντι από το μνήμα της γιαγιάς μου. Θυμάμαι τη Σπάρτη τρομοκρατούμενη καθώς πέρασα μία εβδομάδα το καλοκαίρι του 1946 στο Μονοδέντρι δίπλα στο πεδίο εκτελέσεως, όπου μακρινοί συγγενείς είχαν τα κοπάδια τους. Και θυμάμαι το φόβο για τη χούντα το 1970 όταν σταμάτησα στο εγκαταλελειμένο πια μνημείο στο Μονοδέντρι για να αφήσω λουλούδια.

33 Angeliki Petropoulou. The Spartan royal funeral in comparative perspective

The paper examines the religious nature and political significance of the honours granted to Spartan kings on their death, which are then compared with similar Achaemenid practices. We argue that all customs concerning compulsory mourning are exceptions in the context of Classical Sparta, as are the *ekphora* and burial of a king's image, a rite necessitated by the fact that Leonidas' body had been left exposed on the battlefield, rather than being repatriated and buried in Sparta. We then show that, although parallels between Spartan and Achaemenid compulsory mourning exist, the differences between the two are more significant than the similarities.

Η σπαρτιάτικη βασιλική ταφή μέσω συγκριτικής προοπτικής

Προτείνω να συγκριθούν οι Σπαρτιατικές βασιλικές ταφές στα χωρία 6.58 του Ηροδότου, Λακ. 15.9 του Ξενοφώντα και Αγης. 40.3 του Πλουτάρχου με αντίστοιχες επιβεβαιωμένες πρακτικές που παρατηρούνται σε σχέση με ταφές Αχαιμενιδών και ομηρικών βασιλέων ή μελών της βασιλικής οικογένειας. Θα υποστηριχθεί ότι: 1) η ανακήρυξη και επιβολή θρήνου για όλους τους υπηκόους του βασιλιά και η μεταφορά του σώματός του στην πατρική γη για ταφή ήταν σπαρτιατικές, περσικές και ομηρικές πρακτικές, και 2) οι Πέρσες είναι ανάμεσα στους ανώνυμους βαρβάρους της Ασίας που αναφέρει ο Ηρόδοτος ότι μοιράζονταν - μαζί με τους Σπαρτιάτες - το έθιμο του υποχρεωτικού θρήνου.

34 Eleni Psychogiou. Mycenaean and modern rituals of death and resurrection: comparative data based on a krater from Hagia Triada, Elis

The funeral representation on a Mycenaean krater from Palioboukovina in Elis contains certain obscure, ambiguous elements, which make its interpretation difficult. This paper attempts a new approach to the scene depicted, based on comparisons with modern magico-religious practices regarding death and resurrection, which form crucial stages of the symbolic cycle of time and vegetation. In conclusion it is suggested that the depiction on the krater may not be a funeral scene but the pictorial representation of some seasonal ritual of mourning for the death and rebirth of the god of vegetation, bed-fellow of the Great Mother-Goddess.

Τιμώντας τους μεταφυσικούς 'νεκρούς': αρχαίες και σύγχρονες θρησκευτικές τελετουργίες αναγέννησης με αφετηρία μία παράσταση σε μυκηναϊκό κρατήρα

Στα τέλη της δεκαετίας του 1990 αποκαλύφθηκε μυκηναϊκό νεκροταφείο στην Αγία Τριάδα του νομού Ηλείας, στη θέση «Παλιομπουκουβίνα». Στο δρόμο ενός από τους θαλαμωτούς τάφους βρέθηκε κεραμικό όστρακο με παράσταση πρόθεσης νεκρού και

γυναικείου θρήνου, η αρχαιότερη στο είδος της μέχρι σήμερα. Κατά τους ανασκαφείς η παράσταση αφορά τη νεκρική τελετουργία για κάποιο μέλος της κοινότητας στην οποία ανήκε το νεκροταφείο. Παρατηρώντας τις λεπτομέρειες της παράστασης και συγκρίνοντάς την με σύγχρονα ελληνικά λατρευτικά δρώμενα για «θνήσκουσες» χθόνιες θεότητες ή βλαστικές δαιμονικές μορφές, θα υποστηρίξω ότι πιθανόν και η μυκηναϊκή νεκρική παράσταση να μην έχει κοσμικό αλλά θρησκευτικό χαρακτήρα.

35 James Roy. Anyte of Tegea and the other dead

The brief epigram in verse is found from the archaic period onwards, originally most often on inscriptions recording the dead on a tombstone or a dedication to a god. From the early Hellenistic period the use of the epigram was expanded to cover a much wider range of subjects. In this process of adaptation the sophisticated work of the Tegean poetess Anyte made a significant and original contribution, which included funerary epigrams for young unmarried women but extended also to epigrams for animals.

Η Ανύτη της Τεγέας και οι άλλοι νεκροί

Το σύντομο επίγραμμα σε στίχους που εμφανίζεται από την αρχαϊκή περίοδο και εξής, απαντά αρχικά συχνότερα σε επιγραφές επιτύμβιων στηλών ή προσφοράς σε θεότητα. Από την πρώιμη Ελληνιστική περίοδο η χρήση του επιγράμματος επεκτάθηκε ώστε να καλύψει μεγαλύτερο εύρος θεμάτων. Σε αυτή τη διαδικασία αναπροσαρμογής, το εκλεπτυσμένο έργο της Τεγεάτισσας ποιήτριας Ανύτης απετέλεσε μία σημαντική και αυθεντική συνεισφορά, η οποία περιελάμβανε ταφικά επιγράμματα για νεαρές ανύπαντρες γυναίκες, ενώ επεκτάθηκε και σε επιγράμματα για ζώα.

36 Yanis Saitas. Cemeteries and settlements of Mani in medieval and later periods: a second contribution

This paper presents some aspects of an ongoing research documenting the network of settlements and the corresponding cemeteries in the peninsula of Mani. Examples dating from the middle ages are presented, but mainly post-Byzantine and modern cases are discussed. Regional distribution, inner organization and the evolution of the cemeteries over time are examined. The typology of the memorial structures of successive periods is under documentation. The correspondence with the local community, patrilineal lineages and the social status of the family of the dead is analyzed. The first contribution was presented in the International Conference "Sparta and Laconia from prehistory to pre-modern", Sparta 17-20 March 2005.

Κοιμητήρια και οικισμοί στη Μάνη στους μέσους και νεότερους χρόνους. Συμβολή δεύτερη.

Η ανακοίνωση αυτή παρουσιάζει ορισμένα στοιχεία μίας έρευνας σε εξέλιξη, με αντικείμενο την τεκμηρίωση του δικτύου των οικισμών και των αντίστοιχων κοιμητηρίων στη χερσόνησο της Μάνης. Περιλαμβάνονται παραδείγματα από τους μέσους χρόνους, κυρίως όμως από τους μεταβυζαντινούς και νεότερους χρόνους. Εξετάζονται ζητήματα της χωροταξικής τους κατανομής, της εσωτερικής τους οργάνωσης, της διαχρονικής τους εξέλιξης. Παρουσιάζονται στοιχεία σχετικά με την τυπολογία των ταφικών κατασκευών των διαφόρων περιόδων. Συσχετίζονται με τις αντίστοιχες τοπικές κοινότητες, τις πατροτοπικές ομάδες και την κοινωνική κατάταξη της οικογένειας των νεκρών. Η πρώτη σχετική ανακοίνωση είχε πραγματοποιηθεί στο Διεθνές Συνέδριο «Η Σπάρτη και η Λακωνία από τα προϊστορικά μέχρι τα νεότερα χρόνια», Σπάρτη 17-20 Μαρτίου 2005.

37 Nicholas Sekunda. IG V.1 1124. The dead of Geronthrai fallen at Mantinea

IG V.1 1124 from Geronthrai informs us that one Eualkes fell in the war at Mantinea. Since its first publication this inscription has been associated with the first battle of Mantinea in 418.

This causes problems as the perioikic contingents had not yet been incorporated into the Lakedaimonian army as a whole, and were absent from the battle. In this paper I shall propose that the inscription should be down-dated to 385, when the Lakedaimonian army, now incorporating the perioikoi, forcibly intervened to prevent the synoikism of Mantinea. Epigraphic parallels for the letter-forms will be offered.

IG. V.1 1124. Ο νεκρός των Γερωνθρών στη Μαντίνεια

Η επιγραφή IG. V.1 1124 από τις Γερωνθρές μας πληροφορεί πως κάποιος Ευάλκης έπεσε κατά τον πόλεμο στη Μαντίνεια. Από την πρώτη δημοσίευση η επιγραφή συσχετίστηκε με την πρώτη μάχη της Μαντίνειας το 418. Ο συσχετισμός αυτός είναι προβληματικός καθώς τα στρατιωτικά τμήματα των περιοίκων δεν είχαν ακόμη εξ ολοκλήρου ενσωματωθεί στο στρατό των Λακεδαιμονίων, και απουσίαζαν από τη μάχη. Σε αυτή την ανακοίνωση εισηγούμαι πως η επιγραφή πρέπει να χρονολογηθεί στο 385 όταν ο στρατός των Λακεδαιμονίων, την εποχή που ενέταξε τους περιοίκους, παρενέβη δυναμικά με σκοπό να εμποδίσει τον συνοικισμό της Μαντίνειας. Θα παρατεθούν επιγραφικά παράλληλα για τη μορφή των γραμμάτων.

38 C. Nadia Seremetakis. Antiphony, ritual and the construction of truth

Based on my published ethnography on the Inner Mani, I will discuss the local way of "honouring the dead" and I will explore the implications of the model of antiphony in today's society as well as in cultural studies.

Αντιφώνηση, τελετουργία και η κατασκευή της αλήθειας

Βασίζομενη στην εθνογραφία μου για τη Μέσα Μάνη, θα συζητήσω τον τοπικό τρόπο απόδοσης «τιμών για τους νεκρούς» και θα ερευνήσω τις επιπτώσεις του μοντέλου της αντιφώνησης στη σημερινή κοινωνία καθώς και στις πολιτισμικές σπουδές.

39 Naya Sgouritsa. Remarks on the use of plaster in tholos tombs at Mycenae: hypotheses on the origin of the painted decoration of tombs in mainland Greece

The existing evidence indicates that plaster was originally used in the joints of the masonry of the dromos, façade and doorway of a few tholoi at Mycenae, especially in the constructions made of poros blocks, for the purpose of waterproofing. Besides the structural requirements, plaster was also used for decorative reasons. Tomb decoration, which is of several types, appears rarely. The plastered (simple or coloured) and frescoed LH tholoi and chamber tombs were located mainly in the Argolid and Boeotia. The decoration involved mostly the façade, sometimes the doorway and, in only a few cases, the chamber. This practise, though limited, could well have evolved as a special Helladic idea, arising from the need for ostentation and claim for status, as there are no Minoan prototypes. Undoubtedly, they belonged to the ruling class and the elite of the above regions.

Παρατηρήσεις για τη χρήση ασβεστοκονιάματος σε θολωτούς τάφους των Μυκηνών: υποθέσεις για την απαρχή της ταφικής διακόσμησης στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα

Από τις υπάρχουσες ενδείξεις προκύπτει ότι το ασβεστοκονίαμα χρησιμοποιείτο αρχικά σε τάφους για την αδιαβροχοποίηση κατασκευών κυρίως από πωρόλιθους, όπως διαπιστώνεται στους θολωτούς τάφους της μεσαίας ομάδας κατά Wace στις Μυκήνες. Εν τούτοις, φαίνεται ότι παράλληλα εξυπηρετούσε και την αισθητική εικόνα τους. Η ταφική διακόσμηση οπωσδήποτε περιορισμένη, εντοπίζεται κυρίως στην Αργολίδα, ενώ τέτοια παραδείγματα ανευρίσκονται επίσης στη Βοιωτία. Η ιδέα της διακόσμησης αυτής, που εμφανίζει τρεις τύπους, φαίνεται ότι είναι ελλαδικής προέλευσης, καθώς δεν υπάρχουν, προς το παρόν, μινωικά πρότυπα, και αναμφίβολα προερχόταν από την

ανάγκη επίδειξης κάποιων που θα ανήκαν στην άρχουσα τάξη των περιοχών όπου βρέθηκαν.

40 Georgios Steiris. Exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese: Plutarch's study of death and its revision by Georgius Trapezuntius Cretensis

This paper seeks first to explore the way Plutarch of Chaeronea (46-119 AD), the eminent historian and philosopher of Middle Platonism, discussed exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese in his *Moralia*. Plutarch's references are indicative of his theory on death, which is based on Greek philosophy. Secondly, this paper aims to present the attempt by Georgius Trapezuntius Cretensis, the Greek scholar of the 15th century, to reinterpret Plutarch's views about exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese.

Υποδειγματικός θάνατος στην Πελοπόννησο

Αυτή η παρουσίαση στοχεύει, κατ' αρχήν, στην διερεύνηση του τρόπου με τον οποίο ο Πλούταρχος, ο διακεκριμένος αυτός ιστορικός και φιλόσοφος της Μέσης Πλατωνικής, πραγματεύτηκε στα *Ηθικά* τους υποδειγματικούς θανάτους στην Πελοπόννησο. Οι αναφορές του Πλούταρχου είναι ενδεικτικές της θεωρίας του για το θάνατο, η οποία βασίζεται στην πλατωνική και στωική φιλοσοφία. Δεύτερον, αυτή η ανακοίνωση έχει ως στόχο να παρουσιάσει την προσπάθεια του Γεώργιου Τραπεζούντιου, ενός Έλληνα λογίου του 15ου αιώνα που έζησε τα περισσότερα χρόνια της ζωής του στην Ιταλία, να επανερμηνεύσει τις απόψεις του Πλουτάρχου σχετικά με τους υποδειγματικούς θανάτους στην Πελοπόννησο.

41 Anthi Theodorou-Mavrommatidi. A composite pendant in an EH I burial at the Apollon Maleatas site in Epidauros: an attempt at a biography

Accompanying the EH I burial of a young woman from the precinct of the sanctuary of Apollon Maleatas at Epidauros a necklace with a pendant was found. It is composed of an ovoid plaque of schist, fish teeth attached to its surface and two shell-fragments which framed the plaque on either side. This find raises a series of new research questions, from the most straightforward and practical, such as the use and source of the fish bones, and the technique of its construction, to the more complex, such as its significance as jewellery for the dead and its aesthetic value in the context of Early Helladic culture.

Σύνθετο περιάπτο από Πρωτοελλαδική Ι ταφή στο χώρο του Ιερού του Απόλλωνα Μαλεάτα στην Επίδαυρο: μία απόπειρα βιογραφίας

Σε ΠΕ Ι ταφή νεαρής γυναίκας από το χώρο του Ιερού του Απόλλωνα Μαλεάτα στην Επίδαυρο ήρθε στο φως περιάπτο κόσμημα. Πρόκειται για σύνθεση αποτελούμενη από ωσειδές πλακίδιο από σχιστόλιθο, δόντια ιχθύων προσαρμοσμένα στην επιφάνειά του και δυο θραύσματα οστρέων που πλαισίωναν συμμετρικά το πλακίδιο. Το εύρημα εγείρει πληθώρα νέων ζητημάτων προς έρευνα, από τα πιο απλά και πρακτικά, όπως τη χρήση και την προέλευση των οδόντων ιχθύων, και την τεχνική κατασκευής του, ως τα πιο περίπλοκα όπως τη σημασία του ως ταφικό κόσμημα και την αισθητική του αξία στο πλαίσιο του Πρωτοελλαδικού πολιτισμού.

42 Erika Weiberg. The invisible dead. The case of the Argolid and Corinthia during the Early Bronze Age

The possibility of archaeologists finding the dead of any society is ultimately dependent on the way in which groups of people in different cultures and times chose to handle the dead of their communities. For the Argolid and Corinthia during the Early Bronze Age, the mortuary record is very limited. How are we to interpret our failure to locate these Early Helladic dead? This paper sets out to analyse this problem through a consideration of the existing material and comparative Early Helladic data in the search of the missing majority and the meaning of the present few.

Οι αόρατοι νεκροί. Η περίπτωση της Αργολίδας και της Κορινθίας κατά την Πρώιμη Εποχή του Χαλκού

Οι πιθανότητες των αρχαιολόγων να ανακαλύψουν τους νεκρούς οποιασδήποτε κοινωνίας εξαρτώνται εν τέλει από τον τρόπο με τον οποίο επέλεξαν να χειριστούν τους νεκρούς τους οι διάφορες ομάδες ανθρώπων διαφορετικών πολιτισμών και εποχών. Τα στοιχεία που αφορούν στα νεκροταφεία της Αργολίδας και της Κορινθίας της Πρώιμης Εποχής του Χαλκού είναι ισχνά. Πώς μπορούμε να ερμηνεύσουμε την αποτυχία μας να εντοπίσουμε τους νεκρούς της Πρώιμης Ελλαδικής Εποχής; Προτείνω να αναλύσουμε το πρόβλημα, το διαθέσιμο υλικό και τα συγκριτικά ΠΕ στοιχεία στην αναζήτηση της χαμένης πλειοψηφίας των νεκρών και της σημασίας των λιγοστών νεκρών που έχουν βρεθεί.

43 Theodora Zampaki. The burial customs for Alexander the Great in Arabic historiography and the Alexander Romance

This paper aims at presenting a description and discussion of the burial customs as well as the ceremony of the funeral of Alexander the Great as presented in the 'Universal histories' of Arab historians and the surviving various versions of the Alexander Romance. The Arabic narratives as well as those of the Alexander Romance demonstrate that the preparation, laying out, mourning and lamenting, as well as the procession to the grave, are the main parts of the funeral rites of Alexander's burial. On the whole, the narratives of the Arab historians reflect the infiltration of Greek ideas, beliefs and symbols into the world of the East. But it is characteristic that the Arab historians emphasize the ethical and moral elements of the various stories of Alexander's death and burial.

Οι τελετές ταφής του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου στην αραβική ιστοριογραφία και το Αλεξανδρινό Μυθιστόρημα

Στόχος της ανακοίνωσης είναι η περιγραφή και συζήτηση των ταφικών εθίμων καθώς και η τελετή της ταφής του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου όπως παρουσιάζεται στις «Παγκόσμιες Ιστορίες» των Αράβων ιστορικών της πρώιμης και μέσης περιόδου της αραβικής ιστοριογραφίας. Η αφήγηση των Αράβων ιστορικών συγκρίνεται με αυτή του ελληνικού Αλεξανδρινού Μυθιστορήματος και των μεταφράσεών του στα συριακά, αιθιοπικά και αρμένικα. Η τελετή για τον Αλέξανδρο συγκρίνεται επίσης με αυτή για τον Δαρείο Γ' - μια τελετή που αναφέρεται πως οργάνωσε ο ίδιος ο Αλέξανδρος. Τα συμπεράσματα που εξάγονται από αυτή την ανάλυση τονίζουν τα εθνογραφικά και τα πολιτικά στοιχεία πίσω από τις περιγραφές των συγγραφέων των πηγών μας.

Preface

The Conference 'Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese' took place in Sparta 23-25 April 2009. It reflected a wide range of recent academic research in the Arts and Humanities on public and private commemoration. It is with great pleasure that we acknowledge the bodies which contributed so generously to make the conference possible: first and foremost the mayor and council of the city of Sparta, who showed unstinting support and generous backing; the J. F. Costopoulos Foundation and the British Academy also provided generous support and other participating organisations were the Pnevmatiki Estia of the Dimos Sparti and the University of the Peloponnese. We wish to thank the Public Library of Sparta and Mrs Eleni Tzinieri-Tzannetakou and the University of the Peloponnese for generously placing their lecture halls at our disposal. We were particularly pleased that a number of exhibitions and other cultural events were timed to coincide with the conference: 'Studies on Laconia'. Book exhibition organised by the Central Public Library of Sparta; 'The Naval Battle of Navarino: Multiple Readings. The Antonis Tantoulos Collection' presented by the National Gallery of Greece - Annexe at Sparta and the General National Archives for the Prefecture of Lakonia; 'In Memory of Pericles Panteleakis' art exhibition organised by the Pnevmatiki Estia of Sparta; 'Heroes of my Town' competition open to the primary school pupils of Sparta. Particular thanks are due to the individuals who helped organise the Conference, Dr Chrysanthi Gallou and Dr Metaxia Papapostolou.

Following some popular media productions, the theme 'Honouring the Dead' has significant current reverberations in popular culture, especially in Greece. Purposely held in Sparta, the focal point of recent public attention, this conference sought to exploit such exceptional current interest as a starting-point for a more broad-ranging exploration of the theme across the Peloponnese from prehistory to the 21st century. The human responses to death and burial are highly-charged with emotion and yet also formalised and bound by convention. From the Iliad onwards these tensions have struck a note in Greek life, art and literature: the lament, the memorial and the iconography of death, the address over those killed in war, hero cult and the cult of relics, war monuments and literature.

Consequently, the aim of the conference was to bring together experts from a variety of disciplines (Classicists, Byzantinists, ancient and modern historians, ethnographers, archaeologists, art historians and social historians) to discuss a number of aspects where the combination of their different contributions might open up new vistas.

The conference was focused on Sparta and the Peloponnese to reflect the interests of the Centre for Spartan and Peloponnesian Studies, but also because that area offers a wealth of relevant material, varying greatly in nature and extending over the chronological span of the conference, from prehistory to the present, and thus allowed a range of different forms of analysis. Our vision in organising the conference was of a perspective that brought together in a single collage the insights of different disciplines across different times, in the hope that each image would reflect on and give new meaning to the others. The opportunity of publishing these papers allows us not only to present this picture to a wide readership, but also to achieve conjunctions and reflections which were not possible under the constraints of conference organisation.

In this preface we hope to draw out the connections implicit in the different papers. A simple review of the volume will immediately bring to mind the thematic interrelationships which formed part of the structure of the original conference.

Heroization, Politics and Heroic Death ranges from the Bronze Age to the Late Byzantine period. The term 'hero' can convey slightly different things, but touches on the semi-divine, ancestors of a legendary past, doers of great deeds as well as having the modern connotations of courage and daring. The prominence of heroes and their symbolic power can be traced through the creation and manipulation of cultural icon, national ideal and political emblem. Banou and Hitchcock explore this phenomenon through the 'Lord of Vapheio' on the basis of the spectacular funerary gifts which mark the identity of the dynasty buried in the tomb as closely linked with Minoan Crete. Konstantintidi-Syvridi and Paschalidis take a long perspective in viewing the cult of the dead and hero worship at Mycenae, underlining the landscape setting and how eloquently it spoke to visitors in the Classical and Hellenistic periods of an heroic past. Pavlides explores the worship of the dead as heroes within the settlement of Sparta, representing a local phenomenon closely bound up with the creation of communal identity in the Archaic polis. Burton also reflects on the relationship between divinity, the gods of the underworld and hero cult. The rediscovery of burials from the Archaic period onwards contributed to a local, Spartan identity expressed through the worship of "lesser" heroes. The contrasting histories of tomb and hero cult in Sparta versus Messenia (initially subject to but then liberated from Spartan domination) nicely juxtapose cases of the invention of both 'official' and purely local, small scale worship. Marantou takes up the theme of hero cult with an Arcadian emphasis and through Pausanias's image of the past.

Other papers focus more closely on the Classical period, the celebration of the heroic dead. How typical were the Spartans in their reactions to mortality? Were their attitudes to death and their burial customs really as 'other', if not unique, as Xenophon, Plutarch - and 'The 300' - make them out to be? Paradiso, Gengler and Petropoulou analyse closely the sources and the presentation of exemplary death in Sparta. Again identity and self-image are pictured in investigations of the insiders' and outsiders' views. Spartan royal funerals were exceptionally extravagant, their conduct uniquely embedded in Spartan tradition. The war dead were also commemorated exceptionally in Sparta. The 300 heroes of Thermopylae have been invented and reinvented time and again. Paradiso looks to Herodotus, who was fascinated by their celebrity and conducted his own *ιστορίη* into their names and actions. Gengler places the festival of the Leonidea in the broader context of the transformation of Spartan traditions during the Imperial period and in relation to the image of Spartan history in the literature of that time. The war dead of Perioikic Geronthrai form the theme of Sekunda's paper, while honourable death as perhaps seen through the distorting glass of Roman revisionism is the theme of Papapostolou's article. Seneca's version of Agamemnon's death, as reported by Paraskeviotis, also reveals subtle changes of emphasis from Classical Greek to Roman Imperial perceptions. Later still, as Steiris explains, Plutarch's treatment of exemplary deaths in the *Moralia*, was interpreted and reinterpreted in the light of Middle Platonism, and later Greek thought as exemplified in the writings of Georgios Trapezuntius and Gemistos Plethon. Zampaki illustrates how traditions in the Arab historians about the funeral of Alexander the Great relay on the one hand the narrative of events, but on the other put an emphasis on the ethical and moral lessons.

If in a negative way, the deliberate slighting of the dead is an acknowledgement of their power - the archaeological evidence for this treatment in late Mycenaean Achaia is assembled by Papazoglou-Manioudaki. The emotive impact of one such atrocity in a much more modern context is narrated by Petrakis.

Lament and Threnody. The *moirologia*, the extemporised Maniot laments of S Greece, are a classic archetype of the dirge. Seremetakis sets the scene for this section, with *Antiphony*,

Ritual and the Construction of Truth examining the presentation of the individual and the setting of the lament within the overall structure of the ritual. Katsoulakos, father and son, then make their portrayal all the more vivid thanks to their unrivalled archive of examples of *moirologia*, picking out, in particular, the historical and political context, on the one hand, and the kin relationship between deceased and singer on the other. Psychogiou takes the remarkable find of vase scenes depicting lamentation of the dead which have recently been recovered from Mycenaean tombs in Elis, to bridge the gap between remote past and present by confronting the similarities in the representation of ritual in past and present. The laying out of the corpse (prothesis) is treated by Fragkopoulou in the unexpected context of votives at Lakedaimonian sanctuaries. These popular themes are confronted with poetry of a more consciously literary conceit: Roy sketches poems by the Hellenistic poetess Anyte of Tegea including not only funerary epigrams for young maidens but extending also to the commemoration of animals. Kakourou-Chroni turns to the modern poet Nikiforos Vrettakos, tracing the development of his reflections on death from an early phase where he is 'immersed in death' to his late poetry transformed by his experiences of World War II where 'death murders God' but also 'shines on the suffering world'.

The papers contemplating *Memorials, Monumentality and Memory* range from the prehistoric through historic periods to modern monuments. Marabea revisits the great tholos tomb at Kambos, close to the Laconian-Messenian border, a newly monumentalised tomb type of the early Mycenaean period. Papadimitriou considers a similar early part of the Mycenaean period, but with an emphasis on the symbolism of entrances in the passage from life to death. Sgouritsa also follows up the symbolism of the entrance and threshold rituals expressed materially in the architecture of the great Mycenaean tombs. Kokorou-Alevra turns to the Archaic period and funerary statuary in the Peloponnese, pointing to a major fault-line in the memorialisation of the dead between the city states of the NE Peloponnese and the rest of the region. She interprets the contrast as one grounded in the ideology of the Spartan state. Karapanagiotou and Koursoumis investigate anew the curious 'menhir' from Levidi in Arkadia, perhaps erected to mark the empty tomb of a king struck dead for his hubris.

The final theme of the conference looked to *Burial, Identity and Representation*, that is to say the commemoration (not to say reinvention) of those who have died, through material culture and iconography. The remote prehistory of this deeply human impulse is explored by Georgiadis in his review of fragmentary patterns recorded in the Mesolithic and Neolithic Peloponnese. Kossyva's account of the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Delpriza, in the Argolid, adds precious new evidence to the recent flurry of new discoveries from the period; still, however, EBA burials are not well attested in the NE Peloponnese, a paradox explored by Weinberg. Fox uses the vessels from the heroic Grave Circles at Mycenae to conjure an image of feasting and drinking, which is then analysed to understand the status of feasting and socio-political fluidity in the period; looking to the same time and context Mathioudaki takes a different theoretical perspective of aesthetics and object biographies to consider the Early Mycenaean pictorial vases. Drakaki extends the analysis by exploring the seals accompanying high-status female burials of the Mycenaean epoch and Kalogeropoulos examines the symbolic power of the iconography of Palatial Style amphoras of the early Mycenaean period. Tomb form and social message is the focus of the publication by Lambropoulos, Moutzouridis and Nikolentzos of two recently-excavated cemeteries in Elis. Moschos illustrates the other end of the Mycenaean epoch by examining social status and burial practices during its final period after the collapse of the palaces; in a radically transformed social and political world, the imagery and material expression used in the past is still exploited, but exploited to tell a very different story. The interplay of communal, ethnic and even linguistic identity with ritual practice lies at the heart of Luce's analysis of Early Iron Age grave types.

Dimakis takes the analysis later still in his review of individual and collective identity in Argos of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Grigorakakis presents new cemetery evidence from the highly contested territory of the Thyreatis. Fritzilas looks to grave stelai of Hellenistic and Roman date from Arkadia, and how they attempt to commemorate and preserve the memory of the dead. Reinvented tradition and the concrete memorialisation of the family make for a fascinating counterpoint in the papers of Gavala and Saitas on recent historical monuments. Another aspect of the presentation of the dead is the use of jewellery to sculpt the body, this is explored by Theodorou-Mavromatidi for the Early Bronze Age and Louka for the Archaic period.

The argument which develops through this rich variety of illustration in no way underplays the strong emotion evoked by death – indeed this precisely gives the ritual and the symbolism their power, even though they are formalized and pressed into moulds of social and political conformity. In the papers that follow, we note the play and counterplay of political manipulation, the idealization of the dead and its use to model civic and moral virtue, the importance of ancestors and ancestry as symbols of identity and belonging, as well as display and conspicuous consumption and its dialectic between the community and the (family) group.

The range of different approaches and of different types of material does not allow any single theoretical viewpoint to dominate the contributions. Instead we have a mosaic of studies exploring in different ways how death was memorialised, and how the process reflected social aspirations of those who created the memorials, or sought to exploit the management of death for social or political purposes. Though all are drawn from the relatively limited area of the Peloponnese, the wealth of material offered by the Peloponnese means that the volume illustrates the issues currently being addressed in the study of death and the dead in the Greek world.

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CHAPTER 1

THE 'LORD OF VAPHEIO': THE SOCIAL IDENTITY OF THE DEAD AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR LACONIA IN THE LATE HELLADIC II–IIIA PERIOD

EMILIA BANOÜ AND LOUISE HITCHCOCK

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the social identity of the deceased buried in the cist-grave of the tholos tomb of Vapheio, on the basis of the funerary gifts which accompanied him and the symbolism of the tomb's architecture. It also discusses the socio-political developments on the mainland in the LHII period, which led to the rise of the palatial system of the LHIII period, as indicated from the important burials in this tomb. It combines, finally, the evidence from Vapheio with the picture we possess of the Eurotas valley in the LHII–III period, to conclude that Laconia must have been at the front of, if not playing a leading role in, the developments of the time around and shortly after the Mycenaean occupation of Knossos.

THE LORD OF VAPHEIO: A CHIEF OR A KING?

In 1888 Christos Tsountas excavated an important tholos tomb at Vapheio, one of the very few known tholos tombs and the only one thoroughly excavated so far in Laconia (Tsountas 1889) (**FIG. 1**). Although robbed, what little had been left on the bottom of the tholos points to the quality and the richness of its original furnishings, comparable with that of the richest early tholos tombs of Messenia and the Argolid. Fourteen seal stones, two silver pins, four gold plates – two in the form of a fish – two gold buttons, one bronze pin, two gold rings, twenty two gold beads, a wide array of beads and adornments in semi-precious stones and gold, fragments of ivory, pieces of three or four stone vases, and a few pieces of plain clay vases escaped the robbers' attention (**FIG. 2**).



FIG. 1: The tholos tomb of Vapheio from NW (Photo: L. Hitchcock)

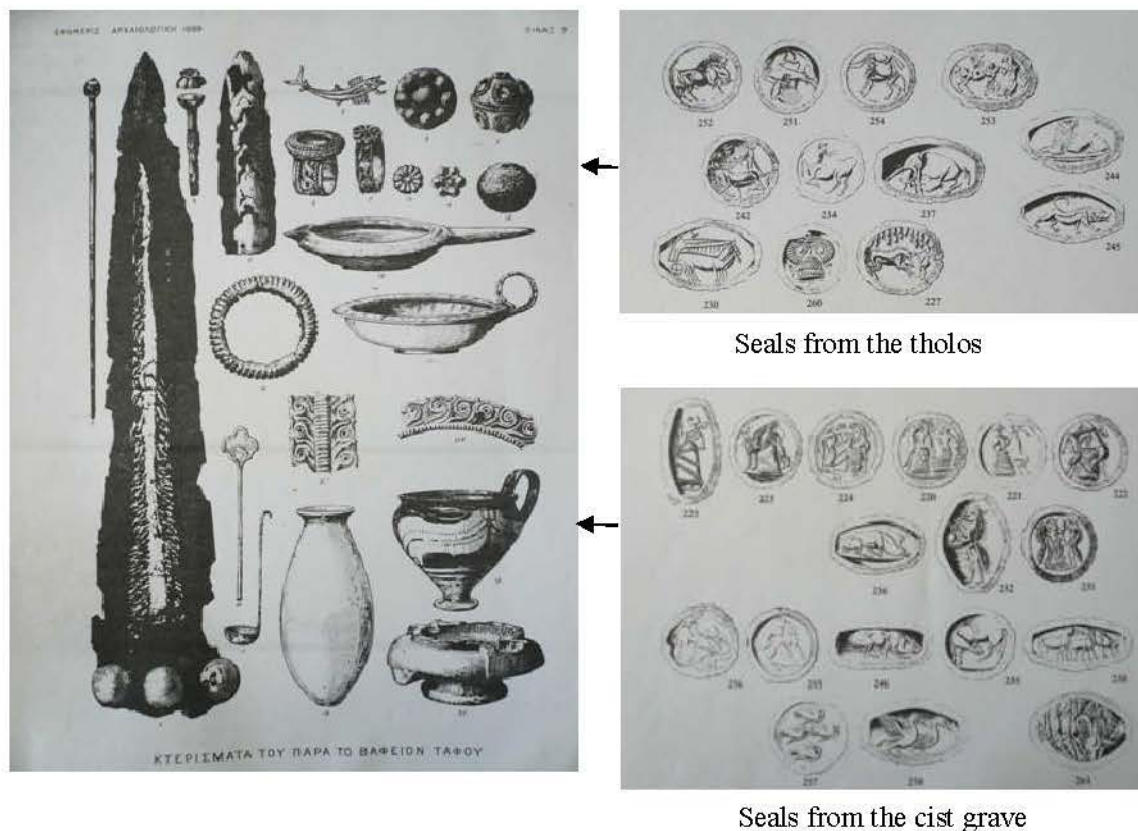


FIG. 2: Finds from the tholos tomb of Vapheio (after Tsountas 1989, pls. 7, 10) (*upper right*) seals from the tholos; (*bottom right*) seals from the cist grave.

What remains incomparable, however, is the contents of the cist grave dug into the floor of the tholos. Beyond the famous gold cups with scenes of bull

The 'Lord of Vapheio'

capture executed in the highest artistic style of the time, that of LMI "Prince style", the deceased was accompanied by several weapons: one sword, two daggers with inlaid decoration, seven knives (which served either as weapons or as sacrificial equipment), three silver vases, two stone vessels, jewellery (three rings made of gold, bronze and iron respectively, tens of beads made of amethyst and amber), tens of seal stones, a set of scale pans and a set of lead weights and, finally, a unique set of metal objects associated with cultic sacrifice (FIG. 3).¹



FIG. 3: Finds from the cist grave of the Vapheio tholos tomb as displayed at the National Museum of Athens (Photo: E. Banou)

More than one hundred years after their discovery, these finds constitute, we believe, a most suitable case and offer a most vivid and at the same time nuanced picture of the process which must have taken place in Mycenaean Greece during the LHII period, leading from chiefdoms to kingship, or, in other words, from local centres of power to the concentrated administration system represented by the palaces, with the *wanax* at its head.

¹ Kilian-Dirlmeier (1987, 199, fig. 2) provides a very useful plan with the exact position of each category of finds or each unique find, according to the report of the excavator. On this plan the careful, almost ritualistic, arrangement of the finds is more than obvious.

A limpid and coherent model of this process, based on a wide theoretical background, was put forward by Wright in 1995 (65–8). According to this model, the *chief* is defined as "the centre of the coordination of economic, social and religious activities" (1995, 66) of the territory he controls. A successful chief must be capable not only of ensuring the sustenance of the population he controls but also of maintaining the social balance among different elite groups and possible challengers to his power living inside or in the periphery of his territory, by distributing or redistributing the goods he owns. Some of these goods the chief may have acquired through contact with technologically more advanced societies – in the case of Mycenaean chiefs with the more advanced and sophisticated Minoan society – and also displayed as prestige objects, thus stressing his personal achievement. Moreover, he may use some of these in ritual activities to demonstrate his access to higher or supernatural sources of power, aiming at the establishment, reinforcement or legitimation of his own power. In this respect, the knowledge of belief systems and rituals of the foreign societies, from which the ritual objects he possesses come, is important, because it adds to his status and thus to the consolidation of his power. In a complex chiefdom indeed, the position of the chief is expressed architectonically in the formalization, even the monumentalization, of his place of residence or death, with emphasis put on the ritual sphere again.

The *king*, on the other hand, shares the aforementioned properties with the chief but his power is less personalized, as he heads a state, that is to say a formalized institution, with more or less strictly organised structures of government operated by specialized personnel in a hierarchical order. The difference between these two stages of political organization is explicitly expressed as follows, to use Wright's words: A successful chief "may set the chiefdom on the road to the formation of a state" (Wright 1995, 67).



FIG. 4: (*left*) Seals from (a) Vatheia and (b) Knossos (after Kilian-Dirlmeier 1987, fig. 7); (*right*) Seal from Vapheio (after Sakellariou 1964, fig. 258, n.225)

The 'Lord of Vapheio'

Let us now return to the cist grave of the tholos tomb of Vapheio to see how it fits in with the above briefly presented model.

1. One seal stone, evidently attached to the deceased's wrist, shows a man in a long garment with diagonal bars carrying an axe of 'Syrian type'. An axe of just this type was actually found in the cist, laid supposedly beneath the feet of the deceased (FIG. 3, upper left), thus permitting us to equate beyond doubt the owner of the seal with the men depicted on two seal stones from Crete, wearing long garments with diagonal bars and carrying axes of 'Syrian type', which in all three cases are represented resting on the men's shoulders (FIG. 4).

Of the two seal stones from Crete, one comes from Vatheia, about 15 km to the east of Herakleion, and the other from the palace of Knossos itself (Evans 1935, 414; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1987, 204, fig. 7); both seem to be of Neopalatial date.² The men depicted have been characterized by Evans as 'prince-priests' (Evans 1935, 412–14). A religious identification is assigned to these figures by Marinatos (1986, 22) and Kilian-Dirlmeier (1987, 204), based primarily on the type of the garment. More recently, however, several scholars see them as representations of rulers, interpreting accordingly the axe they carry as a symbol of political status (Davis 1995, Koehl 1995, Rehak 1994).³ In the case of Vapheio, the interpretation of the axe as an emblem of rulership is supported by another seal stone found in the cist, depicting a man dressed in the same robe and leading a griffin, a well-known symbol of rulership in the Near East during the 2nd millennium BC (Sakellariou 1964, 257, n. 223). Rehak, who studied this seal stone carefully, demonstrated that the man depicted was wearing a seal stone around his wrist, as was actually the case with the dead man in the cist at Vapheio – with 22 seal stones indeed attached to his wrists (1994). He also cited a good parallel from tholos tomb 2 at Routsis, namely a partially preserved seal stone showing a man in the same long garment as the man on the seal from Vapheio (Pini 1992, 374, n. 345). This seal stone was one of twelve, accompanying the most important of those buried in the tomb (and probably also attached to his wrists), who was found extended on the floor of the tholos, surrounded, among others, with ten daggers and swords (Marinatos 1956, 204). The burial is dated to the LHII–IIIA period.

According to the above model of the process leading from chiefdoms to states, however, the two aforementioned interpretations are not to be

² There are more representations on seal stones from Crete and the mainland depicting men or women in the same long garment, holding different instruments, i.e. maces, a bow, or leading griffins. One seal stone depicting a woman holding a mace was found at the bottom of the tholos of Vapheio. For a complete list of such examples see Younger 1995, 162–3. Younger also dates the seal stone from Knossos in the LMI period on stylistic grounds (1995, 162). For the seal stone from Vatheia no date is given in the literature.

³ Manti-Platonos speaks of the axes (and the maces) as religious symbols, although she recognizes that similar implements were used as sceptres in Egypt and the Near East (1981, 82).

considered incompatible with each other. The seal representations rather imply that a sacrifice implement such as the fenestrated axe might well have functioned as a religious and as a political symbol at the same time, thus indicating the fusion of both religious and political power in one and the same person in the LHII period.

2. The cist grave of the tholos tomb of Vapheio also demonstrates the prominent economic role of the person buried in it, best exemplified in the sets of scale pans and lead weights which accompanied him, as well as in some other bronze items which can be associated with weighing, such as the discs, the fragments of chain, the hook and the four bronze nails with fragments of chain hanging from their heads (**FIG. 3**, upper centre). The accumulation of such items indicates the deceased's capacity not only for acquiring and circulating both staples and luxury goods but also his authority for distributing them among members of the society he belonged to.⁴

3. The cist of the tholos tomb of Vapheio clearly shows the occupant's ability to accumulate luxury or exotic items for their own sake too, best exemplified in his extensive collection of seals made of a great variety of semi-precious stones and carved with a variety of representations – most of them of a religious character – showing a high skill of execution. It was the variety and the high quality of the seal stones indeed, that led Vermeule to state that "the Vapheio prince was a collector and a connoisseur, like many nobles who were astonished and delighted at what the Cretans could do with their hands. No mere passion for the privacy which gems offer could have required him to own forty-one different types" (1972, 130).⁵

4. The Vapheio tholos is dated to the LH II–IIIA1 period based on vase fragments left in the dromos, probably by grave robbers, and goblets of the same date found in the cist (Dickinson 1977, 90; also Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 58). With only the 10.35 m diameter circular outline of the chamber and the 29.80 m long dromos preserved (Cartledge 2002, 36), Vapheio is neither the most elegant nor exciting of tholos tombs, yet it is among the earliest and the richest monumental Mycenaean tholoi (**FIG. 1**). Its mere existence suggests

⁴ Scale pans and weights are usually found in rich early burials of LBA Aegean, though very rarely together. According to Alberti (2003), this fact speaks against their practical use and, alternatively, for their function as indicators of the administrative control and status of the deceased. In the case of Vapheio, however, these interpretations are not mutually exclusive; indeed, if combined, they rather emphasize the economic factor of the deceased's status and his family, who did not hesitate to accumulate objects of real value for mortuary purposes. Hitchcock and Chapin (2007) suggested that the scale might be connected to the acquisition and distribution of alluvial metals and the role of Palaiopyrgi in a trade network in the Eurotas Valley (see also Stos-Gale and Gale 1984: 61; Morris 1982).

⁵ An important indicator of status in LHI–II is the mortuary accumulation of metal vessels. A comparison among burials of this era brings the tholos tomb of Vapheio just to the second place after the shaft graves of Mycenae considered as a whole (Wright 1995, 69, footnote 35 and pl. XXVIII).

The 'Lord of Vapheio'

that the mechanisms for Mycenaean palatial authority were already in place, as indicated by the ability and authority of the occupant or his relations to harness the resources and manpower needed for its construction (Hitchcock in press; Hitchcock and Chapin in press). It fits into part of a larger, eastern Mediterranean pattern, whereby monumental and/or wealthy monumental tombs precede or are associated with the appearance of monumental or palatial buildings as seen on Minoan Crete, Late Bronze Age Cyprus, and in the palace of the Omride dynasty at Samaria (Hitchcock in press) (FIG. 5).



FIG. 5: Monumental buildings associated with wealthy tombs: (*above, left*) Omride palace and tomb, Samaria; (*above, right*) Kalavassos, Cyprus; (*below, left*) Kamilari Tholos, Crete; (*below, right*) Grave Circle A, Mycenae. (Photos: L. Hitchcock).

Although its architecture is excluded from Wright's (1978) important study of Mycenaean ashlar masonry and it can be observed that the chamber and dromos were built of small stones (FIG. 1), blocks in the tomb chamber were still hammer-dressed, while the doorway was built of large dressed stones with joints rendered in plaster (Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 76). A

close examination of its interior construction clearly indicates worked masonry (**FIG. 6**). Ashlar first appeared in the Mycenaean world in the façades of tholos tombs, probably in late MH in Messenia (Wright 2006, 17, fig. 1.4) and no later than LH IIA in Mycenae (Wright 1978, 135), placing the Vapheio tholos among the earliest examples of ashlar technique on the mainland. In addition, cover slabs from the dromos utilized conglomerate (**FIG. 1**). Wright (1978, 229–35) observed that the use of conglomerate began in tholos tombs in LH IIA, as at the Tomb of Aegisthus. He regards its use outside of Mycenae as exceptional, and suggests that it was employed for “special monumental constructions.” It is possible that some of this stone came from the Vapheio/Paliopyrgi quarry, accidentally discovered by Bob Bauslaugh and to be published by the authors with Anne Chapin (**FIG. 7**). Structurally, Waterhouse and Simpson (1960, 78, footnote 58) link the Vapheio tomb to the Panagia Tomb at Mycenae. The Panagia tomb is the earliest of Wace’s Group Two, which is distinguished from the earlier Group One by the use of ashlar and the introduction of the relieving triangle. Similar to the Vapheio tomb, the Panagia tomb chamber was built of rubble masonry, while the doorway was built of hammer dressed blocks (Wace 1921–3, 316–20).



FIG. 6: Vapheio masonry is clearly worked (Photo: L. Hitchcock).

Wright (1987, 173) suggests that one method of assessing the importance of burial facilities is to measure and analyze the effort expended on the preparation of a burial. He notes that the reconstruction of the time and energy devoted to tomb construction are easier to reconstruct than ritual and deposition, which are less easily recoverable expenditures. In terms of size,

The 'Lord of Vapheio'

Cavanagh and Mee (1998, 45) place Vapheio in the upper quartile range. Moreover, it has one of the longer dromoi, in excess of 15m (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 46). In addition to the effort expended on the construction of such an edifice, the acquisition and workmanship of the grave goods also indicate a substantial expenditure of effort, as already stated.



FIG. 7: Vapheio-Palaiopyrgi quarry (photo by L. Hitchcock).

In addition to its construction details, the Vapheio tholos would have been all the more conspicuous for its location on the top of a hill rather than cut out of the base of the slope. The east-facing dromos was clearly oriented on Mt. Taygetos (FIG. 8) and it is possible to suggest that this is an example of competitive emulation of the Minoan practice of orienting the central courts of the palaces on large, important mountains (Hitchcock 2007).⁶

From the combination of the above evidence, it can reasonably be concluded that: The occupant of the cist of Vapheio was a person of high religious, economic and social authority. He was acquainted with the ritual practices and presumably the beliefs of Minoan religion and he was not at all backward in displaying his contact with Minoan society through the accumulation of ritual and luxury items of Minoan provenance or inspiration.

⁶ Continued weathering suggests that time is running out for a systematic and detailed documentation of this important monument, which is lacking a state plan and which is historically significant in the development of tholos tomb technology.

Emilia Banou and Louise Hitchcock

His differentiation was also architectonically emphasized through the monumentalization and orientation of his mortuary place. Thus, according to the model of the transition from chiefdom to state presented above, the important occupant of the cist must have been a chief ruling over a complex chiefdom. What about the probability, however, that he was a king?



FIG. 8: Vapheio is oriented on Mt Tayegetos: It probably imitates Minoan practice of orientation on a mountain (Photo: L. Hitchcock).

Addressing this question requires us to put the case of Vapheio in its wider context of time and space:

The 'Lord of Vapheio'



FIG. 9: The decorated goblet from the cist grave of Vapheio (Photo: E. Banou).

1. The date of the tholos tomb as a whole to the LHIIA period is based on one of the four decorated goblets found in the cist grave, which is illustrated in the publication of Tsountas (1889, pl. 7:19) (FIG. 9) and recently upheld by Mountjoy (1999, 258, fig. 84:34), without any further comment. A search for Laconian and Peloponnesian parallels shows that the goblet from Vapheio constitutes a fine example of its kind, best seen in its balanced shape, which, however, finds no exact parallel among LHIIA and IIB goblets (Mountjoy 1999, 97, fig. 16 and 102, fig. 17 from the Argolid; 205, fig. 63, 207, fig. 64 and 215, fig. 67 from Corinthia; 257, fig. 84 and 260, fig. 85 from Laconia and Kythera; 376, fig. 130 from Elis); so its date cannot be considered as fixed. In general, a date in the LHIIA period is indicated by its elliptical rather than rounded shape (Furumark 1941, 62, fig. 16), while a date in LHIIIB is indicated by the simplified version of ogival canopy, which constitutes the main motif of its decoration (Mountjoy 1999, 214). In our opinion, this goblet seems to represent a conservative example of the LHIIIB goblet and thus its date very late in the LHIIA or in the beginning of the LHIIIB period is very probable.⁷

⁷ An amphora of 'palatial style' was also reconstituted from fragments probably found in the dromos of the tholos tomb (Bosanquet 1904, 318-319 Pl. XI). Its decoration is unique (Kalogeropoulou 1998, 137), in the way, we believe, it combines floral and marine motifs of the Minoan repertoire with a vertical wide stripe of abstract ones. The amphora probably belonged to the furniture of the burials laid on the floor of the tholos, although the possibility that it accompanied the dead of the cist cannot be excluded. Its decoration shows the assimilation of the LMIB 'Marine style' to such a high degree, that it could allow the painter to create a vase with a character of its own. This decoration also offers a hint for the date of the vase very late in the LHIIA or early in the LHIIIB period.

Accordingly, the immediate successors of the deceased in the cist must have been buried in the tholos within the LHIIIB period.

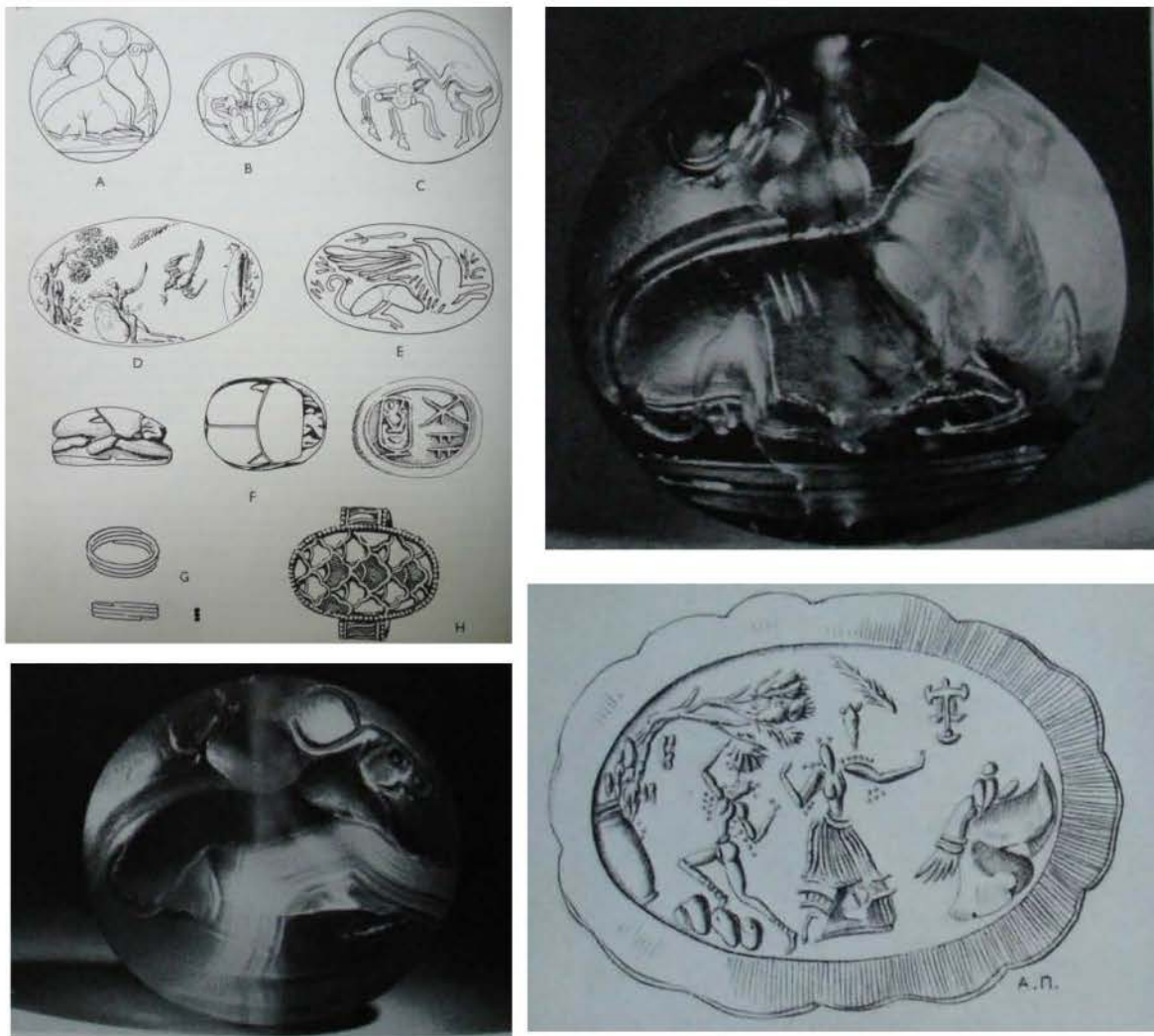


FIG. 10: (*above, left*) Seals and gold ring from Sellopoulo Tomb III (after Popham and Catling 1974, 218, fig. 14); (*above, right*) seals from Vapheio (after Sakellariou 1964, 273-4); (*below*) gold ring from Vapheio (Tsountas 1889, pl. 10).

2. The bronze artefacts buried with the deceased of the cist grave find close parallels in the bronze objects accompanying the burials of the Sellopoulo Tomb 4 near Knossos, especially burial III: Comparable are not only the number and the diversity of such objects but also special categories of finds, as the scale pans (burials I, II and III: Popham and Catling 1974, 231, fig. 19:239) and the swords with spiral decoration (burial II: Popham and Catling 1974, 228, fig. 17). Apart from these, a ring with inlaid decoration (burial I: Popham and Catling 1974, 212, fig. 11:j) and a gold spherical bead with granulation (burial I: Popham and Catling 1974, pl. 36:c and d) from the same tomb find striking parallels in finds from the bottom of the tholos of Vapheio (Tsountas 1889, pl. 7:7 and 9). Worth mentioning is also the astonishing similarity of a seal stone depicting a pair of bulls (Popham and Catling 1974, 218, fig. 14:A) with the seal stones nos. 240 and 241 illustrated in CMS I

The 'Lord of Vapheio'

(Sakellariou 1964, 273–4), found on the floor of the tholos of Vapheio (Tsountas 1889, pls. 10:9 and 10), as well as that of the well known gold ring from Sellopoulo depicting a cult scene (Popham and Catling 1974, 218, fig. 14:D) with the gold ring from the cist grave of Vapheio, both showing the importance laid on religious symbolism (Tsountas 1889, pl. 10:40) (**FIG. 10**). Tomb 4 of Sellopoulo is dated to the LMII–IIIA period (Popham and Catling 1974, 254–5). This comparison widens the time span for the burials on the floor of the tholos tomb of Vapheio to the LHIIIA period, thus making their deposition in LHII–IIIA plausible. Accordingly, a date in LHII for the cist grave is reasonably to be assumed.

3. Finally, a secondary though noteworthy support of the aforementioned dating is offered by the two seals showing a pair of recumbent bulls mentioned above, presumably accompanying the later burials of the Vapheio tholos tomb. A recent study of this seal motif, of apparently Minoan origin, has shown that it was very probably preferred by elite individuals buried in large chamber tombs or tholoi of LHII–IIIA1 date (Drakaki 2005–06).⁸

This is a very important period for the Aegean, as it coincides with the decline of the Minoans and the possible Mycenaean takeover of Knossos. In fact, Tomb 4 of Sellopoulo mentioned above was very probably intended for warriors of Mycenaean origin who settled at Knossos around 1450 B.C. (Alberti 2004, with previous bibliography). Its similarities with finds of the Vapheio tholos tomb imply that the elite of Vapheio were in pace with – if not leading – the most important events of their time. Perhaps we would not go too far if we imagined the deceased from Vapheio taking part in a military expedition against Crete – and possibly dying abroad, which could also explain the absence of any skeletal remains in the cist.

So, if not a king already, the apparently close ties of the deceased in the tholos tomb of Vapheio with Crete at such a critical period for the development of Mycenaean Greece as LHII show that the chief to whom the cist grave of the Vapheio tholos belonged had at least succeeded in setting his chiefdom on the road to the formation of a state in the heartland of Laconia, to which we now must turn, if we are to explore the boundaries of his power.

THE EUROTAS VALLEY IN THE LHII–IIIA PERIOD

⁸ Apart from Vapheio, which offered two examples, seals with the motif of a pair of recumbent bovines on the mainland come from tholos tomb 2 of Routsis and the tholos tomb of Nichoria in Messenia, from chamber tombs 78 and 515 of Mycenae, chamber tomb 2 of Dendra and the chamber tomb of Koukaki in Athens (Drakaki, 2005–06). In this study, however, the Vapheio tholos tomb is mistakenly included in the burial assemblages without military grave goods, which weakens the whole argument. With tholos tomb 2 of Routsis Vapheio shares another feature too, namely the seal with a man in a long garment, probably bent around the wrist of his most important deceased (see in the text above).

The early Mycenaean presence in the Eurotas valley is mainly attested through surveys or limited excavation. The settlement on Paliopyrgi just to the south of the tholos tomb of Vapheio, reasonably associated with it, has been only partially and rather hastily excavated. According to the few preliminary remarks available, Paliopyrgi was occupied from LHI but the state of the fragmentary walls which came to light on the top of the hill prevented the excavator from further investigation of the site. According to preliminary reports and personal information given by the excavator (Spyropoulos 1982, 112), Paliopyrgi was occupied during the whole Mycenaean era, with its *floruit* put in the LHIIIA2 and the LHIIIB2 periods. Waterhouse and Hope Simpson considered Paliopyrgi as the most important Mycenaean settlement and a strong candidate for the location of a palace, with sherds strewn in a surface of 200,000 sq m (Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 78).⁹

About 7 km north-east of Vapheio rises the hill of the Menelaion. At the northern end of the hill, excavations of the British School at the beginning of the last century brought to light a complex of rooms known as 'Dawkins House', after its excavator (Dawkins 1910). Resumed excavations in the 70s and 80s under the direction of Hector Catling here and on the Aetos Hill at the southern end of the same ridge, led to the following results:¹⁰ The first phase of 'Dawkins House' saw the construction of a mansion ('Mansion 1') dating to the LHIIIB period. Mansion 1 was replaced by another one ('Mansion 2') in the LHIIIA1 period, with a different orientation, which *may* have continued in use, damaged or abandoned in LHIIIA2. Its core (rooms I-IX) *may* have been rebuilt ('Mansion 3') in the LHIIIB1 period.¹¹ It was burnt and finally abandoned in the LHIIIB2 period. On the Aetos Hill, a monumental building erected in the LHIIIB period ('Building B') continued to exist at least till the LHIIIB period, though reduced in size, after having undergone alterations in the LHIIIA1 and 2 periods. In the LHIIIB period another building ('Building A') was built at a short distance from it and abandoned in the next period. A monumental terrace ('Great Terrace'), erected on the Aetos

⁹ Data are summarized in Banou 1996, 34-6. The 125 sherds in the BSA archive that were collected by Waterhouse and Simpson have been studied by Hitchcock, Chapin, and Banou. Of these, 59 belonged to EH hospitality ware, such as bowls and sauceboats, suggesting that Paliopyrgi was an important site from the Early Bronze Age onwards. Despite the fact that there is substantial erosion on the summit of Paliopyrgi, with one or more top layers of soil eliminated, the growth pattern of surface vegetation demarcates a clear pattern of walls and rooms (Hitchcock and Chapin 2007). It may be hypothesized, based on our archival research that these belong to an important Early Helladic structure, but only further excavation can confirm this with any certainty.

¹⁰ These are according to the final publication (Catling 2009). The most extensive preliminary reports, which also summarize previous research are found in Catling 1978, 1981, 1986 and 1992. Data are also summarized and discussed in Banou 1996, 26-31.

¹¹ According to the excavator, "evidence for the occupation on the Menelaion Hill in LHIIIA2 and B1 remains inconclusive" (2009, 452).

The 'Lord of Vapheio'

Hill probably in the LHIIIB period, separated the two buildings until it collapsed at the end of LHIIIB2. Occupation continued among its ruins into the LHIIC Middle period.

Kilian (1987, 121), Barber 1992 (13, 22) and Catling (1992, 429–31; 2009, 448) considered 'Mansion 2' as a forerunner of the Mycenaean palace, as we know it in the LHIIIB period, leaving the monumental building on the Aetos Hill out of discussion.¹² Going deeper into this question would be beyond the scope of our paper; it suffices to point out that on the Menelaion ridge in the LHII period stood at least two monumental buildings, which were part of a large settlement – judging by the dispersion of sherds over an area of 300,000 sq m (Catling 2009, 444) – rivaling the settlement on Paliopyrgi. According to the present state of evidence, however, Paliopyrgi, in contrast with the Menelaion Hill, where the principal buildings are located (Catling 2009, 445), seems to have been inhabited during the whole Mycenaean period and, most importantly, during the critical time for the rise of the Mycenaean states in the LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB1 periods, when at least part of the settlement on the Menelaion had probably been abandoned.¹³

But Paliopyrgi was not the only settlement flourishing in the lower Eurotas valley in the LHII–IIIA period. About 4.5 km to the southeast, on the opposite (left) bank of the Eurotas river, rises the hill of Vouno Panayias, where an important Mycenaean settlement is located (**FIG. 11**). According to pottery studied from the site, this settlement seems to have been inhabited during the whole Mycenaean period too (Banou 2009, 77–9, 80–3). The same is also true for Ayios Vassileios, a low hill rising just above the intersection of the national Sparta–Gytheio road and the road to Xirokambi, about 4.5 km to the southwest of Paliopyrgi as well. Indeed, the settlement of Ayios Vassileios seems to have been just as big as the settlement at Paliopyrgi and, judging from surface finds alone, the most important site in the Eurotas valley during the LHIII period at least (Banou 2006).¹⁴

¹² Presumably because it lacks the 'megaron'-like core of Mansions I and II. It must be noted, however, that a much smaller part of Building 2 is preserved. Otherwise it is totally comparable with the Mansions.

¹³ The cultural contrast, as stated by Catling (2009, 450), between the owner(s) of the Vapheio tholos tomb and the resident(s) of Mansions 1 and 2 on the Menelaion Hill in favour of the latter, is, in our opinion, exaggerated, not least because of insufficient evidence: We do not know either where the important deceased of the Vapheio tholos tomb lived or where the resident(s) of the Menelaion Hill were buried.

¹⁴ When the present article was prepared for publication, a chance find of a Linear-B fragment and the discovery of two more in a rescue operation of the 5th Ephoreia of Antiquities were announced, thus confirming the importance of the site already emphasized by the author in several instances (Banou 1997; 1999, 65; 2006; 2009, 84).



FIG. 11: Vouno Panagias from the south slope of Paliopyrgi (Photo: E. Banou).

All four settlements mentioned so far are visible from each other and, with the exception of the Menelaion, which lies further to the north, they are no more than 4.5 km apart (**FIG. 12**). The settlement of Paliopyrgi then, to which the tholos tomb of Vapheio belongs, was only *one* of the important settlements flourishing in the Eurotas valley already in the LHII–III period; it actually constituted a part of the close net of important settlements of that period in the area.

The 'Lord of Vapheio'



FIG. 12: Intervisibility of important Mycenaean sites in the Lower Eurotas valley: (*above*) Vouno Panayias from Ayios Vassileios; (*middle*) Menelaion from Vouno Panayias; (*below*) Paliopyrgi from Vouno Panayias. (Photos: E. Banou).

CONCLUSIONS

From the above evidence, the following conclusions may be drawn:

The occupant of the cist in the Vapheio tholos was an important ruler, having established, at least in the transition from the LHIIA to the LHIIB period, significant contacts with Minoan Crete. These contacts permitted him and his immediate successors to stand at the forefront of the developments in their time on the mainland, having by that time placed the territory they controlled on the way to becoming a state. The seat of these rulers was presumably on Paliopyrgi. They had to rival, however, at least two other local centres of power, namely Vouno Panayias and Ayios Vassileios, at a close distance. How they would have succeeded in finding and maintaining their position remains to be elucidated through systematic research and excavation of all three sites. We believe that studying the relations of such local centres at such a critical period as LHII–IIIA would be of great value for understanding the process which led to the rise of Mycenaean states in the Argolid as well, where the same pattern of important, intervisible Mycenaean sites can be observed.

The 'Lord of Vapheio'

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The 'Lord of Vapheio'

List of Illustrations

FIG. 1: The tholos tomb of Vapheio from NW (Photo: L. Hitchcock).

FIG. 2: Finds from the tholos tomb of Vapheio (after Tsountas 1989, pls. 7, 10) (*upper right*) seals from the tholos; (*bottom right*) seals from the cist grave.

FIG. 3: Finds from the cist grave of the Vapheio tholos tomb as displayed at the National Museum of Athens. (Photo: E. Banou).

FIG. 4: (*left*) Seals from (a) Vatheia and (b) Knossos (after Kilian-Dirlmeier 1987, fig. 7); (*right*) seal from Vapheio (after Sakellariou 1964, fig. 258, n. 225).

FIG. 5: Monumental buildings associated with wealthy tombs: (*above, left*) Omride palace and tomb, Samaria; (*above, right*) Kalavassos, Cyprus; (*below, left*) Kamilari Tholos, Crete; (*below, right*) Grave Circle A, Mycenae. (Photos: L. Hitchcock).

FIG. 6: Vapheio masonry is clearly worked (Photo: L. Hitchcock).

FIG. 7: Vapheio-Palaiopyrgi quarry (photo by L. Hitchcock).

FIG. 8: Vapheio is oriented on Mt Tayegetos: It probably imitates Minoan practice of orientation on a mountain (Photo: L. Hitchcock).

FIG. 9: The decorated goblet from the cist grave of Vapheio (Photo: E. Banou).

FIG. 10: (*above, left*) Seals and gold ring from Sellopoulo Tomb III (after Popham and Catling 1974, 218, fig. 14); (*above, right*) seals from Vapheio (after Sakellariou 1964, 273-4); (*below*) gold ring from Vapheio (Tsountas 1889, pl. 10).

FIG. 11: Vouno Panagias from the south slope of Paliopyrgi (Photo: E. Banou).

FIG. 12: Intervisibility of important Mycenaean sites in the Lower Eurotas valley: (*above*) Vouno Panayias from Ayios Vassileios; (*middle*) Menelaion from Vouno Panayias; (*below*) Paliopyrgi from Vouno Panayias. (Photos: E. Banou).

CHAPTER 2

GOD AND HERO:
THE ICONOGRAPHY AND CULT OF APOLLO AT
THE AMYKLAION

DIANA BURTON

The Olympian gods famously have nothing to do with the dead. They are, after all, defined by their immortality, and death is antithetical to their very being.¹ And yet, as always, when we look more closely at the situation on the ground, things are not so straightforward, as the presence of a localised hero- or chthonic cult can affect the way that a god's cult statue is depicted and understood. In this paper, I would like to consider just one such case, that of Apollo and Hyakinthos at Amyklai, in which a god appears to be picking up a particular association with the dead, and to look at how this interaction affects the god's iconography and function.

The statue of Apollo at Amyklai was a very strange object. It stood about 15 metres high, and was made in the technique known as *sphyrelaton*, consisting of bronze plates on a wooden core.² It took the form of a pillar with feet, hands and head, and had a helmet, spear and bow. From perhaps the mid-sixth century, it was surrounded by Bathykles' elaborate 'throne', although I am not going to discuss that in detail here.³ In the base of the statue was the tomb of Hyakinthos, whose worship is generally agreed to have predated the worship of Apollo at the site.⁴ Since the tomb did form the base of the statue, it presumably predates Bathykles' alterations, even if the reliefs on the tomb were his work.⁵

The statue and tomb are also the focus of one of the most important Spartan festivals, the Hyakinthia. A brief summary might be in order. The Hyakinthia is divided into two parts. The first is characterised by an overall

¹ See for example Burkert 1985, 201; Vernant 1991, 35.

² Paus. 3.19.2–3; Pettersson 1992, 11 n. 16, citing Piccirilli 1967, 100.

³ See in particular Faustoferri 1993 and 1996, Martin 1976. Calligas 1992 gives a useful summary of the site and finds.

⁴ Dietrich 1975, 134; Burkert 1975, 351 n. 27; Pettersson 1995, 25; Richer 2004, 392. Interestingly, Polybius records the existence of a tomb at Taras "called by some that of Hyakinthos, by others that of Apollo Hyakinthos" (Polyb. 8.28.2, trans. Paton); no mention is made of a statue (and since a fire can be lit on the tomb, there probably was not one) and Walbank 1967, 104 notes that the cult derives from Laconia.

⁵ Pipili 1987, 82; Ruiz de Elvira 1992, 15.

grim tone with restrictions on food, drink, wreaths and singing, and a sacrifice (ἐναγισμός) to Hyakinthos. The second part is a complete contrast, with songs, music, dancing, horse-races, feasts for everyone, including foreigners and slaves, and many sacrifices (θυσιαί).⁶ This festival and its function have been much discussed.⁷ It is often considered to be an initiation rite for both youths and *parthenoi*, although the exact ramifications of this are disputed and need not concern us here. Its importance, however, should not be underestimated; Paul Cartledge describes the Hyakinthia as the principal national festival of Spartan civic identity, designed to “reinforce the centre’s separation from and hierarchical domination over the periphery”.⁸

The iconography of the statue is almost unparalleled.⁹ Apollo brandishes a bow frequently, but he wears a helmet rarely and carries a spear in probably only one other case, also Lakonian – the contemporary statue of Apollo Pythaios in Thornax. There are also copies of these statues, on a stone relief from Amyklai and on Roman coins.¹⁰ Walter Burkert has argued for a Near Eastern origin for the statue, an imitation of their warrior-god imagery.¹¹ In particular, parallels are drawn with the Phoenician god Reshep Mikal; on a fourth-century BC bilingual inscription from Cyprus, Reshep Mikal’s name is translated as Apollo Amyklaios. However, the association is probably of a late date, impelled by similarities in the iconography and function, rather than the other way around.¹² Although in general terms a Near Eastern origin is not unlikely, we still have to ask why the Lakonians accepted that particular model for their god – that is, why the spear and helmet appealed to them in this specific context. Wassilis Lambrinoudakis, in his commentary on Apollo in *LIMC*, suggests that the image indicated an intermediate state between the geometric warrior and the later nude archer.¹³ Eleni Georgoulaki notes Plutarch’s assertion that the Spartans represent all their divinities armed (*Mor.* 239a), and suggests that it is at least possible that this type was “a creation of

⁶ Polykrates quoted in *Ath.* 4.139d–f.

⁷ Pettersson 1992, with a summary of previous research on the Hyakinthia on 12–14; Richer 2004; Conde 2008.

⁸ Cartledge 2001, 19–20.

⁹ Possible early parallels, but on a much smaller scale: *LIMC* Apollon 579*, 658* with comments.

¹⁰ Apollo Pythaios: *Paus.* 3.10.8; *Hdt.* 1.69; *LIMC* Apollon 56. Relief in blue stone from Amyklaion: Sparta Mus. 689, 3rd cent. BC (in bad condition); *LIMC* Apollon 55c=958; Tod and Wace 1906, 80, 202–3, fig. 72 (cat. no. 689); Schröder 1904, 24–31, Abb. 2 (the clearest drawing of a seriously damaged piece). Coins: Lakedaimon, bronze coins of Commodus and Gallienus, e.g. *LIMC* Apollon 55a*; see also Lacroix 1949, 54–58, Pl. I.15–16; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner 1885–7, pl. N.17. See also the possible (though I think unlikely) identification of a Lakonian cup tondo (Louvre E669) as Apollo and Python: Pipili 1987, 50–51 fig. 77 (cat. 141).

¹¹ Burkert 1975.

¹² Pettersson 1992, 97 n. 544; Georgoulaki 1994.

¹³ Lambrinoudakis 1984, 314.

Iconography and Cult of Apollo at the Amyklaion

the Spartiate spirit" ("une création de l'esprit spartiate").¹⁴ However, as Nicolas Richer notes, not all Spartan divinities were in fact armed and not all armed divinities had a direct military function.¹⁵

Apollo in Sparta is not a warrior god; that function is filled primarily by Zeus and Athene, to whom the Spartans sacrificed on the eve of battle, and by Artemis, who had a role in watching over the army once outside of the borders.¹⁶ At Amyklai, though, Apollo might be seen as having a defensive role. Paul Cartledge has aptly described Amyklai as a liminary sanctuary, placed as it is on the borders of Sparta, forming part of a chain of such sanctuaries.¹⁷ Amyklai is the southernmost; the northernmost is the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaios at Thornax, home to the other statue of the same type. There are also aspects to the cult that have to do with war, or its absence. The most obvious is the sacred truce, which more than once prevented the Spartans from fighting, and which saw that part of the army which was from Amyklai sent home at the height of the fighting season.¹⁸ The paian, absent in the first part of the festival and very much present in the second, is particularly associated, in Sparta, with war.¹⁹

The role of Hyakinthos seems, at first sight, to run directly counter to these warlike aspects. Hyakinthos is best known as the lovely youth with whom Apollo fell in love and later inadvertently slew with a discus, although this version does not appear until the late sixth century.²⁰ Pausanias, however, describes Bathykles' reliefs as depicting several gods bringing a bearded Hyakinthos with his sister Polyboia to heaven. The contradiction between the death implied by the tomb and the immortalisation (with sister) depicted upon it is obvious.²¹ Claude Calame has argued that Hyakinthos' beard is the first beard of the adolescent; however, this runs counter to established iconography, which uses beards as a signifier of maturity.²² Moreover, a different mythical tradition – or perhaps a different Hyakinthos – is mentioned by Apollodorus, who tells the story of the four daughters of Hyakinthos of

¹⁴ Georgoulaki 1994, 101.

¹⁵ Richer 2004, 392.

¹⁶ Richer 2007, 241–2; Pettersson 1992, 120.

¹⁷ Cartledge 2001, 15–17. In addition to the Amyklaion, he lists the sanctuaries of Artemis Orthia and Artemis Issoria; the Menelaion; the Eleusinion; the sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus at Tsakona. See also Malkin 1994, 111–12.

¹⁸ The truce is common to all three of the major Apollo festivals. Truce prevents or delays fighting: Hdt. 9.7–11 (discussed by Richer 2004, 398–9); Paus. 4.19.4; Thuc. 5.23.4–5. Amyklaians sent home: Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.11; Paus. 3.10.1; Cartledge 2001, 19.

¹⁹ Pettersson 1992, 21.

²⁰ Vase-paintings appear c. 515 BC (*LIMC* s.v. Hyakinthos); the first literary testimony is Eur. *Hel.* 1465–1475. See Pettersson 1992, 30–35.

²¹ E.g. Ruiz de Elvira 1992, 16.

²² Calame 1977, 315; against whom Pettersson 36, 38 n. 197.

Sparta being sacrificed to save Athens from plague.²³ Michael Pettersson has therefore argued that we should see the Hyakinthos depicted on the tomb as a father who sacrificed his daughters, of whom Polyboia was one (*pace* Pausanias), to defend the state, along the lines of Erechtheus in Athens.²⁴ Hyakinthos' role, then, becomes the defence of Sparta, and Apollo, in sharing the cult, also shared this role.

This version, however, is problematic. According to Apollodorus, it is not Hyakinthos who died, but his daughters – but the tomb is his. Nor is the story set in Sparta, nor does Apollodorus mention immortalisation. There is also the problem of Polyboia as sister, rather than daughter. While it is difficult to see this exact myth represented here, the Spartan origin of Apollodorus' Hyakinthos, and the bearded Hyakinthos depicted on the tomb, may well indicate some such adult figure with a function in the cult, assimilated in name with the youth killed by Apollo, but possibly with a rather different role, as ancestral figure rather than young lover. The nature of the tomb and the sacrifices offered to it also indicate death rather than divinity. The fact of his tomb places him squarely in the category of hero-cult, in which the hero's power is grounded at his place of burial and derived from his status as a being between life and death.²⁵ Such heroes were not usually thought of as ascending to the heavens. The nature of the sacrifice offered to him, the *ἐναγισμός*, confirms this, as it is used of sacrifices made to heroes and the dead – not to gods.²⁶ The distinction between the tomb with its sacrifice and the immortalisation depicted upon it indicates that there are two complementary figures here, and we should not try to reconcile them into a single entity.

Michael Pettersson, after a detailed discussion of the word *ἐναγισμός*, characterises it as “a sacrifice connected with the sacred as something negative and impure [which] actually created a negative condition, a ritual defilement of which the prohibitions concerning wreaths and the paeon were symbols”.²⁷ This creates a remarkable juxtaposition, placing Apollo in inescapable proximity, both physically and ritually, to the grave of the dead hero. The sharp contrast between the two parts of the Hyakinthia is also seen in the cult statue and its base. It is not too unusual for a hero to be associated with the cult of a god and to be offered *ἐναγισμός* before the god's sacrifice.²⁸ However, what is distinctive here is the combination of, first, the closeness of Apollo and Hyakinthos, to the point that the name of the hero is used as an epithet of the god; secondly and in contrast, the continued careful distinction

²³ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.15.8.

²⁴ Pettersson 1992, 38–41; cf. Conde 2008, 57–8 with n. 222.

²⁵ See for example Snodgrass 1988, 20.

²⁶ Ekroth 1999; Richer 2004, 397–8.

²⁷ Pettersson 1992, 24.

²⁸ Pettersson 1992, 28; Burkert 1985, 204. Sargent 1987, 92 lists eleven different examples.

Iconography and Cult of Apollo at the Amyklaion

between them, as shown in the separate parts of the festival; and thirdly, the results of this interaction.²⁹

B. C. Dietrich describes the Hyakinthia as a *Sühnefest*, a festival of expiation, with Apollo in his role of *apotropaïos* protecting the community against evil.³⁰ But I think it is more complex than this. Apollo is a deeply divided figure, both one of the foremost protectors of the mortal race and their institutions, and also one of its most potent destroyers – perhaps most clearly illustrated in the case of the plague, which he both cures and inflicts. He may act destructively so as to maintain the social order, as with the plague he sends on the offending Greeks in the *Iliad*. However, he may also destroy outright, whether in rage (the Cyclops, for example) or unintentionally. For a god so strongly concerned with moderation, he can show a disastrous lack of control. Mortals favoured by Apollo may die as a result; and Hyakinthos is a good example of this. The god known for purifying from murder becomes himself a murderer. Apollo too, therefore, has two conflicting aspects, but, like Hyakinthos the dead youth and immortalised hero, they are flip sides of the same coin. Moreover, it may be no coincidence that the danger that Hyakinthos sacrificed his daughters to avert was actually the plague, which is also Apollo's province. In the mourning for Hyakinthos, one might suggest that it is Apollo himself who is being purified of this double pollution, not only that he is a murderer, but also as the human bereaved, the survivor of the death of a loved one. Such a person is regarded as polluted, and as cut off from normal social integration, and the mourning rites serve (among other functions) to reintegrate them back into the community.³¹

The rite of passage over which Apollo presides is therefore not only a rite of initiation for young men and women, but also a rite for Apollo himself. Apollo's closeness to the Spartan community is restated and strengthened and, in the second part of the festival, these newly recreated ties are celebrated. Hero-cult, too, is often meant to appease or control the destructive element of a hero as much as to foster a beneficial one; the solemn rites of the first part of the festival may also reflect this. One of the functions of the ritual, therefore, must be to mark out and then neutralise this destructive element. The worshippers are made aware of this potential for destruction in the first part of the festival, and their rejoicing is all the greater when all is set right in the second part. Just as Apollo takes up Hyakinthos' role of defence, strongly embodied in the statue's towering presence and its armour, Hyakinthos is perhaps called upon to keep Apollo's harmful aspects in check. The

²⁹ Something similar may pertain for Poseidon-Erechtheus at Athens: Brulé 1992, 22.

³⁰ Dietrich 1975, 141–42.

³¹ Richer 2004, 40 notes that the two parts of the festival refer not only to the distinction between hero and god, but also Apollo's mourning and the subsequent rejoicing at Hyakinthos' immortalisation. Van Gennep's tripartite rite-of-passage structure, cited by Pettersson 1992, 25 in the context of initiation, is equally applicable to mourning.

iconography of Apollo's statue suits warlike Sparta, but the interaction with the tomb at its base emphasises balance and moderation. As Artemis watches over the Spartans beyond the border, so Apollo protects them within it. Hyakinthos' sister Polyboia may serve a similar protective function vis-à-vis the Spartan *parthenoi* who took part in the ritual, echoing the relationship between Apollo and Artemis.³²

In sum, we are looking at a statue of a most unusual iconographical type, whose iconography is (at least in part) a response to its strong links with the hero-cult associated with it. Both cult and statue exploit the sharp contrasts between god and hero, death and immortalisation, threat and protection, to create a powerful defensive force which yet recognises and accepts the dangers of its own strength.

³² See Richer 2004, 394.

Iconography and Cult of Apollo at the Amyklaion

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Diana Burton

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CHAPTER 3

THE DISPLAY OF INDIVIDUAL STATUS IN THE BURIALS OF CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC ARGOS

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Our knowledge of the Classical and Hellenistic cemeteries at Argos is mainly based on the results of the excavations carried out by the Greek Archaeological Service (4th EPKA) and by the École Française d' Athènes (EFA).¹ All evidence, in the form of brief preliminary reports, is gathered in the Hellenic Ministry of Culture's journal, the *Archaiologikon Deltion*, and in the Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (*BCH*) of the EFA. A few short papers have been published elsewhere focusing on a limited number of burial contexts with emphasis placed on the pottery finds.² Synthetic approaches are indeed limited. Barakari-Gleni's (1998) 'Οι Νεκροπόλεις των Αρχαϊκών και Κλασικών Χρόνων στην Αρχαία Πόλη του Αργους' ('The Cemeteries of the Archaic and Classical Periods in the Ancient City of Argos'), gives a useful overview of the types of offerings and grave forms preferred by the Argives in the Archaic and Classical periods. A slightly different insight into the Argive mortuary record of the Hellenistic period is offered by Banaka-Dimaki's (2004) 'Ταφικό Σύνολο Ελληνιστικών Χρόνων από το Αργος' ('A Hellenistic Burial Cluster from Argos') where she marks the ritualistic use of specific burial offerings.³ Although previous research on the Argive Classical

¹ This paper presents part of work in progress on the display of status and identity in the cemeteries of Northern Peloponnese during the Classical and Hellenistic times. Argos has formed the case-study of my MA dissertation 'Individual Status in the Classical and Hellenistic Burials of Argos' obtained at the Department of Archaeology of the University of Nottingham in 2008 under the supervision of Professor W. G. Cavanagh. At this point I would like to thank the Director of the 4th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in the Argolid Anna Banaka, the emeritus director Elisavet Spathari and the archaeologists Dr Alkistis Papadimitriou, Georgia Ivou, Anastasia Panayotopoulou and Evaggelia Pappi for sharing with me their expertise and valuable information on Argive burials. I am also grateful to Dr Chrysanthi Gallou and Dr Merkourios Georgiadis, post-doctoral fellows at the University of Nottingham, who have been a constant source of encouragement and guidance. A particular debt of gratitude is owed to my Professor W. G. Cavanagh whose expertise guided me through the paths of funerary archaeology.

² Karouzou 1938; Bruneau 1970; Sarri 1998; Banaka-Dimaki 2005; Kavvadias 2006; see Piérart 1996 for a detailed account of references from 1973 to 1992.

³ The Roman burial monuments of Argos have received a more systematic treatment (Banaka-Dimaki *et al.* 1998). They lie, however, beyond the chronological scope of this paper.

and Hellenistic mortuary record is indeed limited, the papers mentioned above form the basis for this systematic approach.

In spite of the numerous limitations imposed by the available bibliographical references and the fact that unpublished material has not been included in this paper, the information provided by past investigations and brief reports is far too valuable for classical archaeologists to disregard. The purpose of this paper is to illuminate the major dimensions of status in Classical and Hellenistic Argive society based on the burial evidence and to highlight the contribution of mortuary evidence to the study of social inequality within the *polis*. Although, any archaeologist's aim is to remain as objective as possible, the limited information available may require the extrapolation and use of narratives and/or evidence from other periods or even modern cultural bias, in an attempt to reconstruct the missing parts of the story. My analysis is structured on the better, albeit few, documented burials. Argive status is cross-examined and assessed through four basic criteria: space, time, material culture and funerary customs with the emphasis placed mostly on the first two. A different approach is imposed on each case by the available data. The lack of anthropological analyses certainly sets limits on the field of work, underlining once again that classical archaeology lags behind prehistory in skeletal studies.⁴ Written and epigraphical sources, on the other hand, do not provide any information on Argive burial ritual as opposed to other minor or major sites in Classical and Hellenistic Greece. Therefore, any scholar wishing to study Argive burial ritual must turn to the archaeological evidence and use the models advanced by theoretical principles and methods.

1. PLACING THE DEAD

Although the continuous use of burial grounds in Argos has resulted in their dense and disorderly spatial arrangement, it can be noted that Classical and, to a lesser degree, Hellenistic burials were organised in clusters of various sizes, spatially segregated from each other and placed close to the land around the *polis* (FIG. 1). As in the cemeteries of most contemporary *poleis*, burials lined the roads illustrating a wide pattern of articulated burials and roads, whatever the intra-cemetery spatial arrangement of graves.⁵ On the same principle, it would be possible to suggest that burials may provide an indication for the presence of a road near by. Despite their denser placement to the north-east and south-west of Argos where two of the city gates were

⁴ I.e. Charles 1958 and 1963, with very limited reference to Classical and Hellenistic burials.

⁵ Cf. Robinson 1942, on Olynthus' cemetery; Blegen *et al.* 1962, 65–87, on the North Cemetery at Corinth; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 91–96, on Athens.

Display of individual status

probably located, these areas do not form two unified burial grounds.⁶ They are divided into various clusters situated within a relatively limited space (FIGS. 1 & 2).⁷ An in-depth approach to the Argive burial clusters reveals that they mainly consist of *side-by-side* or *head-to-toe* rows of two, three or four graves of the same form, with a common orientation. Multiple burials with two or three dead, or graves sharing one of their long sides, may signify that the closer the burials the closer the bond between the dead. Their linear arrangement in row-segmented groups and the fact that no single grave projects itself as 'exceptional' imply a principle of equality among the dead of the same cluster. One could argue that these egalitarian principles may have been introduced to Argive burial ritual after the battle of Sepeia in 494 BC, following the transformation of the Argive state from oligarchic to democratic.⁸ This, however, may not be the case as the pattern resembles the 8th, 7th and 6th century BC burial patterns of dispersed clusters of evidently corporate groups, perhaps clans or lineages, while it seems to continue well into the Hellenistic period.⁹ A more 'tribal' way of placing the dead is thus noted; the burials of a family could be grouped together with the burials of other families in their own clan. A similar practice is regularly attested in Greek 19th and 20th century AD cemeteries, where the graves of an *oikos* (family) are grouped together with the graves of another *oikos* in their *soi* (kin) duplicating the way the houses were grouped into neighbourhoods of close kin.¹⁰ Could the same pattern be applied to the Classical and Hellenistic Argive burial clusters? Unfortunately, information on residential remains is meager.¹¹ Nonetheless, 5th, 4th and 3rd century BC inscriptions underline the significant role the *phyle* (tribe) and *phratra* (clan) maintained in Argive administration, economy, religion, ritual and daily life, and therefore offer support to this hypothesis.¹² Both gender- and most age-groups seem to be represented in each cluster, arguing for the representation of all subdivisions of a clan although the classification of skeletons has been based on

⁶ Cf. Barakari-Gleni 1998; Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998, 174–5.

⁷ Scanty information does not allow the clarification of when exactly these burial clusters were originally established or ceased to be used, or the frequency in which they were relocated or expanded.

⁸ According to Herodotus, 6000 Argives were killed by the Spartans at Sepeia causing a severe shortage of manpower during the next generation (Hdt. 6.76–83; 7.148.2; and Plut. *Mor.* 223a; Cic. *Off.* 1.10.33; Paus. 3.4.1 mentions 520 BC as the date of the battle; Tomlinson 1972, 93–100, 180–181; on the succeeding political transformation, see Kritzas 1992).

⁹ Alkistis Papadimitriou personal communication 2009.

¹⁰ E.g. Forbes 2007, 259–263, on the Methana peninsula.

¹¹ Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998, 177–8.

¹² On the Argive *phylai* and *phratrai* and their role in Argos: SEG 11 293; 29 36.III.18; 41 284; Kritzas 1992, 236–40; Piérart & Touchais 1996, 62; Piérart 1997, 332–33; 2000, 298–301; another social subdivision was the *pentekostys* which was introduced to the Argive social structure by 338/7 BC (e.g. SEG 30 355.3; Piérart 2000, 300–301).

judgements proposed by archaeologists in the field on the basis of the skeletons' sizes and the accompanying offerings.¹³ The popularity in Argos of this style of burial may be connected with the belief that members of the 'family' could be reunited in the afterlife if they were buried together. The association in death may indeed reflect a relationship in life.

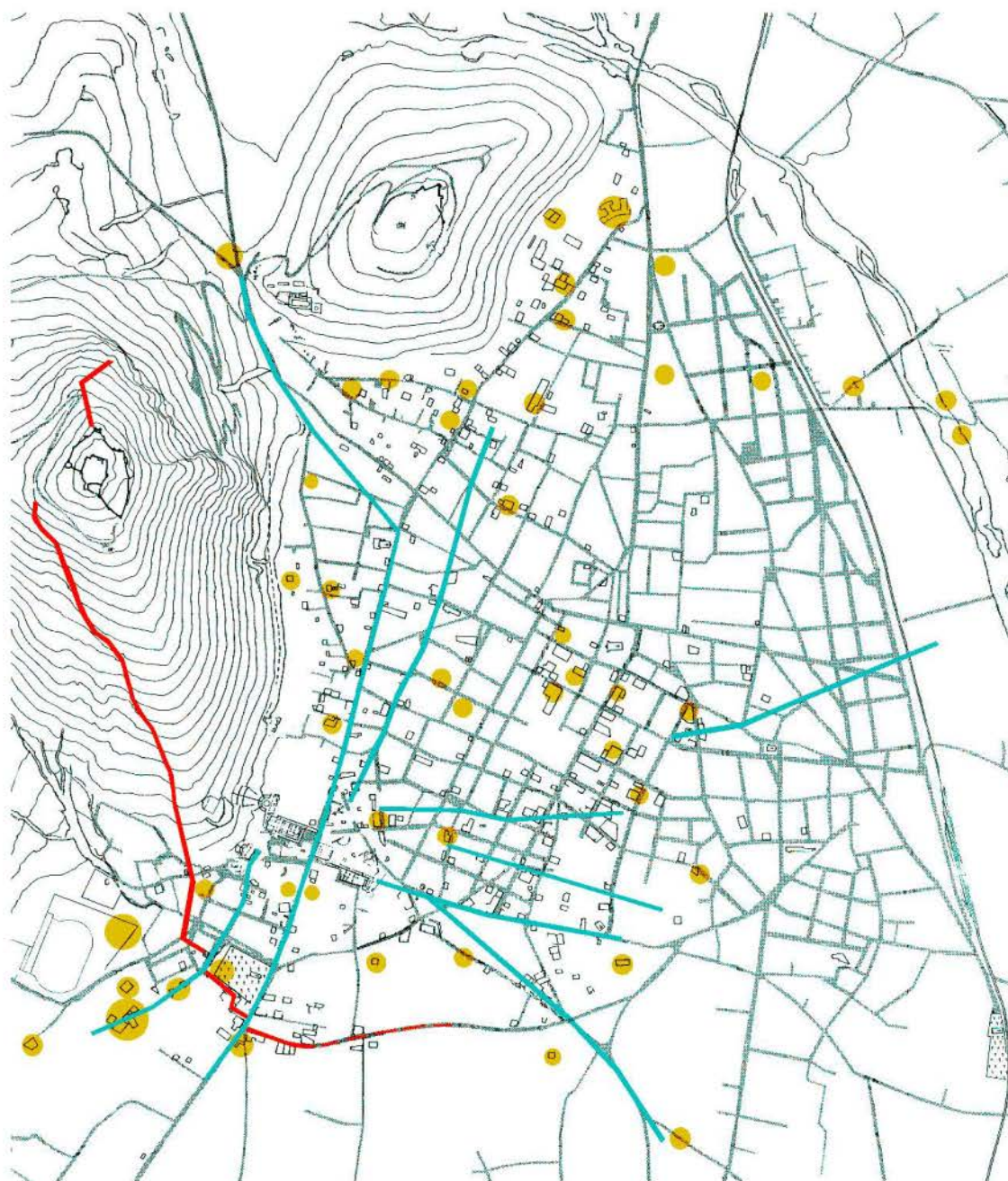


FIG. 1 Distribution of Classical and Hellenistic burial clusters in Argos
clusters – roads – fortification
(Original source of the map: *PARIENTE & TOUCHAIS* pl. XI and XII)

¹³ Cf. North Cemetery in Corinth where children are clustered together, Blegen *et al.* 1964, 68.



FIG. 2 A late Classical burial cluster NE of Argos.
(Photo: Nikolaos Dimakis)

The pattern seems to have been modified, in the early Hellenistic period or just before. Shortage of space as the result of marked population growth led people to place their dead wherever there was available space.¹⁴ Hellenistic graves are found on the outskirts of Classical or even earlier burial grounds or are cut into them.¹⁵ This more individualized way of placing the dead in the Hellenistic period was probably also related to the individual's wealth. Monumental tombs containing multiple wealthy burials were increasingly erected along roads during this period.¹⁶ They were thus visible

¹⁴ According to Piérart (1982a) and Perlman (2000) Argos' territory grew in the late 4th century BC to ca. 1,400 km² with the annexation of Kleonai and Kynouria down to Zarax (Piérart 2001; *contra* Shipley 2000, 378). Hansen (2004, 21) argues that Argos is the only *polis* with a five-digit population and a territory over 500 km² in the 4th century BC. The city was still prominent in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC as it kept having surrounding settlements (*komai*) dependent upon it (Mitsos 1945, 89 and 99; Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998).

¹⁵ This phenomenon is particularly noted to the north of the city in the area of the Hospital, where Hellenistic burials are found among Middle Helladic, Geometric, Archaic, and Classical tombs (e.g. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 19 (1964) 122–6; 26 (1971) 74–84; 28 (1973) 95–105; 29 (1973–1974) 199–249; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980; Anna Banaka-Dimaki and Alkistis Papadimitriou *pers. comm.* 2009).

¹⁶ *Archaiologikon Deltion* 21 (1966) 128–30; 26 (1971) 74–5; 28 (1973) 100–2, 115–7, 121; Barakari-Gleni 1998, 521; Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998, 168–9 and 174–5. The pattern continues well into the Roman period cf. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 28 (1973) 109–111; Banaka-Dimaki *et al.* 1998; Kavvadias 2006.

to those entering and/or leaving the city, displaying and advertising their owners' wealth, power and rank. The accumulation of these monuments especially to the south-west and north-east of Argos implies that these were places of intense daily activity as the areas were located near gates, hence appropriate for social display.¹⁷ On the same principle, one might suggest that the presence of a burial monument could provide an indication for the presence of a gate and consequently a road near by.

2. SEPARATING THE DEAD

In the light of the above, the distance at which burial clusters were placed from each other does not seem to have been arbitrary but rather deliberate and, interestingly, served a purpose (**FIG. 1**). It was used to separate the burials of clans. By the Hellenistic period other means were also used to separate the dead such as the erection of enclosing walls around groups of burials.¹⁸ It is unknown, however, what affiliations led to the erection of an enclosure wall around certain burials. One can only argue that the construction of an enclosing wall served to isolate and demarcate specific burials and not simply to enclose them spatially.

Nevertheless, there might have been some other reason why burial clusters were so widely placed. They could have functioned as territorial markers, 'marking', in a sense, the limits of the area occupied by a given clan. Similarly, but defining larger territories, some Spartan 'limitary' sanctuaries may have served to define Spartan citizen territory, the *politike ge*, as against the territory of the *perioikoi*.¹⁹ The fact that Argive clusters functioned as territorial markers is probably underlined by the proximity of the burials to the stream of Charadros (modern Xerias) even though the latter often overflowed causing much damage to the surrounding area.²⁰

Notably, a substantial number of Classical, late Classical and early Hellenistic burial clusters, of usually 3 to sometimes more than 15 graves each, is almost certainly intramural and clearly separated from the extramural cemeteries (**FIG. 1**).²¹ Fortification walls do not seem to have prevented

¹⁷ Cf. Knigge 1988, on Kerameikos in Athens.

¹⁸ *Archaiologikon Deltion* 27 (1972) 207–8; 28 (1973) 115–7, 117–9; 53 (1998) 121–2.

¹⁹ Cartledge 1998, 44.

²⁰ Burials in proximity to Charadros: *Archaiologikon Deltion* 28 (1973) 122–3; 54 (1999) 139–40. Although the modern course of the stream may not correspond exactly to the ancient one, burials situated in the north-east of Argos were extremely vulnerable to the overflows. The latter were a constant concern for the polis at all times, cf. Vollgraff 1907, 145–7; Lehmann 1937, 28–29, 56; Piérart 1982b, 142; Piteros 1994; 1998, 179–85 esp. n. 14 and 35.

²¹ The south-east, east and north course of the city-walls is under debate cf. Thuc. 5.82.5–83.2, on Argos' Long Walls; Hesse 1982; Piérart 1982b; Lang 1996, 174; Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998; Piteros 1998; intramural burials: Daux 1959, 754–768; Bruneau 1970; Aupert 1978, 661–

Display of individual status

(certain?) families from placing their dead near houses or the agora.²² Intramural clusters probably belonged to fairly important Argive families or at least more important than those buried *extra muros*, which in this way further demarcated their status.²³ Internal privilege and status were, after all, always of importance to the Argives and the way some of them placed their burials in space may have emphasised exactly that purpose.²⁴ There is nothing, however, indicative of articulated relations between the intramural dead and specific structures or territories i.e. shrines, *temenoi* or temples, that could have imposed their intramural burial.²⁵ By associating the dead directly with the living community as inferred by the lack (at least as far as we can see) of any artificial or mental barriers separating them, it is concluded that the living were not intimidated by the dead and, consequently, were not fearful of pollution or the taint of death. The Argives had probably managed to transform a 'negative event', such as death, into a positive one, reminding us, in some respects, of the Spartan way of placing the dead *intra muros*.²⁶ This argument, however, is rather tentative and requires further research.

3. MORTUARY VARIABILITY AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Based on simple observation made by archaeologists in the field, it does not seem that any age- or gender-groups were excluded from being buried in graves. A closer look at the burials, however, reveals that variability may have lain elsewhere. In the 5th and 4th centuries inhumation was the only burial rite. Adults were interred mainly in poros-lined cist graves and less frequently in tile- and slab-covered graves and pithoi. Children were individually interred in pithoi and next to adults in cists and tile graves. Infants received rather special treatment:²⁷ they were buried in clay tubs marking a desire for their

666; Banaka-Dimaki 2005; *Archaiologikon Deltion* 26 (1971) 78; 27 (1972) 202–3; 28 (1973) 121–5, 132–4; 29 (1973–74) 226; 49 (1994) 144; 50 (1995) 100 and Pariente & Touchais 1998, pl. XI and XII.

²² Residential remains have been unearthed in proximity to most intramural burials: Barakari-Gleni and Pariente 1998, 177–8.

²³ Goldstein 1980; Brown 1981.

²⁴ Tomlinson 1972, 180.

²⁵ See Vollgraff 1952, on a 3rd century BC inscription mentioning that the *archigetai* were buried at sacred spaces.

²⁶ Plut. *Lyc.* 27.1–4. Another plausible indication of this unusual for the Classical and Hellenistic Greek world attitude to death may also have been the white-coloured *himatia* the Argives were dressed in during funerals instead of black ones as in most Greek cities (Davis 1914, 85, n.1).

²⁷ On the grave forms used in Classical and Hellenistic Argos, see Karouzou 1938; Bruneau 1970; Foley 1988; Barakari-Gleni 1998; Sarri 1998; Banaka-Dimaki 2004; 2005; Kavvadias 2006. The large substratum of poor, undifferentiated pithos burials that R. Hagg (1983) first noted as lying alongside the richer cist graves in Argos after 750 BC, does not seem to survive in the

fragile bones to be preserved as well as their importance to the local society. The adoption of a single burial rite, inhumation, the extensive use of poros-lined cist graves and, as we shall see later on, the overall simplicity of Argive burials form a relatively homogeneous mortuary practice implying that the disposal of the dead was probably regulated in classical Argos; but records of such laws are lacking from Argos.²⁸ A law-based model of interpretation would oversimplify as it would have been structured on the egalitarian spirit propounded by the Classical literary sources, which often neglected local variations and minor deviations from the 'norm'. A wealthy monumental tomb, the only one known in Argos so far, which counters the overall homogeneity of Argos' mortuary record, may have been a public burial or even a burial of prominent individual/s.²⁹ However, it is hard to argue on current evidence, based only on burials, that there was some sort of aristocratic reaction to the democratic majority. Whatever the case may be, this burial monument marks the status of those buried, honouring and perpetuating their memory.

By the late 4th century BC, however, the picture altered dramatically. The concept of burying the dead in Argos was, gradually or abruptly, changed hand-in-hand with wider socio-political transformations, alterations in the funerary ritual and a remarkable return to the past and the ancestors.³⁰ The practice of cremation was introduced, alongside to inhumation, although cremation burials were in fact few.³¹ Although it is still unclear whether the preference of Argive society for inhumation was related to religious belief or ancestral customs, they were closely committed to it at all times. However, different concepts could be connected to burial rites in different periods.³² In

Classical and Hellenistic periods (see also Foley 1988, 47–51). Despite the fact that some inurned burials exist in both periods, these are very few.

²⁸ On funerary legislation in general: Sokolowski 1969; Gernet and Boulanger 1970, 137–38; Alexiou 1974, 15–20; Garland 1985; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 102–3, 114–26; Sourvinou-Inwood 1996; Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 2–11.

²⁹ Barakari-Gleni 1998, 527. The tomb has not been systematically studied.

³⁰ Many Mycenaean, Geometric and Archaic graves are re-used during the period (*Archaiologikon Deltion* 16 (1960) 93; 28 (1973) 121; 46 (1991) 95; 51 (1996) 88–90) while most Hellenistic burials occupied earlier burial grounds (Barakari-Gleni 1998, 521). Tomb cult may have also occurred in several Mycenaean (Alcock 1991, 463–465) and Archaic (Barakari-Gleni 1998, 517) tombs. Over a late Archaic warrior burial found at the Kanellopoulou plot a Π-shaped stone wall was built in the 3rd century BC while traces of fire and animal bones around the tomb argue for tomb cult (*Archaiologikon Deltion* 28 (1973) 132–134). Aside from direct burial evidence inscriptions mentioning mythological founders are set up on crossroads and thus in public view (Psychogiou 2006).

³¹ *Archaiologikon Deltion* 27 (1972) 192–4; 53 (1998) 109–12, 122–3; 54 (1999) 137–9, 144–5; Banaka-Dimaki 2004.

³² Cremation in Argos was never representative of the local funerary rites cf. Hägg 1974; 1983; Foley 1988.

Display of individual status

the Hellenistic period it might have been related to people of 'foreign' origin who kept the burial customs of their homeland.³³

Adults were now disposed of primarily in tile graves, secondarily in cists and then in other rather perishable grave forms such as slab-covered pits, simple pits and various types of urn. Children were placed mainly in tile graves and urns though the total number of child burials is much lower than in the Classical period, implying that the custom of burial in cemeteries may have become age-restricted.³⁴ On the other hand, the fact that in the Hellenistic period certain, albeit few, children were awarded the right of burial (granted in rather 'simple' grave forms i.e. tile graves, urns and simple pits) suggests that those selected were fairly important.

In contrast to child burials, monumental tombs were systematically erected from this period onwards.³⁵ Their elaborate form may have served to enhance the social persona of their owners rather than simply being final resting places. Hence, they may have been the graves of prominent individuals who were buried along with other family members, as implied by the multiple burials found therein, as opposed to people of lower classes who were interred in tile graves, cists, pits and urns. The Hellenistic socio-political system favoured prominent individuals who wished to ascend politically, widening the gap between the poor and the rich. The latter could have presented their wealth, rank and power through burial monuments.

Special reference however should be made to the mortuary record of the 2nd century BC, since extremely lavish burials are found in every single grave form. It appears that social demarcation in death was achieved on the basis of wealth and conspicuous display regardless the grave type.³⁶ The confusing picture of the mortuary record of the 2nd century may be related to a series of events rather than just one. The incorporation of Argos into the Achaean Confederacy and the continuous plundering of the Argive countryside by the Spartans until 229 BC, the degradation of the aristocracy and the redistribution of wealth during the tyranny of Nabis (in ca. 198/7 BC), and the presence of the Romans in Argos already by 195 BC – these are events that deeply affected the Argive social structure causing further alterations to the burial ritual.³⁷ All the above circumstances, however, occurred within a relatively short period

³³ Macedonians were continuously present in Argos during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, often being married to Argives (Mitsos 1945, 104); cf. Toynbee 1971, on Roman cremation burials.

³⁴ e.g. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 19 (1964), 122–6; 26 (1971) 78; 28 (1973) 97–9, 117–9, 122–3; 29 (1973–74) 226; 35 (1980) 116; 46 (1991), 93–5; 49 (1994) 134, 138–9; 53 (1998) 109–12; 54 (1999) 137–9; Bruneau 1970, T.27; Banaka-Dimaki 2005, T.1.

³⁵ See above n. 15.

³⁶ *Archaiologikon Deltion* 28 (1973) 122–3; 49 (1994) 134; Kavvadias 2006, T.9.

³⁷ Argos in the Achaean Confederacy: Plut. *Arat.* 35.1–5; 39.5; *Cleo.* 17.5; 18.1; 19.1; Polyb. 2.44.6; 52.2; 60.4–5; Paus. 2.8.6; Strabo C 385; Navis in Argos: Livy 32.38; 32.39.1; 34.32.4; *Syll.*³ 595₃; Mitsos 1945, 91, 104, 106–110; Tomlinson 1972, 165–71, 186, 202; Romans in Argos: Livy 34.25.26; 38.30.5; 55.28.3; Polyb. 22.10.10; 30.10.4; Paus. 7.14.4; Boethius 1921–23, 423.

of time; therefore it is extremely difficult to identify, at this stage, which of them may have triggered the changes.

The relative uniformity of the Classical period was replaced in the Hellenistic by a more heterogeneous mortuary record, probably as the result of population growth that contributed to greater social divergence and consequently mortuary variability.³⁸ Control over funerary ritual was most probably assumed by individuals resulting in the enforcement of kin-groups and conspicuous display of wealth. The marking of graves by stelai is probably another indicator of this more individualised treatment of death.³⁹

4. THE PROSPEROUS DEAD: A CLOSER TREATMENT OF INDIVIDUAL WEALTH

4.1 The Classical Period

Wealth, in its commonest sense, would normally be recognized through the quantity of jewellery and precious metals deposited in graves.⁴⁰ However, such offerings are largely absent from Argive burials. Some, though few, graves have produced coins that may be associated with the *obolos* offered to Charon as the fee for the transportation to the Underworld in both Classical and Hellenistic times; larger numbers of coins cannot be adequately explained.⁴¹ Even bronze ornaments such as pins, fibulae, mirrors and strigils are extremely rare in Classical burials. Burial offerings consist largely of pottery for everyday use, in particular drinking vessels.⁴² Terracotta figurines were increasingly deposited in graves by the late-5th century BC, while they appear to have been largely associated with female and especially child burials.⁴³ Interestingly, women and children shared the same grave more commonly than females and males or males and children respectively; this pattern may underline a symbolic link between child and female burials

³⁸ See above n. 13.

³⁹ Hellenistic stelai have been found at: *Archaiologikon Deltion* 23 (1968) 128–30; 36 (1981) 107–109; 50 (1995) 96–9; 54 (1999) 141–2.

⁴⁰ It is anticipated that more light will be shed on the distribution of wealth in Classical Argos when the recently found bronze tablets concerning the *polis'* economy and political life of roughly the 5th and 4th centuries BC, studied by Ch. Kritzas, are published (Papadimitriou 2004; Kritzas 2005).

⁴¹ E.g. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 28 (1973) 109–11; 53 (1998) 121–2; on Charon's fee: *Ar. Ran.* 140, 270; cf. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 211.

⁴² On Classical pottery offerings: Karouzou 1938; Barakari-Gleni 1998; Sarri 1998.

⁴³ They cannot be considered as amulets since these are attested in ancient Greek burials in other forms, cf. Kotansky 1994.

Display of individual status

reflecting their biological association in life. One should bear in mind, however, that gender- and age-related arguments have not been based on anthropological analyses (since these are absent from the Argive archaeological record), but rather on preliminary studies made in the field and comparative studies of burial contexts.

Although the modesty of the Classical Argive burials could be partly related to the continuous political changes the polis underwent in the 5th century BC,⁴⁴ or may reflect the Argives' engagement with more communal aspects of their life in an effort to reinforce their communal identity;⁴⁵ it is not a local phenomenon but rather an interregional one. According to some scholars, a fall in the quality of offerings deposited in the grave is detectable throughout Greece from the Classical period onwards, reaching its lowest ebb c. 400 BC.⁴⁶ It is unknown if the same chronological limits apply to Argive burials as well, but the overall picture looks the same. Further research is, however, needed to get a clearer view, as most Classical Argive burials are dated only relatively.

4.2 The Hellenistic Period

Gold, gild and silver ornaments were regularly placed in Hellenistic graves. Earrings, rings or simple sheets of gold serve as insignia of individual wealth. Rarely, more elaborate offerings such as wreaths and sceptres may also be indicative of the deceased's social status.⁴⁷ Other social indicators could be considered: increasing numbers of strigils and mirrors, reaching a 4:1 rate as compared to the preceding period.⁴⁸ Pottery offerings, on the other hand,

⁴⁴ Namely: 494 BC Battle of Sepeia (above n. 9); 468 BC destruction of Tiryns and Mycenae and unification of the Argive plain (Paus. 2.16.5; 2.25.8; 8.27.1; Strabo 8.6.10–11; Diod. Sic. 11.65; Kiechle 1960; Tomlinson 1972, 101–9); 418 BC Battle of Mantinea (Thuc. 5.66–74); 417 BC democracy was very shortly overthrown (Tomlinson 1972, 125); 392–386 BC Corinthian War (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.6–7, 19; 4.5.1–2; 4.8.13, 15, 34; Diod. Sic. 14.92.1; Griffith 1950; Whitby 1984); 370 BC many prominent individuals slaughtered after their attempt to take control over the city (*skytalismos*, Aen. *Tact.* 11.7–10; Ephraim 1986).

⁴⁵ Such as public architecture: Paus. 2.19.3; Thuc. 5.47.11; SEG 31 315; 34 282.16; 41 284; Vollgraff 1956; Roux 1961; Tomlinson 1972, 200–221; Bommelaer and des Courtis 1994; Piérart and Touchais 1996, 46–56; Pariente *et al.* 1998; Piteros 1998; also cf. Waldstein 1902; 1905.

⁴⁶ Cf. Garland 1985, 37; Morris 1992, 145–149.

⁴⁷ *Archaiologikon Deltion* 49 (1994) 132–4; 53 (1998) 109–12; Kavvadias 2006, T.9; Anna Banaka-Dimaki *pers.comm* 2009.

⁴⁸ Mirrors in graves: *Archaiologikon Deltion* 24 (1969) 110–11; 28 (1973) 117–9; Bruneau 1970, T. 58 and 59; Strigils in Hellenistic graves: *Archaiologikon Deltion* 16 (1960) 93; 26 (1971) 82; 27 (1972) 202–3; 28 (1973) 121–5; 50 (1995) 100; 53 (1998) 109–12, 121–2, 122–3; Bruneau 1970, T.3 and 82; Banaka-Dimaki 2005, T.1; Kavvadias 2006, T.9; in Classical graves: *Archaiologikon Deltion* 28 (1973) 126–7; 49 (1994) 136–138; 54 (1999) 139–40; Sarri 1998, T.4.

although still retaining the lion's share among burial offerings, belong to a different repertoire, as they consist mainly of unguentaria, alabastra, lagynoi, lamps, lekythia, pyxides and krateriskoi.⁴⁹ It appears that the emphasis is largely placed on vessels for perfumed oil, such as unguentaria, suggesting a more elaborate ritual than in the previous period. Perfumed oils were most probably used for anointing the body, advertising the status of the dead while most importantly focussing on the dead body.⁵⁰ The dead in the Hellenistic period were more emphatically placed in the spotlight in contrast to Classical times. Rarer types of offerings such as lead pyxides, although of uncertain funerary significance, emphasise the individuality of death in the Hellenistic period.⁵¹

To sum up, I am not claiming that in the Classical period status distinctions were not symbolized in burials, but that the main organizing principle of a cemetery was kinship and identity. Nor am I suggesting that kin relations were insignificant in the Hellenistic period; instead, in Hellenistic burials status and wealth were displayed more markedly than kinship. Burials where dead were interred on the basis of descent would also occur; but the overall concept of placing and burying the dead in the Hellenistic period make them hard to identify; multiple burials in monumental tombs and burials within enclosure walls could belong to members of the same 'family' but these are relatively few. For the Classical period, in contrast, the evidence is clearer. Multiple burials, graves with one shared side and the spatial arrangement of graves into clusters imply more directly some sort of tie between the dead. All in all, the lack of osteological studies has certainly restricted the scope of my work. Nonetheless, what I am arguing for here is that the differing ritual landscapes in the Classical and Hellenistic periods reflected overall changing manifestations of social order. Ritual landscapes in Classical and Hellenistic Argos are as distinctive as their socio-political, economic and ideological structure. In the former the emphasis is most probably on the community, while in the latter it is on the individual. Hence, the wide dimensions of Argive individual status in the Classical and Hellenistic burials have been outlined and the contribution of mortuary evidence to its study has been underlined. It is indeed the systematic assessment of the known mortuary data that will enable us to form the basis for a better understanding of Argive burial ritual. As a consequence of this assessment, more questions could be addressed as part of a wider study of Argive burials that aims to reconstruct Argos' social structure. One can finally

⁴⁹ On Hellenistic pottery offerings: Bruneau 1970; Barakari-Gleni 1998; Sarri 1998; Banaka-Dimaki 2004; 2005.

⁵⁰ Perfumed oils were also used to anoint funerary stelai (Humphreys 1980; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 84–90, 121–41, 218–46; Garland 1985, 107–8, 115–6; Johnston 1999, 41–2).

⁵¹ Banaka-Dimaki 2005; cf. Tiverios 1991.

Display of individual status

note that the archaeology of Classical and Hellenistic burials in Argos remains an area that requires attention and further study.

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List of illustrations

FIG. 1 Distribution of Classical and Hellenistic burial clusters in Argos
(Original source of the map: *PARIENTE & TOUCHAIS* pl. XI and XII)

FIG. 2 A late Classical burial cluster NE of Argos. (Photo: Nikolaos Dimakis)

CHAPTER 4

LATE BRONZE AGE FEMALE BURIALS WITH HARD STONE SEALS FROM THE PELOPONNESE: A CONTEXTUAL APPROACH*

ELENI DRAKAKI

INTRODUCTION

After a long break during the Middle Bronze Age (2000–1700 BC), seal engraving and the custom of seal ownership were re-introduced to the Greek mainland through contacts with Crete. Hard stone seals were made of semi-precious stones, often imported from the East and Egypt, and their engraving required the use of bronze rotary tools (cutting wheels, solid and tubular drills) mounted on a lapidary lathe powered by a bow.¹ They are found predominantly in funerary contexts, among the goods chosen to accompany the deceased in their final resting place.

As items of bodily adornment, hard stone seals, like all types of seals, would have been highly visible and in fact their motifs are often regarded as emblems of their owners' personal and social identity. However, despite their potential as status and/or gender symbols, their contextual associations have so far been dealt with in a rather superficial manner, while the studies of Aegean seals focus mainly on questions of style using their contexts simply for dating purposes.²

* I wish to thank the organizers of the conference for giving me the opportunity to participate in it and to contribute to this publication. I also wish to extend my gratitude to Dr. Walter Müller, who generously provided the images of the (modern) impressions of the seals illustrated here.

¹ Krzyszkowska 2005, 12.

² For example, the hard stone seals with the motif of a pair of recumbent bovids form one of the most recognizable groups of Late Bronze Age Aegean glyptic. They have been identified as possible emblems of a certain group of high officials, but the discussion of their contextual associations has been limited to the fact that they are found with burials equipped with bronzes (Rehak & Younger 2001, 448). However, for a recent detailed study of the contextual associations of this group of seals, see Drakaki 2008.

In an attempt to shed some light on the mechanisms of seal ownership, this paper presents a diachronic and detailed study of Late Bronze Age elite female burials with hard stone seals from the Peloponnese. Being well aware of the problems that affect the study of Aegean Bronze Age mortuary data³ and for the sake of accuracy and validity of the observations made and conclusions reached, I have selected to discuss seven intact burials and only two disturbed burials, which were nevertheless found in a satisfactory state of preservation.

LH I–IIA FEMALE BURIALS WITH HARD STONE SEALS

Discussion

Five of the six burials presented here were found intact in the Grave Circles at Mycenae and are dated to LH I: two burials in Shaft Grave M and Shaft Grave O of Grave Circle B and three burials in Shaft Grave III of Grave Circle A. The sixth burial was found disturbed in Chamber Tomb 516 at Mycenae and is dated to LH IIA.

The three burials in Shaft Grave III of Grave Circle A are the richest of the group.⁴ The bodies of the (assumed) female individuals were laid at a distance of 3 feet from each other with an E–W orientation and presented the excavator with a magnificent spectacle: they were covered with approximately 700 decorated gold discs/medallions and other cut-out gold ornaments originally applied or sewn onto their funeral clothing or shrouds. Each burial was also furnished with a plethora of various other types of ornaments and jewellery made of precious metals and/or semi-precious stones⁵, as well as two seals: Burial 1 with a

³ On this, see Drakaki 2008, 85.

⁴ For these burials, see: Schliemann 1878, 164 ff (esp. 173–175); Kilian-Dirlmeier 1986, 167–169 (for the hypothetical reconstruction of the assemblages of grave goods associated with each burial; also with references to earlier bibliography); Graziadio 1991, 406 (Table 1) and 433 (Table 4); Demakopoulou 1990, 93, 98.

Although the sex identification of these burials is based on their associated grave goods (absence of weapons, proliferation of jewelry), Schliemann had observed and noted the “smallness” of all three skeletons.

⁵ **Burial 1:** *Gold:* One “crown”, seven half-diadems, six large star-shaped ornaments, one balance, one pair of elaborate earrings, one pair of spiral earrings, two spiral armlets, twelve double-spiral beads, one necklace of pomegranate-shaped beads; *Gold and Silver:* Three pins with elaborately decorated heads; *Semi-precious stones:* one necklace (?) of amber beads.

Burial 2: *Gold:* One diadem, seven half-diadems, one balance, three small star-shaped ornaments, one pair of spiral armlets, one cushion seal; *Metals and Semi-precious stones:* Necklaces (?) of gold and carnelian beads, four bronze pins with rock-crystal heads; *Silver:* one large finger ring.

Late Bronze Age hard stone seals

carnelian *amygdaloid* with a duel between two armed male figures (CMS I 12) (FIG. 3) and a gold cushion with a duel between a male figure and a lion (CMS I 9) (FIG. 4); Burial 2 with an amethyst lentoid with an animal suckling scene (CMS I 13) (FIG. 5) and a gold cushion with a wounded lion (CMS I 10) (FIG. 6); Burial 3 with an onyx lentoid with a 'spiral-rosette' (CMS I 14) (FIG. 7) and a gold cushion with a duel between two armed male figures (CMS I 11) (FIG. 8).



FIG. 1: Modern impression of amygdaloid seal CMS I 6



FIG. 2: Modern impression of amygdaloid seal CMS I 7



FIG. 3: Modern impression of amygdaloid seal CMS I 12



FIG. 4: Modern impression of gold cushion seal CMS I 9

Burial 3: *Gold:* One diadem, one balance, one star-shaped ornament, two small cross-shaped ornaments, one pair of spiral earrings, one pair of spiral armlets, one "appendage", seven leaf-shaped ornaments, one cushion seal; *Metals and semi-precious stones:* Necklaces (?) of gold and carnelian beads.



FIG. 5: Modern impression of gold cushion seal CMS I 13



FIG. 6: Modern impression of lentoid seal CMS I 10



FIG. 7: Modern impression of lentoid seal CMS I 14



FIG. 8: Modern impression of gold cushion seal CMS I 11

The burial in Shaft Grave O of Grave Circle B is the second richest of the group of LH I-IIA burials presented here.⁶ The body of the (assumed) female individual was laid to rest with a variety of ornaments and jewellery made of gold, silver, bronze and/or semi-precious stones⁷, a duck-shaped vase made of rock crystal, and nine ceramic vessels. The hard stone seal associated with this burial was probably incorporated in a necklace of sardonyx, amethyst and rock crystal beads: it is a sard amygdaloid (CMS I 7) (FIG. 2) with a pair of fish-heads executed in 'talismanic' style.⁸

⁶ Dietz 1991, 128, 130; Graziadio 1991, 406 (Table 1). The sex identification of this burial is based on its associated grave goods (absence of weapons, proliferation of jewelry).

⁷ *Gold*: two diadems, two armlets, one star-shaped ornament, two rectangular plates, twelve spiral beads, one necklace, two rings; *Silver*: one pin; *Bronze*: three pins with rock crystal heads; *Semi-precious stones*: One necklace of sardonyx beads; one necklace of sardonyx, amethyst, and rock crystal beads; one belt of electrum and amber (?) beads.

⁸ Onassoglou 1985, Tafel XXXII (30).

Late Bronze Age hard stone seals

In comparison with its contemporaries, the burial of the (assumed) female individual in Shaft Grave M of Grave Circle B was furnished very moderately with a necklace that consisted of a silver bead, four bronze beads, two rock crystal beads, two sard beads, one haematite bead and a hard stone seal: a carnelian amygdaloid (CMS I 6) (**FIG. 1**) of the 'talismanic' class. However, an impressive group of no less than eighteen ceramic vessels completed the funerary assemblage of this individual.⁹

The burial from Chamber Tomb 516 at Mycenae is probably the poorest in the group of burials presented here. The disturbed skeletal remains, which, according to the excavator, belonged to a young adult female individual, were found in a pit in the tomb's chamber, accompanied by fifteen glass beads – three of which are Mesopotamian or Syro-Palestinian imports, four ceramic vessels, and an engraved glass seal (CMS I 146) (**FIG. 9**) of amygdaloid shape with the motif of a bird executed in Cut Style.¹⁰



FIG. 9: Modern impression of glass amygdaloid seal CMS I 146

Observations

Despite their noticeable differences in funerary wealth, each of the six burials presented here were furnished with a single hard stone seal. Only the three burials in Shaft Grave III of Grave Circle A, the richest of the group, were equipped with a second, gold cushion, seal.

There is no doubt that the three (assumed) female individuals in Shaft Grave III of Grave Circle A and the one in Shaft Grave O of Grave Circle B can be identified as members of the highest elite of the time. In fact, the three Shaft Grave III burials have a lot in common (gold star/cross-shaped ornaments, gold

⁹ Mylonas 1973, 148–149, 156–157; Dietz 1991, 123; Graziadio 1991, 406 (Table 1); Onassoglou 1985, Tafel LXIII (17). Although the sex identification of this burial is based on its associated grave goods (absence of weapons, proliferation of jewellery), it should be noted that the second skeleton from this grave has been identified as that of an infant.

¹⁰ Wace 1932, 63–67; Alden 1981, 143; Mountjoy 1999, 94 (n. 335), 95 (no. 61); Pini 2000, 214, (n. 34). Although the seal in question is not made of semi-precious stone but of glass, it is well known that in the Early Mycenaean period glass seals were cut and engraved with the same techniques and tools used for hard stone seals (Pini 1999, 331–332). For that reason, from now on, when the seal in question is mentioned collectively with the other seals discussed here, it will also be considered as a hard stone seal.

spiral earrings, gold spiral armlets, necklaces of gold and/or semi-precious stones, gold balances, gold cushion seals, hard stone seals), but a careful examination reveals that there are differences in the quantity, quality, and diversity of their grave goods, which might possibly suggest a hierarchy of wealth – and perhaps also status – with Burial 1 as the richest and Burial 3 as the poorest of the three. In particular (**Table 1**), Burial 1 has a few unique jewellery items and ornaments: a gold ‘crown’, a pair of elaborate gold earrings, and an amber necklace. Silver finger rings and metal pins are found only with Burials 1 and 2, but the pins of Burial 1 are made of precious metals (gold, silver), whereas those of Burial 2 are made of bronze. Most gold star/cross-shaped ornaments are found with Burial 1, while Burial 3 is equipped only with less elaborate cross-shaped ornaments.¹¹ The simple gold diadems of Burials 2 and 3 bear no comparison to the impressive gold ‘crown’ of Burial 1, while the differentiation in the materials/stones used for the amber necklace of Burial 1 and the carnelian necklaces of Burials 2 and 3 may not be accidental either.¹² Similar observations can be made for the burials’ hard stone seals. In particular, Burial 3, the poorest of the three, is the only one equipped with a hard stone seal of non-pictorial iconography (CMS I 14) (**FIG. 7**), with its motif executed in a simple and ‘technical’ style¹³, whereas the hard stone seals of Burials 1 and 2 are engraved with complex, multi-figured designs executed in a richly modelled style (CMS I 12 and 13) (**FIGS 3 and 5**).

¹¹ Furthermore, the star/cross-shaped ornaments of Burials 2 and 3 are smaller in size.

¹² It is well known that amber was imported from the Baltic. Despite popular belief that carnelian was imported to the Aegean from Egypt, the Near and Middle East (Krzyszowska 2005, 83), recent geological investigations carried out by staff members of the Greek Institute for Geological and Metallurgic Research (IGME) have revealed local sources for carnelian on the island of Kimolos and the Peloponnese (Stamatatou 2004, 6–9, 34, 35).

¹³ Only dots and lines are used, the unmasked results of the use of drills and the cutting wheel.

Late Bronze Age hard stone seals

	Burial 1	Burial 2	Burial 3
Gold "Crowns"	1	0	0
Gold Diadems	0	1	1
Gold half-Diadems	0	7	0
Gold star/cross-shaped Ornaments	6	3	3
Gold Elaborate Earrings	1*	0	0
Gold Spiral Earrings	1*	1*	1*
Gold/Silver Pins	3	0	0
Bronze Pins	0	4	0
Gold Spiral Armlets	1*	1*	1*
Silver Finger Rings	1	1	0
Gold Necklaces	1	?	?
Carnelian Necklaces	0	?	?
Amber Necklaces	1	0	0
Gold Balances	1	1	1
Gold Seals	1	1	1
Hard Stone Seals	1	1	1

* = pair

? = undefined quantity

Table 1: Comparative chart of the wealth of Burials 1–3, Mycenae, Shaft Grave III, Grave Circle A.

While on the subject of lower status, the burials in Shaft Grave M and Chamber Tomb 516 at Mycenae need to be discussed. Despite the quite modest associated grave goods, it is not impossible that the (assumed) female individual in Shaft Grave M was of considerable status, which, perhaps in accordance with

earlier customs, was demonstrated by the impressive number of ceramic vessels found with the burial. On the other hand, when compared with the other LH I burials presented here, it can be argued that the (assumed) female individual of Shaft Grave M must have occupied a lower position in the elite hierarchy of the time, since her burial was practically devoid of the impressive luxury trappings of her contemporaries.¹⁴ However, it should be noted that both she and the illustrious (assumed) female occupant of Shaft Grave O owned seals of very similar size, material, shape and style ('*talismanic*')¹⁵ (FIGS 1 and 2), despite the fact that their burials are very unequal in wealth.

A low position in the elite hierarchy or a placement in the (upper) middle class of the time might be considered appropriate for the young adult female individual in Chamber Tomb 516 at Mycenae. In fact, the size and architectural features of the tomb and the extreme modesty of the grave goods could even support the case for a commoner's burial.¹⁶ However, the extraordinary and even exotic – at least for that time – material (glass) of the deceased's necklace and seal and the fact that three of the necklace beads were imports could probably make the case for someone of greater means and higher status than a commoner.¹⁷

Of the six burials discussed here, only Burial 2 was furnished with a hard stone seal (CMS I 13) (FIG. 5) engraved with a 'female-appropriate' motif, that of a female fallow deer nursing her fawn. The '*talismanic*' motifs of CMS I 6 and 7 (FIGS 1 and 2) of the burials in Shaft Graves M and O, the '*spiral-rosette*' of CMS I 14 of Burial 3 of Shaft Grave III (FIG. 7) and the bird with outstretched wings of CMS I 145 of the burial in Chamber Tomb 516 at Mycenae (FIG. 9) cannot be considered suggestive of their owners' female sex¹⁸, whereas CMS I 12 of Burial 1 of Shaft Grave III is engraved with a violent theme (FIG. 3), a duel between

¹⁴ This is perhaps further supported by the fact that Shaft Grave M is much smaller and less elaborate in its features than Shaft Grave O with its stele and pebble floor. For the size and other differences of Shaft Graves M and O, see, Graziadio 1991, 408 (Table 3).

¹⁵ Both seals are of amygdaloid shape. CMS I 6 is made of carnelian and CMS I 7 is made of sard, which however is a brownish variety of carnelian (Krzyszkowska 2005, 82, n. 9). CMS I 6 measures 1.75 cm in length and 1.4 cm in width and CMS I 7 is 1.5 cm in length and 1.1 cm in width.

¹⁶ The size of the tomb's chamber (ca. 8.23 m²) and the length of its dromos (3.90 m) fulfill (some of) Cavanagh's criteria for average-sized Late Bronze Age chamber tombs from the Greek mainland, while its lack of a stomion is a feature more typical of small-sized chamber tombs (Cavanagh 1987, 163–165, 168, 169).

¹⁷ For the value of glass and glass items in the early Late Bronze Age, see Hughes-Brock 2008, 136 and Sheratt 2008, 212–214, 221.

¹⁸ For an intact LH IIIA1 male burial with a seal engraved with a similar bird motif (CMS V1 174), see Vermeule and Travlos 1966; Immerwahr 1971, 242–247.

Late Bronze Age hard stone seals

warriors captured at the moment of the deliverance of the final blow.¹⁹ In fact, one should keep in mind that all three burials in Shaft Grave III are furnished with gold cushion seals of violent imagery (CMS I 9, 11, and 13 with duel between man and lion, wounded lion, and warriors' duel respectively) (FIGS 4, 6, 8).

It is commonly agreed that war and armed conflict was exercised by the (male) elite of the Early Mycenaean period in their struggle for social/political dominance, while physical strength and military excellence were fundamental aspects of their identity. Accordingly, the proclamation of these 'virtues' through the use of the appropriate realistic (warriors' duel) or symbolic (duel between man and lion, hunts, animal attacks, wounded animals) violent imagery is an attitude that was enabled but also required by the social conditions, political ideology and reality of the time.²⁰

It is possible that the furnishing of the three (assumed) female burials in Shaft Grave III with seals of violent imagery might reflect appropriation of male symbols. In particular, if the status of women in Mycenaean Greece was ascribed and defined by their association with a particular group of male members of their society,²¹ then it is only logical that the symbolic imagery considered appropriate for the status of their husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons would also be used to communicate their position in society as well. If so, the possibility that CMS I 13 of Burial 2 with the animal suckling scene might reflect a personal choice, one that communicates (clearly) the owner's female sex and symbolizes her primary role as a mother²², is certainly an exciting one.

LH IIB–IIIA1 FEMALE BURIALS WITH HARD STONE SEALS

Discussion

The burials presented here were found in tombs in the Argolid and Messenia. The first burial from Messenia was found almost intact on the floor of Koukounara Tholos Tomb 3 and can be dated to LH IIB (early).²³ The head of the (assumed) female individual was probably originally covered by a cap decorated

¹⁹ On this motif, see Crowley 1989, 134, 136.

²⁰ Kilian-Dirlmeier 1987, 208; Laffineur 1992, 108–110; Voutsaki 1998, 55; Deger-Jalkotzy 1999, 121–124; Acheson 1999, 97–98.

²¹ As suggested in Mee 1998, 169.

²² See Olsen 1998 for textual and iconographic evidence about the role of women as mothers and primary child-care providers during the later Mycenaean period.

²³ Korres 1974, 146–154.

with glass beads, while the body was adorned with necklaces made of over two hundred faience/frit beads, which were strung together with a gold bead and a sard bead. This burial was also furnished with a silver ear scraper, an ivory comb, as well as several bronze objects (a mirror, a pair of scale pans, a finger ring, two knives with ivory handles, one needle) and six ceramic vessels. The hard stone seal in question was probably worn around the deceased's neck (CMS V S. 1B 190) (**FIG. 10**): it is an agate cylinder engraved with a hunting scene (long-horned quadruped chased by a collared dog).



FIG. 10: CMS V S. 1B 190

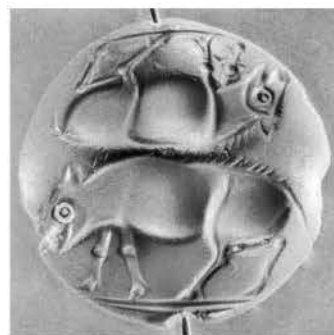


FIG. 11: CMS I

The second burial from Messenia was found disturbed in a stone-lined pit in the chamber of Tragana Tholos Tomb 2 and is dated to LH IIB–IIIA1.²⁴ The osteological examination of the skeletal remains concluded that they belonged to a female individual of fourteen to sixteen years of age. The grave goods associated with this burial are forty-one gold beads, several glass ornaments (discs and plaques) and five hard stone seals: a rock crystal lentoid and two agate lentoids with representations of bovines (CMS I 264, CMS I 265, CMS I 268) (**FIGS 12–14**); a red jasper lentoid with a pair of long-horned quadrupeds flanking a tree (CMS I 266) (**FIG. 15**); and an agate lentoid with perhaps a scene of bovine animals (bulls) in combat (CMS I 267) (**FIG. 16**).²⁵

²⁴ Marinatos 1955, 249–254; Korres 1976 a, 267–270; Korres 1976b, 141; Korres 1977a, 235, 236, 241; Korres 1977b, 127–128; Laffineur 1990, 139.

It is safe to assume that the burial in question was not the last to take place in the tomb. According to the pottery finds from the chamber's floor, LH IIIA2 is the *terminus ante quem* for its use (Mountjoy 1999, 334, n. 269 and see also Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 58 [no. 406]). Although pottery fragments were recovered from the burial pit, they have not been illustrated and there were no ceramic vessels specifically associated with the burial in question. The seals found with it however could be dated stylistically to LM II/LH IIB–IIIA1 (Younger 1985, 69–70; Younger 1986, 136) and therefore this burial can be dated to LH IIIA1 at the latest.

²⁵ For the identification of this motif as a bulls' combat, see Long 1978, 42.

Late Bronze Age hard stone seals



FIG. 12: CMS I 264



FIG. 14: CMS I 268



FIG. 13: CMS I 265



FIG. 15: CMS I 266

The burial from the Argolid was found intact in a pit (Pit I) in the chamber of the Dendra tholos tomb and is dated to LH IIIA1. The body of the (assumed) female individual was laid to rest on a bed of plaster but was not the only occupant of the pit: another, also intact, burial was found in it, that of a male individual. Ever since their discovery, the 'couple' buried in Pit I of the Dendra tholos tomb is conventionally known as the Dendra 'king' and 'queen'. There are only three objects that can be safely associated with the 'queen's' burial: one gold jewellery item (perhaps a bead); a silver cup of possibly Minoan manufacture with inlaid decoration of bucrania; and a hard stone seal (CMS I 184) (FIG. 11), a carnelian lentoid with a pair of swine, which was probably worn on the deceased's left wrist. It is possible that some of the precious grave goods from the middle of Pit I, which cannot be safely attributed to either of the two burials, belonged to the 'queen' (a necklace of sixty-one gold beads; a steatite lamp; an ostrich-eggshell rhyton with a silver neck piece, decorated with

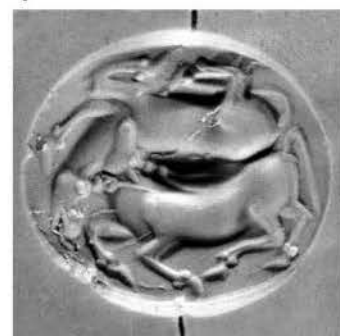


FIG. 16: CMS I 267

faience-inlaid and gilded bronze bands; glass beads or jewellery that survived as decayed glass paste).²⁶

Observations

The female individuals, whose burials were discussed here, were most likely recognized as belonging to the elite of their local communities. Judging by the size and construction quality of the tomb that housed her burial as well as the overall value of her grave goods, it can be argued that the Dendra 'queen' was quite possibly the one of highest status among the three.²⁷ However, her burial was furnished with only one seal, whereas the remains of the young female in the Tragana tholos were accompanied by a collection of five seals, the largest so far to have been found associated with a female individual.

The iconography of the hard stone seals of the three burials discussed here is not at all suggestive of their owners' female sex. In fact, it can be argued that the custom of furnishing female burials of high or considerable status with seals of violent (not 'female-appropriate') imagery lingered on from the previous, LH I-IIA period: CMS V S. 1B 190 of the Koukounara burial is engraved with a hunt scene and CMS I 267 of the Tragana burial is engraved with a scene of combating bovines. The choice of the motif of a pair of swine standing and nosing the ground for the only seal of the Dendra 'queen' (CMS I 184) is particularly difficult to understand, while the remaining four seals of the Tragana burial (CMS I 264–266, CMS I 268) carry representations of herbivore animals, perhaps the commonest theme of Aegean glyptic iconography.

The discovery of the intact male burials in the Dendra Tholos Tomb ('king'), in Burial Pit 1 of the Kazarma Tholos Tomb and on the floor of the chamber of Routsis Tholos Tomb 2 provides us with the opportunity to compare the female burials discussed here with those of male individuals of equal or similar status, which were also furnished with hard stone seals.²⁸ It is evident

²⁶ Persson 1931, 8–70; Mylonas 1966, 127–130; Laffineur 1977, 22, 88; Davis 1977, 284–286 (no. 120); Hurwit 1979, 413–414 (n. 6) Laffineur 1990, 130–131. Although it is not clarified, the sex identification of this burial might be based on the associated grave goods. However, the sex identification of the 'king's' skeleton was based on osteological examination.

²⁷ I find that none of the grave goods of the other two burials can compare with the silver Minoan cup of the Dendra 'queen' burial. With respect to the tombs' sizes: the Dendra tholos has a burial chamber of 41.83 m² and a 17.90 m long dromos; the Koukounara tholos has a burial chamber of 29.28 m² (dromos size is unknown); and the Tragana tholos has a burial chamber of 39.57 m² and a 7.50 m long dromos.

²⁸ For the Dendra 'king's' burial, see Persson 1931, 8–70; Sandars 1961, 27; Sandars 1963, 117, 120, 125, 144, 145, 147–148; Mylonas 1966, 127–130; Davis 197, 487; Davis 1977, 276–280 (no. 116), 282–

Late Bronze Age hard stone seals

that the female burials were overall more modestly furnished and their (almost complete) lack of metal vessels is quite conspicuous (**Table 2**): even the Dendra ‘queen’ was furnished with only one metal vessel, whereas her companion, the Dendra ‘king’, was buried with five. Likewise, the hard stone seals associated with the female burials are fewer: in particular, the Dendra and Koukounara burials were each furnished with only one seal, and the Tragana burial with five. On the other hand, the male burials from Dendra, Kazarma, and Routsis were each furnished with multiple hard stone seals (six, eight, and eleven seals respectively).

BURIAL	MV	EBW	IV	GB	MFR	SB	GLB/FB	SEALS
Dendra TT	5	9			4	2		6
Kazarma TT	2	3				X	X	8
Routsis TT 2		X				X		11
Dendra TT	1							1
Koukounara TT 3			1	1	1	1	200	5
Tragana TT 2				41				1

Table 2: Comparative chart of the wealth of elite LH IIB–IIIA1 male (blue rows) and female (pink rows) burials with hard stone seals (TT: Tholos Tomb; MV: Metal vessels; EBW: Elite Bronze Weapons [swords, daggers, spears]; IV: Ivories; GB: Gold Beads; MFR: Metal Finger Rings; SB: Stone Beads; GLB/FB: Glass Beads/Faience Beads) (X: unspecified quantity)

CONCLUSIONS

It is clear from the analysis of their funerary wealth, that not all of the privileged female individuals, who owned hard stone seals and whose burials were presented here, occupied the same position in the elite hierarchy of their time. Although their – minor or greater – status differences seem to have had an effect on the quantity, quality, and variety of their associated grave goods, this is not always the case with their seals: the wealthier Burials 1 and 2 of Shaft Grave III were furnished with hard stone seals engraved with complex and richly modelled motifs (**FIGS 3 and 5**), but the hard stone seal of Burial 3 carries a non-pictorial motif of very simple style (**FIG. 7**); on the other hand, the burials in

284 (nos. 118, 119); Matthäus 1980, 47, 166; Laffineur 1990, 130–131. For the Kazarma burial, see Protonotariou-Deilaki 1968; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1969a; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1969b. For the Routsis burial, see Marinatos 1956, 203–206; Marinatos 1957a; Marinatos 1957b; Marinatos 1957c; Marinatos 1960b, 114–115; Schachermeyr 1962, 271–276; Mylonas 1966, 131; Korres 1976a, 281–282; Korres 1988, 40–41; Laffineur 1990, 138–139; Rehak & Younger 1998, 238; Driessen and MacDonald 1984, 70 (no. 27); Tripathi 1988, 326 (no. 909).

Shaft Graves M and O were furnished with very similar, 'talismanic' seals (FIGS 1 and 2), while the female individual in the Tragana tholos was buried with more seals than the Dendra 'queen'.

In LH IIB–IIIA1, there are significant differences in funerary wealth between elite male and female burials that are also manifested in the quantities of their associated hard stone seals, which are noticeably fewer with female burials.

Another, perhaps surprising, conclusion is that the seals of female burials are not usually iconographically suggestive of their owners' sex. Only one of the burials discussed here was furnished with a seal of 'female-appropriate' imagery (CMS I 13) (FIG. 5), whereas (altogether) five were associated with seals with violent motifs (gold seals: CMS I 9–11 [FIGS 4, 6, 8]; hard stone seals: CMS I 12, CMS V S. 1B 190, CMS I 267 [FIGS 3, 10, and 16]), which however might be understood as symbols of their owners' status-by-association.

Of course, aside from their iconography, other factors might have made seals desirable and consequently influenced their patrons' decision to possess them, like the natural properties and/or value of their stones or that they were (possibly) Minoan works.²⁹ This might be particularly true for those seals with rather enigmatic ('talismanic'), difficult to decipher (the pair of swine on the seal of the Dendra 'queen') or even common (herbivores, bird) imagery.³⁰

From the evidence presented here, one could argue that during the Late Bronze Age elite female seal ownership in the Peloponnese was not governed by a set of rules. Although seals were valued as prestige objects and included in the funerary assemblages of elite female burials, their numbers and/or iconography (complexity, motif type) and/or engraving quality do not always reflect the (relative) status differences of their owners. The fact that the majority of the seals discussed here were not engraved with motifs that could be regarded as suggestive of their owners' female sex ('female-appropriate') could imply any or all of the following in respect to seal ownership in the Peloponnese during the Late Bronze Age: 1) elite females did not always have an active role in the creation/selection of their seals; 2) the appeal of seals depended on a combination of factors and not solely on their iconography; 3) seals were sometimes chosen randomly; 4) the aspect of female identity that relates to motherhood and child-rearing was not considered a standard symbol for female sex, thus the conspicuous absence of seals of such iconography from female burials.

²⁹ For CMS I 6 and 7 as Cretan works, see Krzyszkowska 2005, 233. Also I find that CMS I 184 exhibits strong stylistic and compositional similarities with CMS II 3 310, a LM II–IIIA seal, reportedly from Siteia (for CMS II 3 310, see Krzyszkowska 2005, 209, fig. 406).

³⁰ According to Asher-Greve 2006, 62, 69, a similar case is noted among some elite females in 3rd millennium BC Mesopotamia, who owned seals engraved with contest scenes.

Late Bronze Age hard stone seals

One has to recognize that the evidence used here to support these conclusions seems insufficient against the massive body of Late Bronze Age funerary assemblages with hard stone seals, which were excluded from this study due to their heavily disturbed state of preservation. Since this is the reality of the material we are given to work with, one has to decide whether to refrain from undertaking this type of investigation and be content with simply speculating, or at least make an effort to find answers to these questions using the available data in a sensible manner.

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Eleni Drakaki

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List of Illustrations

FIG. 1: Modern impression of amygdaloid seal CMS I 6

FIG. 2: Modern impression of amygdaloid seal CMS I 7

FIG. 3: Modern impression of amygdaloid seal CMS I 12

FIG. 4: Modern impression of gold cushion seal CMS I 9

FIG. 5: Modern impression of lentoid seal CMS I 13

FIG. 6: Modern impression of gold cushion seal CMS I 10

FIG. 7: Modern impression of lentoid seal CMS I 14

FIG. 8: Modern impression of gold cushion seal CMS I 11

FIG. 9: Modern impression of glass amygdaloid seal CMS I 146

List of Tables

Table 1: Comparative chart of the wealth of Burials 1–3, Mycenae, Shaft Grave III, Grave Circle A

Table 2: Comparative chart of wealth of elite LH IIB–IIIA1 male and female burials with hard stone seals

CHAPTER 5

VESSELS AND THE BODY IN EARLY MYCENAEAN FUNERARY CONTEXTS

RACHEL S. FOX

The Shaft Graves at Mycenae have a capsule-type nature that is unique in Early Mycenaean mainland Greece, due to their defined spatial limits, short chronological span and, most importantly, their escape from later plundering. Hence, it is possible to perform a closer analysis of their contents than of any other contemporary dataset. In this paper, I concentrate upon the vessels found in the two Grave Circles, both metal and ceramic, and examine their forms and deposition in order to draw some conclusions regarding funerary practices and the importance that commensality held for those buried in the Shaft Graves. I use the catalogues by Mylonas¹ for Grave Circle B (GCB) and by Karo² for Grave Circle A (GCA), as these are still the most complete records of the grave-goods, and I employ only those vessels whose form can be reconstructed.

VESSEL CATEGORIES

Neither Karo nor Mylonas divided the vessel grave-goods into different categories of form or use; therefore I have devised my own groupings. The vessels in both Grave Circles can be divided into six categories, based on their form and its associated purpose, which are as follows:

- 1) Drinking: this comprises all varieties of cups and is the most unambiguous group (Minyan cups, one-handled cups of various kinds, skyphoi, kantharoi and kantharoid cups, and Vapheio cups).
- 2) Pouring: this includes those vessels whose purpose was clearly that of decanting liquid from one container into another (jugs, ewers, hydriae).
- 3) Mixing: this is a small category which includes those vessels whose mouth was clearly wide enough to permit stirring of the contents (kraters, small krater-type vessels). Through analogy with later practices, we may surmise that this is a reasonable assumption to make regarding their purpose.

¹ Mylonas 1973.

² Karo 1930.

- 4) Transport/Storage: this is an amorphous category comprising vessels that would be suitable either for carrying provisions to the graveside for use in the funerary rites or for storage of the contents for the deceased's benefit (stamnoi, pithoid stamnoi, amphoriskoi). The fact that certain examples, such as amphoriskoi, have wide mouths that are not easily stoppered up may suggest that long-term storage was not their primary use.
- 5) Storage: this small category of vessels was more clearly suitable for long-term storage purposes (amphorae). They are generally too large to be easily transportable.
- 6) Other: this includes all the vessels that do not fit into the above categories (askoi, alabatra, phialai, lekanai, rhyta). It should be noted that ritual purposes predominate in this group.

VESSEL FORMS: EVIDENCE OF RITUAL PRACTICES AND SYMBOLIC VALUE

Although GCA is visibly richer than GCB, the same overall patterns of interred vessels can be seen in both Grave Circles. To commence by examining the metal vessels, in both datasets they are intimately associated with drinking rituals. In GCB, where they are fewer in number, they are almost exclusively represented by drinking and pouring forms (TABLE 1).

Grave	Drinking	Pouring	Mixing	Transport/ Storage	Storage	Other
☉☉ceramic: metal:	3	3 1		2		
☉☉ceramic:	4		1	2		
☉☉ceramic: metal:	17 2	13		12	1	4 (1 alabastron, 1 askos, 2 phialai)
☉☉ceramic: metal:	2 1	2	1	3		
☉☉ceramic: metal:	2	4 2	1	6		1 (lekane)
☉☉ceramic:	4	2				
☉☉ceramic:	3	2				
☉☉ceramic: metal:	6 1	2		3	1	1 (askos)
☉☉ceramic:	1	2		2		
☉☉ceramic:	12	1		4		
☉☉☉ceramic:	1	1				

Vessels and the body

Grave	Drinking	Pouring	Mixing	Transport/ Storage	Storage	Other
☹☹☹ceramic:	1	1	1			
☹☹ceramic:	9	4	2	1		5 (4 askoi, 1 phiale)
☹☹ceramic: metal:	4 1	3 1		6	1	1 (askos) 1 (phiale)
☹☹ceramic:	6	1			1	1 (askos)
☹☹☹ceramic:	2	2				
☹☹ceramic:	10	1	3	10	1	3 (askoi)
☹☹ceramic:	3	1				
☹☹ceramic:	4				3	
☹☹ceramic:	6			2		1 (askos)
☹☹ceramic:	2					

TABLE 1: Vessel forms in GCB.

Grave E has a krater, which can also be associated with drinking through the practice of mixing, and the two examples in the Other category are a phiale and a lekane, both of which can be linked with libation rites. While the exact purposes differ, all these vessels can be associated with a multi-stage drinking ritual, including the mixing, pouring and consumption presumably of wine alongside the offering of a certain portion to supernatural entities. In GCA the metal vessels are more spectacular as well as more numerous, but the same basic pattern can be seen (TABLE 2).

Grave	Drinking	Pouring	Mixing	Transport/ Storage	Storage	Other
I ceramic: metal:	2 2	2	7			2 (alabastra)
II ceramic: metal:	 1	1				1 (rhyton)
III ceramic: metal:	1 5	 2	 4	 1		7 (2 pyxides, 2 pans, 2 rhyta, 1 alabastron)
IV ceramic: metal:	4 20	 9	 12	2 1	2	4 (3 rhyta, 1 stag-shaped vessel)
V ceramic: metal:	 14	1 5	 4	1	1	

Grave	Drinking	Pouring	Mixing	Transport/ Storage	Storage	Other
VI ceramic:	4	5	1	1	1	1 (askos)
metal:	2	1	1			

TABLE 2: Vessel forms in GCA.

Drinking vessels feature in every one of the six graves, and pouring and mixing vessels were both found in four out of the six. The Other category is dominated by rhyta, again a vessel that could have been employed for libations. The only exceptions to this emphasis on drinking rites are two gold amphoriskoi which come into the Transport/Storage category, although it is highly likely that they fulfilled a pyxis-type purpose for the deceased's use, rather than any practical carrying of supplies to the graveside. Therefore, the focus on the drinking elements of the funerary rites is very strong and the conclusion can be drawn that such rituals were highly significant to the people involved in the funeral. However, such importance can be interpreted in two non-exclusive ways: firstly, drinking rituals (including libations) may have been a central part of the actual funeral and burying process and therefore were given focus through conspicuously wealthy vessels when the deceased's family could afford them. Secondly, drinking rituals and concurrent feasts may have been fundamental to the deceased during their lifetime, and therefore they were buried with these symbols of their ability to partake in such activities. Statement vessels can metonymically refer to the owner's participation in feasting practices, an activity that was an effective expression of wealth and control of resources.

As for the ceramic vessels, in GCB there is a continued emphasis on drinking rituals, with all of the 21 grave assemblages containing at least one drinking vessel and 17 of them also including at least one pouring vessel (TABLE 1). There is also an apparent attempt to create a 'drinking set', with drinking vessels exceeding or equalling pouring ones in 15 out of the 17 graves to have examples of both categories. This is to be expected, given that several people could share the same jug or ewer, but were more likely to require an individual cup. The upholding of this ratio in almost every case suggests a genuine practice and not simply coincidence. As with the metal versions, mixing vessels did appear in ceramic form but remained fairly rare. From this one may surmise that the mixing element of drinking rites was known but not universal – in other words, that drinking activities were not wholly formalised and remained relatively flexible at this early period.

However, the ceramic vessels also have a much greater representation in the remaining categories, with over half the graves (12 out of 21) yielding examples of the Transport/Storage group. The majority of these were pithoid stamnoi, relatively small vessels between 30 and 50 cm high. They would have been easily transportable, due to their size, and their narrow necks would have made them easy to stopper in order to contain whatever contents they held. This does not rule out the possibility of them having been left with the deceased for provision in the

Vessels and the body

afterlife, but such convenient features of their morphology suggests to me that they could well have held supplies for the funeral meal that were carried by certain mourners to the graveside. The occurrence of funerary feasts is well attested at the Shaft Graves themselves, as well as at contemporary tombs across the Greek mainland such as shaft graves I and II at Lerna.³ Animal bones were found in the fills of the GCA graves and associated with 10 graves in GCB also, and certain of these tombs in addition held oyster shells, pieces of charcoal and slabs that may have been used as tables. The vessels for consumption purposes that have already been noted fit into this scenario. Hence it would be a logical assumption that additional supplies, such as figs, olives or meal, may have been transported in these pithoid *stamnoi* to the graveside to provision the feast.

The ceramic vessels in GCA are much fewer, probably because the occupants were so well supplied with metal versions (TABLE 2). However, the examples that do exist differ little from those in GCB. Drinking and pouring vessels remained the most popular forms, with only a fractionally smaller number of mixing vessels (the seven *kraters* in grave I are exceptional). There was also a sizeable sub-group of Transport/Storage and Storage vessels, as was seen in GCB, and the same purposes can be proposed for these examples also.

Having examined ceramic and metal vessels separately, it is worth considering the graves where both types appear together in order to see how the two datasets interact. Did the two assemblages echo each other, or were they intended to fulfil different purposes? Only six graves from GCB had examples of both ceramic and metal vessels (A, Γ, Δ, E, I, N), and in every case, as is unsurprising in this poorer Grave Circle, the ceramic examples far outnumber the metal ones. The metal vessels therefore augment the assemblage that is already represented in ceramic form and do not form a separate group. In every single case, apart from the *krater* in grave E, the metal vessels have ceramic counterparts. The conclusion can hence be drawn that the metal vessels were *not* used for separate rites but were likely to have diacritically distinguished those using them from those who only had ceramic versions. This diacritical objective would remain the same whether it served to mark out the most honoured guests at the funeral itself, or the deceased at feasts during his lifetime. Secondly, the metal vessels do not feature at all in the Transport/Storage or Storage categories, as has been mentioned. This is not because metal storage vessels were never made, as graves I and III from GCA both have metal *amphoriskoi*, and I would suggest that such a trend is explicable by the mundane nature of their purposes here. If, as I proposed, they were employed to transport additional food for the funerary feast to the graveside, then when the tomb was reached their use would have been achieved and the focus on them would be removed. Although it is evident that food consumption formed part of the funerary rituals, it appears that the primary rite comprised drinking and liquid-based

³ Lindblom 2008.

activities and this was therefore where deployment of ostentatious wealth was directed.

All the graves in GCA contained both metal and ceramic vessels, and the metal examples are considerably more numerous. However, again it may be observed that, excepting the two pyxis-type amphoriskoi, all the vessels in the Transport/Storage and Storage categories were ceramic. This continues to support my proposition that these vessels' primary uses were for transportation of supplies for the funeral feast and for the deceased's comfort in the afterlife, and that they did not play a major part in the focal moments of the funerary rites. Moreover, it should be noted that, with the exception of a ceramic rhyton in grave II, all the ritual vessels were metal (a pattern that is seen to some extent in GCB also). This makes sense if it is accepted that the metal vessels are those which received the greatest focus during the burial rites. As all the ritual vessels are intended for the performance of libations, they are again connected with the overall activity of drinking rites.

It can also be noted that, with the exception of the poorer grave II, all the tombs in GCA had a majority of vessels in one type of material and the other type merely extended the assemblage. Graves I and VI had a wide range of ceramic vessels, complemented by metal versions, and graves III, IV and V had all the principal vessels in metal, with ceramic ones where they were more appropriate. There was no equal balance between the two types of material when they appeared in the same grave. It is probable that the ideal was to have the full assemblage of drinking vessels in metal, so as to display one's wealth most effectively; when the occupant of the grave was not rich enough to do so, the family reserved their metal vessels for statement pieces which would have been visible to all participants of the funeral. Sufficient wealth to do this was not within the grasp of anyone in GCB and few people in GCA, and those in graves III, IV and V who were closest to the ideal may thus have been conspicuously demonstrating their accrual of wealth and presumably their socio-political standing.

VESSELS, SEX AND AGE: THE USE OF FEASTING PRACTICES

For the remainder of this paper, I would like to take a broader perspective and concentrate upon the metal vessels in order to interpret the statements made by the visible deposition of such wealth. Both Kilian-Dirlmeier⁴ and Laffineur⁵ have attempted to perform statistical analyses of age, sex and grave-goods for the Grave Circles and, while it is difficult to associate items with particular bodies, I have found their work invaluable for my own study here. According to Kilian-Dirlmeier,⁶ only men in GCB were buried with metal vessels (TABLE 3).

⁴ Kilian-Dirlmeier 1986.

⁵ Laffineur 1989.

⁶ Kilian-Dirlmeier 1986, 181.

Vessels and the body

Kilian-Dirlmeier (1986)			Laffineur (1989)		
Body	Sex	Metal vessels	Body	Sex	Metal vessels
Grave Circle B					
			☉	M	1 silver
☉c	M	1 gold/silver	☉☉east	M	1 gold
☉e	M	1 gold/silver, 1 bronze	☉☉north-west	M	1 gold, 1 bronze
☉a	M	1 gold/silver	☉☉centre	U	1 silver
			☉☉north-east/west	U	1 bronze
			☉	F?	4 bronze
			☉	U	1 silver
☉a	M	2 gold/silver, 1 bronze	☉☉west	M	1 gold, 1 silver, 1 bronze
☉b	M	1 bronze	☉	M	1 bronze
			☉	U	1 silver
Grave Circle A					
Ia	F	? gold/silver, ? bronze			
Ib	F	? gold/silver, ? bronze			
II	M	1 gold/silver, 2 bronze			
IIIa	F	? gold/silver, ? bronze			
IIIb	F	? gold/silver, ? bronze			
IV north	M	? gold/silver, 6 bronze			
IV east	M	? gold/silver, ? bronze			
V north	M	8 gold/silver, ? bronze			
V south	M	2 gold/silver, ? bronze			
Via	M	1 gold/silver			
VIb	M	1 gold/silver, 3 bronze			

TABLE 3: Correlation of sex with metal vessels in the Shaft Graves.

Laffineur identified a possible female skeleton in grave E and also included four unsexed individuals in his study, but the general pattern remained that males were the predominant sex to be buried with metal vessels. In GCA, the trend is less clear, as several females had metal vessels as part of their grave-good assemblages, although this is undoubtedly due to the fact that in this slightly later period wealth appears to have been principally ascribed and these women were buried with exceptional amounts of wealth anyway. The association between males and metal vessels as statement feasting pieces is worth examining. I do not doubt that women could at times have partaken in feasts alongside men; if not, it would have been inappropriate for four women in GCA to have been buried with ostentatious consumption vessels. However, as an activity that was performed for the negotiation of socio-political status, it appears to have belonged to the male sphere.

In other words, while feasting in general could be performed by either sex, feasting as a specific means of displaying status and competing for social position was appropriate for men only. The practice was adopted as a method for attaining increased socio-political standing, highly useful in the fluid, competitive society of MHIII/LHI, and the metal vessels that were interred in the Shaft Graves were indicative of this particular use of feasting. They symbolised the ability of the man with whom they were interred to employ feasting to increase his own status and display his wealth to his rivals. It is notable that the graves containing metal vessels were often associated also with the deposition of exceptional wealth and of weapons. Again, while it is often difficult to distinguish which skeleton was accompanied with which grave-goods, Kilian-Dirlmeier's study has not identified any interment with a metal vessel that had less than two weapons.⁷ Laffineur's results differ slightly, but the general trend remains that there was an association between multiple grave-goods, metal vessels and weapons. If feasting as a method of negotiating status and authority is correctly construed as a specifically male activity, then this association of metal vessels and weapons is significant, as the weapons themselves were expressive of masculinity. Together they constructed an image of elite male identity that only the wealthiest could afford to subscribe to.

I have observed the creation of an elite 'package' around MHIII/LHI, composed of references to feasting, military skills, ability to travel or trade, and ostentatious wealth. This does not mean that those of lesser status were prevented from partaking in these activities, but rather that a conspicuously expressed combination of these factors served as a marker of elite identity. As I have just mentioned, the association between metal vessels and multiple weapons is one feature of this 'package'. Likewise, the appearance in the Shaft Graves of motifs and objects that had been borrowed or imported from Crete and elsewhere in the Aegean introduces the element of trade. While the non-elite ate, fought and possibly travelled, all the various factors of the elite 'package' could visibly express high social status: feasting demonstrated ownership of and command of resources; martiality displayed the leisure time to learn military arts and the wealth to obtain weapons; trade expressed the mobilisation of a ship and crew, dependent upon wealth and authority, as well as access to what must have appeared a world of exotica. When any or all of these were combined together with conspicuous wealth, they marked out the individual as of elite status. At the beginning of the Early Mycenaean era, when the societal structure was fluid and authority was in part based on achievement, the display of this 'package' would have been of great assistance in the accrual of socio-political position. It is worth noting here that exactly the same combination of elements held the same currency in the Early Iron Age also, when the social structure reverted to instability and competition after the fall of the palaces.

In this context, although few of the skeletons from the Shaft Graves have been satisfactorily aged, an association can be seen between adulthood and the interment

⁷ Kilian-Dirlmeier 1986, 185.

Vessels and the body

of metal vessels. Kilian-Dirlmeier and Laffineur both only studied GCB in this regard, but all the metal vessels there were buried with adults (TABLE 4).

Kilian-Dirlmeier (1986)			Laffineur (1989)		
Body	Age	Metal vessels	Body	Age	Metal vessels
			☉	23	1 silver
☉c	Adult	1 gold/silver	☉☉east	Adult	1 gold
☉e	Adult	1 gold/silver, 1 bronze	☉☉north-west	33	1 gold, 1 bronze
☉a	33	1 gold/silver	☉☉centr e	Adult	1 silver
			☉☉north-east/ west	Adult	1 bronze
			☉	Adult	4 bronze
			☉	Adult	1 silver
☉a	28	2 gold/silver, 1 bronze	☉☉west	28	1 gold, 1 silver, 1 bronze
☉b	45	1 bronze	☉	45	1 bronze
			☉	Adult	1 silver

TABLE 4: Correlation of age with metal vessels in GCB.

The majority were not able to be aged, but those that were range between early 20s and mid 40s.⁸ Two conclusions can be drawn from this small sample. Firstly, commensality was not related to maturity to the extent that one did not have to be of a senior age band in order to host feasting activities. Obviously life expectancy was shorter, so that one may have embarked on hosting feasts to negotiate status at a comparatively young age, but there does not appear to have been a distinction between the younger men and the more mature ones. This may well be due to the fact that feasting was a multi-layered activity that not only expressed the position and wealth that one had already gained, but was also a means of attaining status through the surpassing of rivals; thus it would be engaged in throughout one's adult life. Secondly, commensality in this context was not regarded as appropriate for children. In GCB, metal vessels were not interred with sub-adults, and it has also been observed by Lewartowski in a wide study of non-elite graves of the same period that no child was buried with a krater,⁹ which due to its mixing purpose would be intimately associated with feasting as opposed to consumption *per se*. Again, this appears to be related to the aims of feasting as a method of negotiating and displaying social status, which would not be appropriate for a child. The

⁸ It should be noted here (and in TABLE 4) that both authors employ the very exact ages presented by Angel in his 1973 analysis of the osteological data. It is commonly recognised now that these are far too precise; hence these figures should be taken as estimates rather than definite facts.

⁹ Lewartowski 2000, 59.

acquisition of authority was part of the adult sphere. As I mentioned with regard to women, this does not mean that children could never partake in feasts, but rather that commensality as a means of competing for and expressing social position was an adult, male activity.

To conclude, I hope that this survey has shown how informative vessels can be when interred alongside a body, and how they can illuminate the feasting practices and social beliefs of the Early Mycenaean period. This era is still poorly studied in comparison with the succeeding palatial period, and activities such as feasting are rarely discussed. Although the Shaft Graves do have an invaluable capsule-type nature, which means that studies such as this can be performed on their assemblages, similar patterns can be seen across the whole Peloponnese. Other Early Mycenaean graves are equipped with ostentatious metal vessels, such as the Dendra and Kokla tholos tombs or Tholos V at Pylos, and at these sites also the vessels appear to act as status markers for the deceased. The practice of commensality around the graveside is also attested across the entire peninsula, often with a strong focus on drinking rituals, such as at shaft graves I and II at Lerna where there is an emphasis on drinking and pouring shapes in the massive ceramic assemblage. Although the Mycenae Grave Circles are particularly rich examples, they express an ideology that gradually spread across the Greek mainland in the early LH period, which blended commensality and funerary rituals as a powerful arena for the negotiation and display of status.

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List of Tables

TABLE 1: Vessel forms in GCA

TABLE 2: Vessel forms in GCA

TABLE 3: Correlation of sex with metal vessels in the Shaft Graves

TABLE 4: Correlation of age with metal vessels in GCB

CHAPTER 6

SANCTUARY DEDICATIONS AND THE TREATMENT OF THE DEAD IN LACONIA (800–600 BC): THE CASE OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA

FLORENTIA FRAGKOPOULOU

INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on two ivory plaques NM 15518 and NM 16432 retrieved from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia during the excavations conducted by the British School at Athens during the 1906–10 seasons.¹ The uniqueness of these plaques stems from their iconography: each one is decorated with a *prothesis* scene which is a rather unusual decorative element for sanctuary dedications. The fact that no other ivory parallels of this sort are known from other contemporaneous Lakonian sanctuaries, as well as the fact that their material is luxurious, makes the act of their dedication even more intriguing.²

¹ Dawkins 1929, 210, Pls 102, 2–3; 1906–7, 100, Pl. 31g; Boardman 1963, 4ff; Marangou 1969, 50–52, Pls 38–39.

² These two features leave no doubt that these plaques are dedications, and as such they combine the elements of symbolic behaviour, ritual practice/s, and the organization of the participating worshippers; in the case of Lakonia in particular these worshippers take the form of Lakonian or non-Lakonian community subgroups that came to be included in (or formally excluded from) the Spartan political community via the conquest and/or absorption of various areas of territory over time (after the collapse of Mycenaean palaces in the area that came to be Classical Lakonia), see Fragkopoulou 2010. Although all three elements relate intimately to religious practices and modern scholars have traditionally accepted that a community forges its identity through religion in a continuous process, providing the fundamental framework in which religion operates as the symbolic focus and the very centre of the community (Sourvinou-Inwood 2000, 38–55), the terms ‘religion’ and ‘religious practices’ will be avoided in the present paper because both refer to behavioural patterns which are closer to our etic understanding of religion rather than expressing the emic definition of worship as shaped by the worshippers’ subgroups in question; instead, the term ‘sanctuary ritual’ will be employed due to its broader meaning. For the distinction between etic (*we*) and emic (*they*) and how both influence our understanding of the communities under study, see McNerney 2001, 52; Eriksen 2002 Ch. 2. In Clark 1999 it is emphasized that behind the distinction *we-they* lies the subconscious accusation that *we* are right and *they* were wrong.

Nevertheless, ever since the recovery of these plaques, the work of scholars has concentrated on their stylistic production and chronological implications;³ consequently, all work done on them refers to their production and dedication within the context of Spartan-Near Eastern relationships during the Archaic period.⁴ Thus, what has been neglected is their interpretation within the ritual context of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia itself.⁵ This paper

The particular distinction is especially acute in the present discussion as to what the role of the plaques has been interpreted (or implied) to have been at the sanctuary.

³ According to the rigid stylistic categorization established by Dawkins (in close relation to Lakonian pottery chronology), they belong to the 8th century; according to Marangou, to the 7th, see n. 1.

⁴ Which belongs to the general framework of the discussion concerning ivory craftsmanship within Lakonia, and how it is affected by trade and consequently artistic influences filtered through Samos, see Carter 1985, 72–73, 78–157.

⁵ The importance of the sanctuary has traditionally been connected with the quantity of votives recovered from it, Dawkins 1929, 117ff; Marangou 1969; Carter 1985, 72ff. Although the latter were retrieved because they were ‘sealed’ beneath the sixth-century sand layer, scholarship has paid little attention to the role played by this circumstance in boosting the ‘importance’ of the Orthia sanctuary from a very early stage; had there been such a sand layer in other Spartan sanctuaries, a similar or even larger number of votives could have been retrieved today. Consider, for example, the late Archaic mirror from the Akropolis as an example of bronze votives dated roughly to the end of the period in question in Sparta (Karagiorga 1965), as well as the series of bronze figurines exhibited in the National Museum of Athens, namely: A 15891–92 (two female protomes), A 15893 (naked male figurine), A 15895 (lion figurine), A 15896 (Athena figurine), A 15897 (naked female figurine/dancer?), A 15898 (frog figurine), A 15899 (protome bearing helmet), A 15901 (siren figurine), A 15903 (mirror), A 15904 (lion head), A 15905 (pomegranate), A 15906 (bracelet), A 15907 (fibula), A 15912 (inscribed plaque), A 15913 (strigil), A 15915 (part of inscribed knife), A 15916 (inscribed plaque depicting chariot race), A 15917 (gorgoneion); see also Woodward 1923–1925, 266–276; comparable votives of this scale do not seem to have survived from either the Orthia sanctuary or the Amyklaion). The quantity of ivory objects recovered from the sanctuary must be attributed to the nature of the goddess worshipped at Limnai, which bears close similarities to Near-Eastern deities, and thus develops the characteristics of the Mistress of Animals over time (at least on the basis of ivory votives connected with fertility; see for example Dawkins 1929, 203–248). The matter of cult transformations of female deities under Near-Eastern influences over time has been discussed in detail by Marinatos 2000 *passim* and does not bear repetition here; besides, ivory dedications have been retrieved from the Akropolis sanctuary too, for example, although fewer, Woodward 1923–1925, 275, which can be attributed largely to post-depositional processes on the Akropolis hill. This emphasizes that the purely artistic treatment of finds by modern scholars has resulted in a static approach which has failed to follow the cult’s development in relation to the other sanctuaries which are situated at the core of or around Sparta. The same problem applies to the establishment of the sanctuary as that of ‘Artemis Orthia’ in modern bibliography, even for the period of the very beginning of cult practice at the site, although the cult of the female deity worshipped at the sanctuary had not yet acquired the features of Artemis Orthia during the Archaic period (see the excavators’ annual reports as well as the site’s monograph: Dawkins 1905–1906; 1906–1907; 1907–1908; 1929); for this reason the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia will be referred to as ‘the sanctuary of Limnai’ in the present discussion. For a criticism of art-historical approaches that do not offer any conceptualization of the past, and thus fail to proceed

Sanctuary dedications and the dead at Artemis Orthia

aims to challenge assumptions that have dominated the work of scholars so far with reference to the nature of the plaques, and to define their role within the ritual context of the Limnai sanctuary.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE PLAQUES: RELATED PROBLEMS

The dominating feature of the iconography of the plaques is their funerary character which means that the definition of burial customs within Lakonia during the Archaic period comes into play in our discussion. This leads us to the first problem concerning the interpretation of burial activity in Sparta in connection with Spartan sanctuary ritual. Scholarly work has tended, based on the Athenian model (or models similar to it), to refer to burial customs and prohibitions as a series of measures imposed within the polis framework, aiming at the reduction of expenditure and display on the part of citizens.⁶ Thus the expectation that a strict distinction between sanctuary and burial ritual would be encountered from an early stage (even in areas outside Attica) has affected all attempts at interpreting Classical and post-Classical practices in Lakonia. This has placed an emphasis on the way Classical and post-Classical burials reflect contemporary socio-economic conditions through ritual investment.⁷ The problem in this case is twofold: first, there is no point arbitrarily stretching back patterns of later periods from areas outside Lakonia into the pre-Classical period in Lakonia;⁸ and secondly, no attempt

beyond art-history, see Siapkis 2003, 5 ff. For the gradual evolution over time of the character of the deities worshipped within Lakonia and their consequent adaptation to socio-political needs from the very early stage of Spartan state formation, see Fragkopoulou 2010. The matter of the development of the sanctuary at Limnai is of importance in the present paper because the artistic approach that has dominated scholar work so far has produced a series of one-sided interpretations concerning both worship within Lakonian borders and its connection to Spartan state formation as will be demonstrated in the course of the present discussion.

⁶ Which relates to the reforms introduced by Solon in the fifth century Plut. *Sol.* 21.1–5, and the habit of locating cemeteries away from the area occupied by the inhabitants of the city, Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 178; for an analysis see, Fragkopoulou 2006, 57–62.

⁷ Notably by Hodkinson 2000, 2ff.

⁸ This stems from the projection of later notions backwards as a phenomenon of interpretation in political-history. In the case of Lakonia, projection of contemporary notions functions on two levels: the projection found in ancient authors (who are exclusively non-Spartan authors, i.e. Herodotus, Pausanias, Thucydides, Plutarch, Hellanikos, Isokrates, Ephoros, which means that most of the information about Lakonian activity gets to us filtered through Athenocentric views, cf. also n. 9), and the projection involved in the work of modern researchers which is based on ancient sources. Projection stems from the tendency among historians to hesitate about going beyond what is supposed to be known; in the case of Lakonia in particular the period prior to the late Archaic is only scantily known to us; this generates a series of interpretational generalizations about activity within Lakonia that does not seem to be corresponding to reality; this relates directly to the issue of our subjective intervention,

has been made to investigate the pre-Classical processes which led to burial practices as they appear during the late Archaic period onwards within Lakonia.⁹ The above observation illustrates the way scholars have constantly used Plutarch's testimony about Lykourgos' legislative activity¹⁰ due to the shortage of material evidence from Lakonia (at least until recently), in order to give answers to the question of a Lakonian 'uniqueness' which has been presented as dominating even burial customs.¹¹ The problem is that the lawgiver's activity cannot be dated safely: he has been considered either as a contemporary of the first Herakleidai (so his activity has to be sought in the charter myths of the Spartan state),¹² or as connected with kings Eunomos and

Alcock 2002, 32 n. 57; Fragkopoulou 2010 Ch. 1, and the debate over the emic/-etic distinction, see n. 2.

⁹ All evidence and relevant bibliography have been gathered by Hodkinson 2000, 2ff so there is no reason to repeat all work done on the matter here. More recently some further material was presented by Dr E. Zavvou in an unpublished conference paper delivered at the British School at Athens on 21/3/08 (http://www.bsa.ac.uk/doc_store/FrontOffice/FRO2008_8.pdf last accessed on 16/2/09). What is of importance is that all evidence concerns small clusters of tombs that are found at different spots within the core of what we know as Classical Lakonia which follow no specific distribution pattern and contain mostly pottery.

¹⁰ Plut. *Lyc.* 27.1, Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄριστα διεκόσμησεν αὐτοῖς. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀνελὼν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ἐν τῇ πόλει θάπτειν τοὺς νεκροὺς, καὶ πλησίον ἔχειν τὰ μνήματα τῶν ἱερῶν οὐκ ἐκώλυσε, συντροφικούς ποιῶν ταῖς τοιαύταις ὄψεσι καὶ συνήθεις τοὺς νέους, ὥστε μὴ ταράττεσθαι μηδ' ὀρρωδεῖν τὸν θάνατον ὡς μιάνοντα τοὺς ἀψαμένους νεκροῦ σώματος ἢ διὰ τάφων διελθόντας. 'Furthermore, Lykourgos made most excellent regulations in the matter of their burials. To begin with, he did away with all superstitious terror by allowing them to bury their dead within the city, and to have memorials of them near the sacred places, thus making the youth familiar with such sights and accustomed to them, so that they were confounded by them, and had no horror of death as polluting those who touched a corpse or walked among graves,' Loeb trans. Perrin. Neither does the vague correlation of the sanctuary of Artemis at Limnai with the burial of King Theopompos (as attested in Paus. 3.16.6) lead to any chronological conclusions about any form of separation or relation between burial and sanctuary ritual in Lakonia or in relation to the specific sanctuary; the inhumations dated to the 9th c. without grave goods in the region of Limnai to the East of the Akropolis, and the cist-grave inhumation from Limnai dated to the seventh century, Hodkinson 2000, 2–3, seem to suggest that no strict demarcation between those areas which were used only for burial purposes and sanctuaries was followed at Sparta; nevertheless, given the limited number of burials discovered at Sparta (which are published) it is difficult to proceed to generalizations at this stage.

¹¹ Spartan 'uniqueness' has been used to explain everything about Lakonian activity that seemed 'peculiar' to modern scholars, i.e. the three-partite organization of *gymnopaideiai* in honour of Apollo, *krypteia* or the *agoge*; as such it emerges as a product of the supposed 'Dorian' organization of Sparta and Lakonia which has been implied to have been introduced as a 'package' in Lakonia at an obscure point in the distant mythological past; nonetheless, the 'Dorian' mythological explanation has proved to be a later invention, Malkin 1994, 15–45; Hall 1997, 56–64; Fragkopoulou 2010, and Spartan uniqueness does not appear to involve anything unique; see also n. 12.

¹² The charter myths of the Spartan state involved the Herakleidai and the Dorians. The legitimization of the Dorians in the Peloponnese was achieved through the new relationships

Sanctuary dedications and the dead at Artemis Orthia

Charillos (so his activity is put in the middle of the Archaic period).¹³ The fact that all aspects of organized life in Classical Sparta (including the crystallization of burial practices) are attributed to the mysterious persona of Lykourgos – without whom the Spartan politeia would not have come into being – emphasizes that the process of formation of ritual practices was a long one, and that the origins of such processes cannot be securely defined as

that were articulated in terms of a historicizing genealogy of their leaders, the Herakleidai. The return of the Herakleidai (that is the descendants of Herakles who had been divinely allotted lands) implied a right of possession justified by the foundation of the Dorian cities of the Peloponnese under their leadership. The debate around the fusion of the Dorian and Herakleid charter myths belongs to the wider phenomenon of communal-political relationships articulated through genealogy and kinship links during the Archaic period; the matter has been analyzed in detail by Malkin 1994, 15–45 and Hall 1997, 56–64; see also Fragkopoulou 2010 Ch. 2 where it is argued that such genealogical links are later and intentional semi-artificial constructs that do not follow the actual process of formation of the Spartan past, and thus they and their mythological settings project later socio-political inventions in the distant past so that their legitimacy is justified, and the distant past is shaped according to these later needs. For the matter of projection, see n. 9.

¹³ Lykourgos' name is connected with a series of measures that brought the so-called Lykourgan politeia (or else Lykourgan *kosmos*, founded on the assumed principle of equality among the Spartans indicated by the term *homoioi*, and based economically on the system of land tenure that supplied every Spartiate with a *klēros* worked by helots) into being, in response to *anomia* before the conquest of Messenia. It ended up meaning the product of a series of reforms that pushed economic realities in the direction of an ideal, Christesen 2004, 309–10. Our main information about Lykourgos comes from writers outside Sparta: Xenophon, Isokrates, Plato, Dieuchidas of Megara, but especially Ephoros and Aristotle. Xenophon dates him to the time of the first Herakleids, while the other authors associate him with King Charillos. Herodotus (1.65) mentions a sanctuary in his honour in Sparta supposedly established after the death of Lykourgos. Nevertheless, all the traits ascribed to Lykourgos, from the establishment of *eunomia* to his death abroad, and the loss of one of his eyes, can be found in the biographies of other lawgivers, e.g. Zaleukos of Lokroi, Arist. fr. 911.61 Rose; only Isokrates and Plato believed that the equality was enacted at the very beginning of Dorian rule in Sparta and thus did not ascribe it to Lykourgos, Isocr. *Archid.* 20; Plat. *Nom.* 684 d–e; for a list of sources and bibliography, see Kōiv 2003, 159ff. and nn. 108, 109. Lykourgos was also supposed to have collaborated with the Eleian Iphitos in establishing the Olympic ekecheiria, Arist. fr. 533 Rose = Plut. *Lyc.* 1.1; Paus. 5.20.1; Kōiv 2003, 163–68; nevertheless, this provokes more chronological problems because there is a lot of controversy around its date; for its late sixth–late fifth century date, see Kōiv 2003, 163–68 and Hornblower and Morgan, 2007, 30–35; for a detailed discussion, see also Christesen 2007, 18–19, 57–73, 147–160, 67–73; for the truce, see Lämmer 1982–1983, 47–83; the matters of conquest of Messenia and land tenure are highly problematic themselves and do not provide any secure evidence for Lykourgos' date; for the Messenian conquest, see Parker 1991, 25–47; Luraghi 2008; Fragkopoulou 2010; for land tenure, see Hodkinson 1986, 378–406; 1992, 123–134; 2000 especially 65–112. **The Lykourgan politeia relates closely to the controversial issue of the Great Rhetra and its rider (the additional clause) attributed to Kings Polydoros and Theopompos which do not help either in any way the dating of the Lykourgan constitution, for further analysis see Kōiv 2003, 197 and n. 215; about the crystallization of the tradition of Lykourgan legislation through the fusion of mythologically (and ritually to some extent) backed stories, see Fragkopoulou 2010 Ch. 2.**

having been established in the form of a 'package' at a specific temporal point.¹⁴ Burial practices cannot have been an exception to this.

Let us return to the plaques and their inherent problems. It is worth noting that there has been a lot of controversy over their original character. The excavators initially regarded them to be parts of fibulae.¹⁵ According to Kopanias, on the other hand, ivory plaques of this sort were originally used to decorate expensive furniture (such as beds or thrones), which were considered to be appropriate for dedication at sanctuaries due to the commonly apotropaic nature of their iconography.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the *prothesis* scene itself cannot be exactly characterized as apotropaic; therefore the question of how appropriate the choice is of a *prothesis* as decoration of either furniture or fibulae to be dedicated at a sanctuary remains open. It could be argued that *prothesis* scenes relate to death and, consequently, rebirth, and thus to the fertility character of the female goddess worshipped at the sanctuary of Limnai.¹⁷ However, due to the nature of the evidence, any suggestion at this stage remains speculative. Whatever the connotations of such dedications, whether apotropaic or connected to fertility, what matters in the case of these plaques is the act of dedication itself of such unusually decorated votives. Such an act involves the decision-making process of selection, temporization, and localization on both ritual and social levels. Thus, what becomes crucial for the interpretation of the iconography of the plaques is the clarification of the behavioural patterns that underlie the dedication of the plaques, with reference to the way their community functioned on a socio-economic – and consequently ritual – level.

¹⁴ The process of Spartan state formation began after the collapse of the Mycenaean world and continued until after the beginning of the Classical period involving the territorial expansion and the consequent inclusion and exclusion of populations, see n. 2. Nonetheless, the study of such a long process has inevitably involved the 'periodization' of the different stages of this process, which stems from our preference for conceptualizing the past in terms of clear-cut entities; this has not aided our understanding of the kinds of detail that actually explain otherwise obscure processes, Siapkis 2003, 61; this means that all aspects of everyday life including burial practices obtained their final form gradually and this process may be not visible to us in clear-cut stages.

¹⁵ Dawkins 1929, 210, Pls 102, 2–3.

¹⁶ Kopanias 2009, 123–131; he suggests that craftsmen trained in an Oriental or Orientalising workshop worked as ivory carvers at the Idaean Cave during the eighth century BC and some of them moved to Sparta at the end of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century BC, producing ivory plaques as the ones in question.

¹⁷ Cf. n. 5.

Sanctuary dedications and the dead at Artemis Orthia

CONTEMPORARY SANCTUARY DEDICATIONS OF FUNERARY CHARACTER: HOW COMMON ARE THEY?

Other contemporary sanctuary dedications of funerary character which we know about, are restricted to the controversial Attic sherds (interpreted as depicting a *prothesis* scene) found at Isthmia,¹⁸ and a plaque from the Heraion at Samos, which depicts a huge dead warrior being carried on a companion's back.¹⁹

The interpretation of the scene on the Attic closed vessel 370 from Isthmia as a *prothesis* is based on the presence of a section of a chevron 'branch' and more significantly of a checkered bier cloth. This cloth, a distinctively Attic subject with clear funerary associations, has made the chevron detail an intrinsic part of the scene, and has thus led scholars to identify the scene as a *prothesis*.²⁰ This sherd has been connected with the horse pyxis 264, also interpreted as having funerary connotations on the basis that horses relate to death and thus rebirth.²¹ The problem is that the interpretation of the Isthmia pottery sherds is based on fragmentary evidence, which makes uncertain any generalizations about the funerary character of these sherds and the practice of depositing them (or similar objects) at the Isthmia sanctuary. In the case of the ivory plaque from the Samian Heraion, the dead warrior and his companion have been interpreted as Achilles and Ajax, and therefore this votive has been connected with hero-cult.²² Hero-cult is a matter altogether different from that of votives of an exclusively funerary character; nevertheless, in this case what interests us is the representation of a dead person appearing on the dedication, which is made of luxurious material and has no other known parallel from this specific sanctuary or Samos in general.²³ It seems that these particular votives are as unique as the Spartan plaques. It follows that their dedication at the sanctuaries of Isthmia and Hera respectively is occasional and refers to particular circumstances prevailing at these sanctuaries, which remain obscure and inexplicable to us;

¹⁸ Morgan 1999, 284ff.

¹⁹ Foley 1988, 120; the clay plaques with funerary scenes found at Ithome mentioned by Themelis, 2003: 87-88 Fig. 77, and a clay figurine depicting three goddesses in a throne with the middle figure having the arms raised and the hands on her face, 2003: 89 Fig. 78; the dates of the finds are disputable spanning the period between the 7th and 3rd centuries; the sanctuary is believed to belong either to Demeter or to the Dioscuroi, see the relevant discussion in Themelis 2003: 87-89.

²⁰ Parallels of vessels decorated similarly involve a LG kantharos (K 76) from the Samian Heraion and a possibly later Boeotian Subgeometric piece, Morgan 1999, 284-285 and n. 127.

²¹ Morgan 1999, 284-285.

²² Foley 1988, 120. About hero-cult in general, see Antonaccio 1995.

²³ This relates to the connection of ivory artifacts found at the Samian Heraion and Spartan parallels. The matter has been examined in modern scholar work in terms of a 'special relationship' between the two regions; see also Fraggopoulou 2011.

they cannot therefore shed any light upon the dedication of the two *prothesis* ivory plaques retrieved from the sanctuary of Limnai.

IVORY OBJECTS WHICH RELATE TO BURIAL PRACTICES

What may be helpful is to examine the categories of ivory objects used as grave goods during the period in question. Ivory objects deposited in graves are usually stamps or, less frequently, seals.²⁴ Nevertheless, such seals have not been found within the limits of Lakonia.²⁵ Only two plaques, known to have been found in a tomb on the left bank of the Eurotas in the area of Dimitsana, are made of ivory. They depict two warriors and were found along with pieces of mirrors, coins, broken ornaments and cone-shaped objects of gilded metal. The plaques were unconvincingly interpreted as “probably older objects which found their way into a later grave”.²⁶ The warrior plaques do not bear stylistic similarities to the two ivory plaques in question, although they belong to the same stylistic framework as warrior plaques 15337, 15337a and 15846, which come from the sanctuary of Limnai.²⁷ The salient consideration is that they are made of ivory and that the same iconography is also found at a sanctuary. The importance of both points becomes apparent in what follows.

The evidence at our disposal of ivory from known burial contexts is fragmentary and thus we cannot draw any secure conclusions as to whether ivory plaques were common grave goods, either within or outside Lakonia. However, it is obvious that ivory was deposited in graves or was connected with burials, although in limited quantities, possibly due to its apparent luxurious nature.²⁸ In any case, the excavated burials in the area of Lakonia

²⁴ i.e. the ivory stamp from a MGII tomb of the early eighth century in Athens showing a two men and a horse, or two ivory seals found as part of a grave group of the mid ninth century in Athens (which seem to be exceptional for the period though since the material does not seem to have been used again until the late eighth century) Foley 1988, 118; cf. also n. 28.

²⁵ See n. 9.

²⁶ Marangou 1969, figs 147–8, 150 Hodkinson 2000, n.11.

²⁷ Marangou 1969, fig. 149.

²⁸ Concerning seals, it has been suggested that seals are normally not found in graves because most possibly only seals made of wood or other perishable material were buried with the dead, or that it simply may have not been the custom to put seals in graves, in that stone and ivory seals were considered too precious to be left as grave offerings; it has also been suggested that seals of office of priests or other officials were dedicated by these officials in the sanctuaries at the end of their term of office, Foley 1988, 120–121. The particular suggestions could not only apply to seals but to all other categories of ivory artifacts, and thus provide an answer as to why ivory finds have not been recovered from graves (at least in large numbers); nevertheless, such a suggestion does not clarify why the two plaques in question are deposited at the sanctuary of Limnai. Compare the interesting case of four ivory heads which were discovered during the excavation of Orthi Petra at ancient Eleutherna in

Sanctuary dedications and the dead at Artemis Orthia

are few;²⁹ therefore, research has not yet revealed enough to enable us to proceed to generalizations about the 'investment' of ivory in burial contexts in comparison to that of sanctuaries.

ICONOGRAPHIC CONNECTIONS BETWEEN BURIAL AND SANCTUARY CONTEXTS

According to the extant evidence, the iconography of ivory objects retrieved within both burial and sanctuary contexts seems to demonstrate similar features, as is shown by the representation of a warrior in the decoration of offerings found at both the sanctuary of Limnai and the burial at Dimitsana. It seems therefore probable that this iconographic overlap was not limited only to the aforementioned warrior feature, but involved other subjects too, and the possibility that the *prothesis* scene could be one such subject cannot be rejected. Given the great number of ivory objects retrieved from the Limnai sanctuary,³⁰ what emerges as a preliminary conclusion is that the difference between ivory objects deposited in burials and at the sanctuary of Limnai lies in the quantity of the deposited ivory. This emphasizes that the sanctuary context was considered to be locally more appropriate for such an 'investment' during the period in question than a grave.³¹ Concerning the two plaques in question, if we go a step further and accept that some form of distinction between sanctuary and burial ritual is at some point introduced during the Archaic period in Sparta and Lakonia, it may be argued that there is a straightforward explanation: both plaques were personal possessions

Crete along with a few fragments of sheet gold which according to the stratigraphical investigation, come from a funerary pyre. Nonetheless, these ivory heads were not used as grave goods but were burnt along with offerings to the dead; this means that we are dealing with a different form of offering from the case of the two Spartan plaques in question, Stampolidis 1992: 142ff.

²⁹ See n. 9.

³⁰ Dawkins 1905–1906, 318–330; 1906–1907, 44–108; 1907–1908, 4–29; 1929, 203–248; it cannot be ruled out that the other votive categories retrieved from the sanctuary were also funerary in character though not evident to us, see n. 2 where the problems of emic/etic approaches are discussed.

³¹ How much ivory was deposited in the other sanctuaries in the core of what came to be Classical Lakonia cannot be quantified due to the excavation reports' limitations; it seems almost certain that ivory was deposited in massive quantities only at the sanctuary of Limnai (in contrast to the Akropolis sanctuary at least, from which we have some evidence); this definitely relates to the nature of the female deity worshipped at the site (using elements from the Near Eastern female deities) and similarly the trade relationships that Sparta had developed with reference to the Near East, see for example its relationship with Samos. This brings us back to the matter of how the worship of the deity at Limnai developed over time in relation to the other deities worshipped at the other central Spartan sanctuaries and how these cult interrelations are connected with Spartan state formation, see nn. 2 and 5.

dedicated either by a member of the community who had acquired these objects which held no specific meaning for him, or by a member of a community outside Lakonian territory who might not have shared any Lakonian values that would dictate the separation between burial practices and sanctuary ritual, or for whom dedicating such objects at a sanctuary might have been as meaningful a personal or family statement as having included it in a grave.³² The latter would mean that the theme of *prothesis* does not actually play any role in the dedicatory nature of the two plaques. This signifies that the issue of death – and consequently, burial – was indeed a neutral matter which could be chosen to decorate objects that would be dedicated at a sanctuary, which agrees with Plutarch's testimony about Lykourgos' aim to remove fear of the dead. This is the reason why the subject of death formed an iconographic theme acceptable for sanctuary dedications.

THE QUESTIONS THAT ARISE

Although Plutarch's testimony regarding Lykourgos' burial reforms are confirmed, to some extent at least, by Spartan burial practices,³³ it does not explain satisfactorily the awkwardness of the two ivory plaques' dedication, that is the occasional character of dedicatory practice. The question which emerges therefore is why did Lakonians not dedicate more objects of clearly funerary character at the sanctuary of Limnai over time, if they were so 'liberal' as to the burial of their dead near sanctuaries, or as to the dedication of objects of a funerary nature at sanctuaries.³⁴ This in turn generates a series of subsidiary questions. First, it is not clear whether the actual character of the two plaques was originally dedicatory, or whether they ended up being dedications after second- or third-hand use. Given that the testimony about Lykourgos echoes some truth about the way burial and sanctuary ritual were connected, the original character of the plaques could have been funerary. Nonetheless, there is no reason for us not to accept the opposite. Second, their find-spots³⁵ do not help us to define whether they were originally kept in the temple as exceptional and luxurious dedications, or whether they were

³² Morgan 1999, 284–285.

³³ About the problems that arise concerning Lykourgos' date and activity, see n. 13.

³⁴ The retrieval of the 20 controversial relief-amphorae found in fragmentary form in or close to sanctuaries (in the Heroön, in the vicinity of the Great Altar, on the Akropolis and at the sanctuary of Orthia) the date of which spans the period between the 7th and 6th centuries, is not helpful in this matter because they have been interpreted as 'ceremonial' in a wide sense, and not necessarily funerary in purpose, for a select bibliography on the matter, see Hodkinson 2000, 4.

³⁵ The first 'from the front of the later temple', and the second 'at the south end of the great altar', Dawkins 1929, 210.

Sanctuary dedications and the dead at Artemis Orthia

thrown away during some later restoration and expansion of the sanctuary.³⁶ Third, their material itself signifies that their dedication was made by members of the élite community. Even so, it cannot be certain whether the dedication of these plaques was the result of a particularly exceptional élite family's desire for differentiation among other members of the élite group in terms of dedication.³⁷ This in turn does not clarify whether the remaining identical and mass-produced ivories and bone carvings were dedicated by less exceptional members/families of such a favoured group.³⁸ Finally, there is the matter of whether such dedications bear a relationship to the enactment of worship at particular sanctuaries which relate to the worship of the dead. There seems to be no available relevant evidence. If we consider that worship at the Heroön begins during the seventh century,³⁹ then differentiation in worship practices (referring to gods and heroes) takes shape during the seventh century onwards in the area of Sparta. Accordingly, we cannot expect any form of veneration of the dead taking any particularly distinct form before that period. This means that ritual enactment at sanctuaries could include elements of the veneration of the dead before the seventh century. This in turn could have resulted in a vague mixture of ritual features combining elements of the worship of both deities and the dead. Besides, all processes in the crystallization of both socio-political features and worship practices are long and interwoven; thus we cannot attribute the development of their distinct characteristics to specific temporal points, especially since our

³⁶ Similar problems arise in the case of the lead figurines that have been found within the limits of the temple building and the lead figurines that have been found in mass quantities dispersed within the limits of the sanctuary, and point to differentiation of activity in different parts of the sanctuary; the matter is being studied by the author as part of her doctoral thesis.

³⁷ The evidence for Lakonian dedicatory activity at the panhellenic sanctuary of Olympia for example demonstrates that there is an active elite in Sparta that acts as a distinct group abroad; the matter of Spartan elite activity and economic activity has been discussed in extensively by Hodkinson 2000 *passim*; similar activity is reflected at the sanctuary of Chalkioikos at the Akropolis where a number of Panathenaic amphorae has been retrieved, see Dickins 1906–1907, 137–154; the question is how Spartan elite acts within Spartan borders before the sixth century, and whether the dedication of the particular plaques relates to the elite activity matter.

³⁸ This relates to how Lakonian dedicatory practice is reflected in sanctuaries within Lakonia and abroad, as in the case of Lakonian activity at Olympia with reference to the large number of Lakonian bronze animal dedications at Olympia and Sparta that comes into contrast with the small number of Lakonian hand-made clay figurines found only within Lakonia, which indicates a difference in Lakonian production destined for consumption within and outside Lakonia during the Archaic period, for more details, see Heilmeyer 1979, 134–136 and Fragkopoulou 2011.

³⁹ Wace 1905–1906, 288–94.

etic approach still cannot fully understand the specific behavioural worship modes in question.⁴⁰

CONCLUSION

What is important for our enquiry is that these two ivory plaques were chosen for dedication at the particular sanctuary which lies at the core of what came to be Classical Lakonia, and it seems that we are dealing with a *prothesis* scene which relates directly to Attic iconography.⁴¹ It certainly cannot be assumed that Athenian meanings were necessarily transferred with Attic iconography beyond Attic borders. Nevertheless, the appearance of Attic iconography in a non-Attic sanctuary means either that the particular ivory plaques were dedicated by a person who brought with him a non-Lakonian attitude relating to the connection between burial and sanctuary behaviour, or that a Lakonian community member brought to Sparta a non-Lakonian ritual habit. What interests us is that, in either case, Sparta emerges as a community open to influences from abroad, and that the particular funerary decoration of sanctuary votives was not adopted and further developed by Lakonians. Given that worshippers never act randomly but proceed to the dedication of a particular object because of its specific characteristics,⁴² the dedication of the plaques was conscious.⁴³ Nevertheless, the habit of dedicating objects of funerary character at the sanctuary of Limnai did not reflect or serve the general ritual needs of Lakonian community worshippers, and thus no further sanctuary dedications of this sort have been found either at this sanctuary or at any other Lakonian shrines.

⁴⁰ See n. 2.

⁴¹ Morgan 1999, 248ff.

⁴² On how symbols function within religious practices, see Cohen 1985, 97–114; on how worshippers decide to proceed to the dedication of votives, see Fragkopoulou 2010.

⁴³ Cf. Kopanias' conclusion that ivory plaques bearing the sacred tree were dedicated at the sanctuary of Limnai after their second or third use, in that their decoration was appropriate but they were not produced in the first place for that purpose, 2008, 130.

Sanctuary dedications and the dead at Artemis Orthia

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CHAPTER 7

GRAVE STELAI AND BURIALS IN MEGALOPOLIS

STAMATIS FRITZILAS

A HISTORY OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The inscriptions of Megalopolis, including the funerary ones, initially attracted the attention of travellers and researchers, who copied and published them. Scratched on such durable material as limestone or marble, they became the source of second-hand building material for various projects. Most interesting is the collection of cases where funerary material was recorded during the 19th and 20th centuries. In 1819 E. Dodwell first made reference to a funerary inscription of the ancient city, which he found incorporated into the top part of a staircase in the towerhouse of the Agha of what was then a small town under Ottoman occupation (called Sinánu in earlier times).¹ In 1828 A. Böckh, the founder of Greek epigraphy, added another funerary inscription to the *Corpus of Greek Inscriptions* published by the Academy of Berlin.² A few years later, in 1833, a sketch of the previously mentioned inscribed funerary stele with a figure of a man appeared in the French publication of the Scientific Expedition to the Morea.³ After that, both inscriptions were included in the French publication of inscriptions from the Peloponnese by P. Foucart and P. Le Bas, together with four more new funerary inscriptions from Megalopolis.⁴ In 1892 nine such new inscriptions were included in the publication of the British School of Archaeology, which first excavated the 'Megale Polis'.⁵ Then in 1913 H. v. Gaertringen published all the known Megalopolis inscriptions in the *Corpus of Arcadian inscriptions*, adding eight new ones to the total of 23 already known.⁶ In 1973 A. Petronotis mentioned that he had located a previously unknown funerary

Abbreviations: IG V (2) = Hiller von Gaertringen, F. 1913. *Inscriptiones Graecae* V.2: *Inscriptiones Arcadiae*. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, LGPN IIIA = Fraser P. M., Matthews, E., 1997. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol. IIIA, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

¹ Dodwell 1819, 376.

² Böckh 1828, 710 no. 1539. Cf. Leake 1830, v. III, fig. 48 and fig. 49.

³ Blouet 1833, 47 pl. 40 fig. II. Le Bas 1835, 39.

⁴ Foucart and Le Bas 1870, vol. II, 72 no. 333–4.

⁵ G. C. Richards in Gardner *et. al.* 1892, 122–41.

⁶ IG V (2) 472–4, 477, 479, 490, 491, 494.

inscription in the northeast part of modern Megalopolis.⁷ In 1976 workers digging a ditch 100 m south-east of the bridge over the river Elisson found the funerary stele of a doctor.⁸ In 1978 excavations between Polybius & Lykortas Streets under the supervision of the Ephor of Antiquities G. Steinhauer revealed one of the cemeteries in the east part of Megalopolis, which contained a funerary stele crowned by a pediment.⁹ Finally, in 1981 during a systematic surface survey by British archaeologists over the Megalopolitan Chora, a funerary inscription was located between the villages Perivolia and Mallota, belonging to the Municipality of Megalopolis,¹⁰ whilst in 1983 one more was located by Y. Pikoulas at Voutsara, a village in the south part of the Megalopolitan Chora.¹¹

THE BURIALS AND THE CEMETERIES

The sites where ancient graves have been found are situated both inside and outside the walls of Megalopolis. The walled city covered a large area, as it became the administrative, political and cultural centre of the Koinon of the Arcadians from the time of its foundation after 371 BC, that is, after the battle of Leuktra. According to Polybius (*Histories*, 9.26a.1-2) the length of its walls was 50 stadia (approximately 9 km).

The circumference of the walls was investigated during an earlier survey by the British School of Archaeology.¹² Various funerary monuments must have stood along the ancient roads which headed from the city towards different directions, e.g. Mainalos, Lykosoura, Laconia and Messenia.¹³ On the road leading towards Mainalos, outside the gates and in the region of ancient Elos (Marsh), stood some famous monuments, such as the one dedicated to Oikleus, Amphiaraos' father, and the grave of the tyrant Aristodamos (Paus. 8.36.5).

The most outstanding tomb set, exceptionally, inside the walls of the city and within the highly revered site of the Agora, was the monument of white stone dedicated to Philopoemen (Diodorus 29.18). Posthumous honours as to a hero, comparable to those for Philopoemen, were accorded to Eudamos, father of Lydiadas (the last tyrant of Megalopolis and general of the Achaean Confederacy), as recorded by two posthumous public decrees dated

⁷ Petronotis 1973, 237. Vas. N. Markou, a resident of the neighbouring village of Marathousa, showed this stele to Arg. Petronotis.

⁸ Te Riele 1984, 238–43.

⁹ Pikoulas 1988, 190–1.

¹⁰ Lloyd, Roy and Owens 1982, 250 pls VII a.b.

¹¹ Pikoulas 1985, 85–6, fig. 1.

¹² Loring in Gardner *et. al.* 1892, 115. Petronotis 1973, fig. 6. Roy 2007, 289–95, fig. 31.1.

¹³ Petronotis 1973, fig. 6.

Graves in Megalopolis

to the middle of the 3rd century BC,¹⁴ which came from a semi-circular platform, parts of which came to light in their secondary use during the Greek and German excavations in the ancient Agora of Megalopolis.¹⁵

Digging for the foundations of the Public Power Corporation (DEI) building between Polybius Street and Lykortas Street revealed one of the southern cemeteries of Megalopolis and 147 burials were excavated in an area 30 m x 50 m. Most of the tombs had no offerings and were tile-graves. However there were also tombs built with clay tiles of rectangular section. The best burials were within a simple enclosure. The burials are dated from the end of the 3rd century BC until the 1st century AD. Also revealed were the foundations of a monumental limestone funerary building of rectangular section measuring 3 m x 3 m. One can still see these foundations in the basement of the entrance to the Public Power Corporation offices at 11 Lykortas Street (**FIG. 1, no. 17**).¹⁶

¹⁴ For the inscriptions of the monument, see Stavrianopoulou 2002, 117–56.

¹⁵ For these excavations, see Spyropoulos, Lauter, Lauter-Bufe and Kreilinger 1995, 119–128; Spyropoulos, Lauter, et. al., 1996, 269–286; Lauter 1997, 391–405; Lauter & Spyropoulos 1998, 415–451.

¹⁶ Pikoulas, 1988, 190–1.

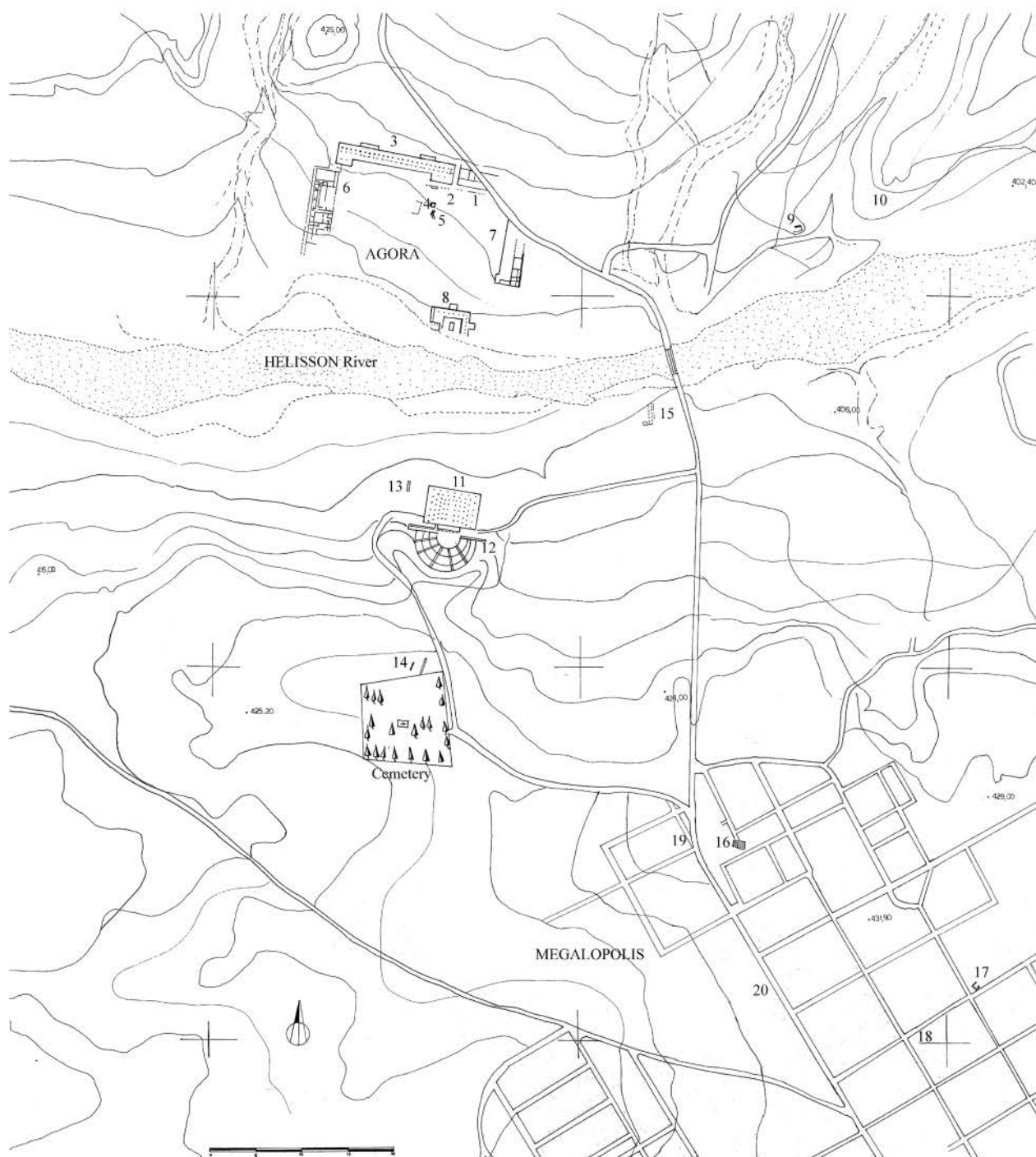


FIG. 1. Survey map of the archaeological area of Megalopolis.

Index: 1. Archeia (Public Offices), 2. Statue Bases, 3. Stoa of Philippos, 4. Altar of Lykaian Zeus, 5. Bases, 6. Bouleuterion, 7. Myropolis Stoa, 8. Sanctuary of Zeus Soter, 9. Tower F of City Wall, 10. Tumulus Arapomagoula, 11. Thersileion, 12. Theater, 13. Great Altar, 14. Stoa, 15. Sanctuary of Asklepios Pais, 16. Large Roman House with Mosaic Pavements, 17. Foundations of Grave Monument, 18. Charalampopoulos Plot, 19. Tsougou Plot, 20. Koutsopoulos Plot.

Graves in Megalopolis

Many simple burials of late antiquity and of the Byzantine period, usually without offerings and covered with clay tiles have been found in the past in various places, both outside and inside Megalopolis, such as the ancient theatre.¹⁷ In 1997 two tile-graves were discovered in the east terrace of the theatre's coelum, with an E-W orientation, without offerings, in which the dead had been placed directly on the ground. It seems that the north-east slope of the hill of the coelum became a place for burying the dead.¹⁸ In 1997 shaft graves were revealed in the junction of Ancient Theatre Street and Epikourios Apollo Street. These graves all had an E-W orientation, a floor covered with clay slabs and walls built with either tiles or stones using plaster as a binding medium.¹⁹ In 2007 graves were discovered during rescue excavations at no. 71 Ancient Theatre Street (**FIG. 1, no. 20**).²⁰ They were three tile-covered graves dated to late antiquity (**FIGS 3, 4, 7, 8**). Each grave consisted of six tiles, two on each long side and one on each short side. The tiles were supported all around by small stones. The bodies had been placed directly on the ground. The burials had no offerings and they had a general E-W orientation.

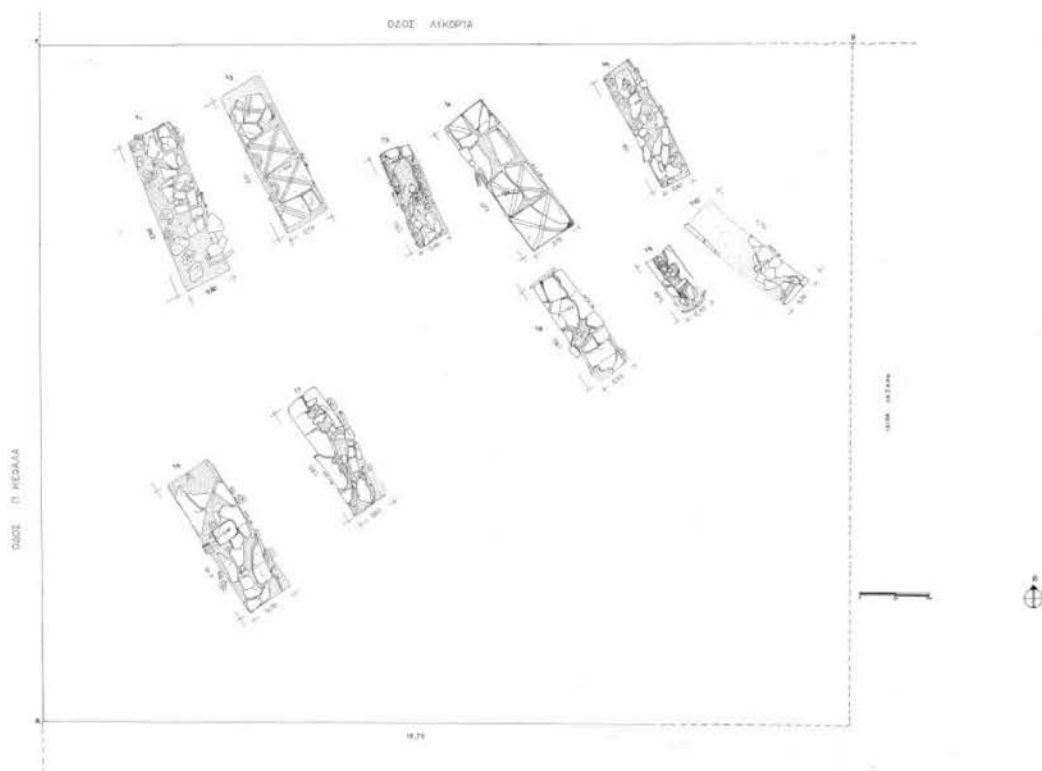


FIG. 2. Burials at Megalopolis city grid no. 237. Ground plan.

¹⁷ Orlandos 1959, 186. Orlandos 1962, 178.

¹⁸ Karapanagiotou 1997, 203–4 plan 20.

¹⁹ Karapanagiotou 1997, 200–1 plan 17.

²⁰ Fritzilas 2007, in press.

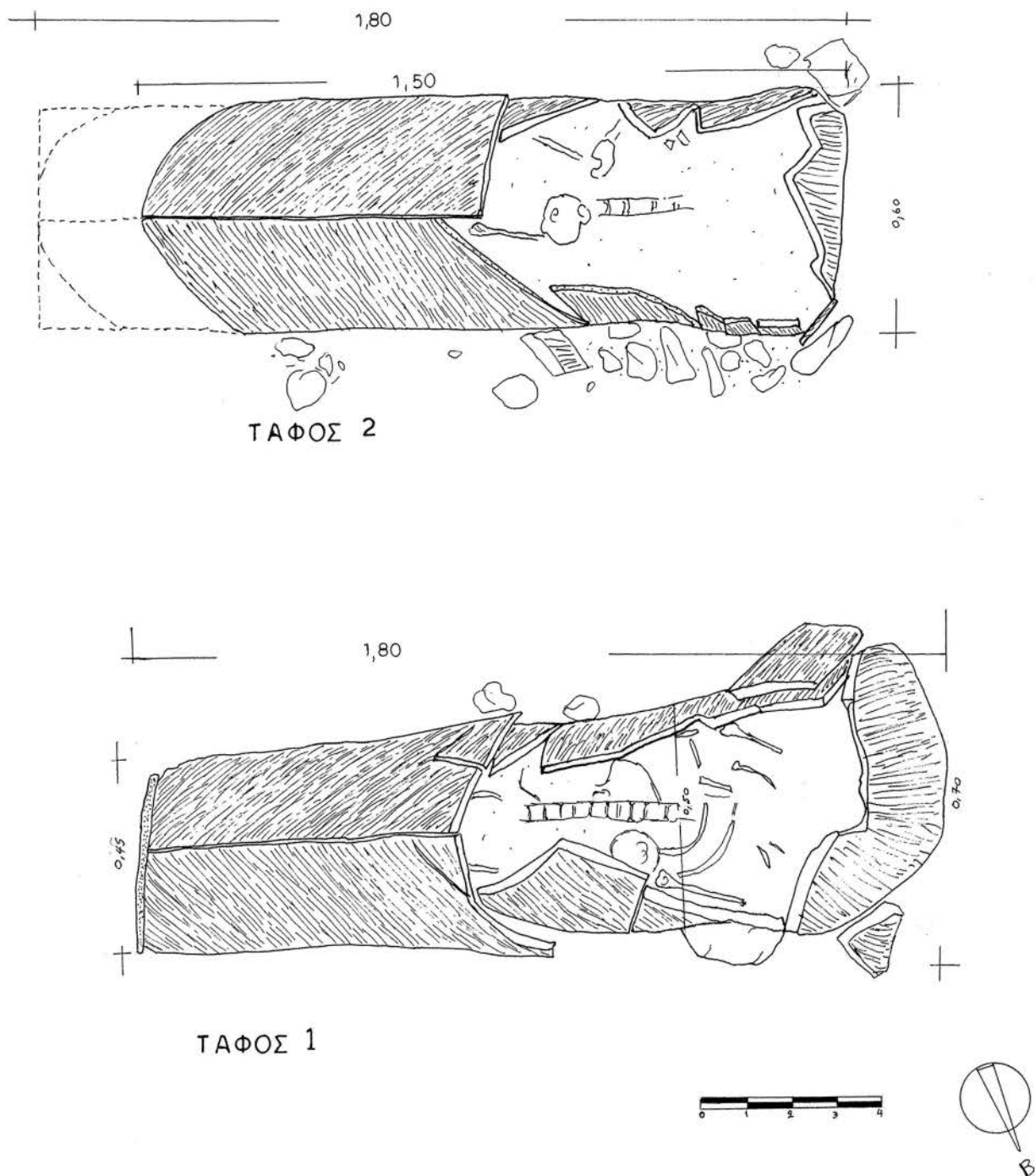


FIG. 3. Burials at Megalopolis city grid no. 210. Ground plan.

Graves in Megalopolis

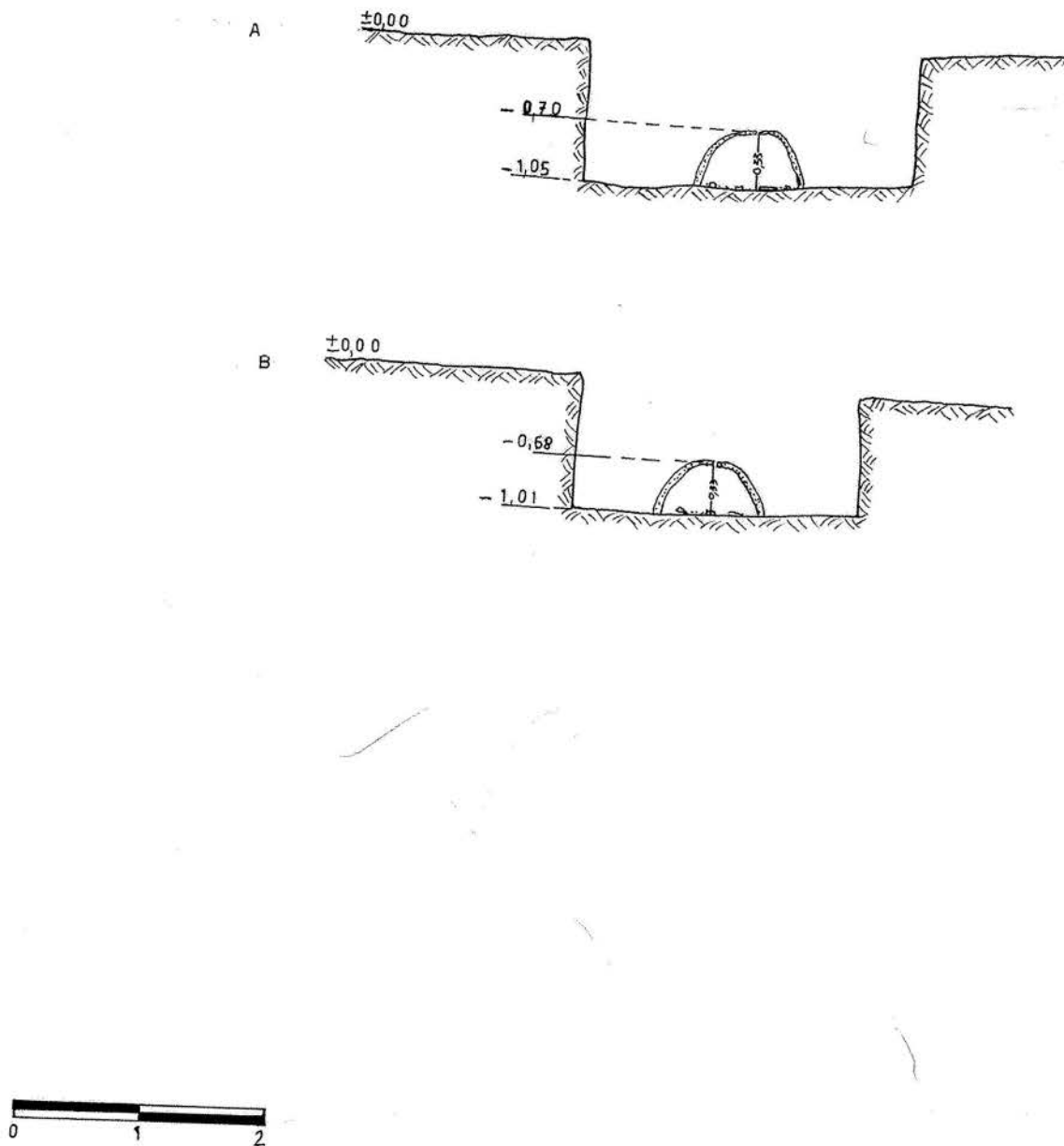


FIG. 4. Burials at Megalopolis city grid no. 210. Grave sections.



FIG. 5. Grave 4 at Megalopolis city grid no. 237 (Charalampopoulos Plot).



FIG. 6. Grave 2 at Megalopolis city grid no. 237 (Charalampopoulos Plot).



FIG. 7. Grave A at Megalopolis city grid no. 210 (Koutsopoulos Plot).



FIG. 8. Grave B at Megalopolis city grid no. 210 (Koutsopoulos Plot).

During a recent rescue excavation on Lykorta and Kefala Streets, in the northern section of modern Megalopoli²¹ ten tile-graves were uncovered, with a NW-SE orientation, which are dated to the Roman period, around the 2nd-3rd century AD (FIG. 1, no. 18; FIG. 2). Eight of them were tile-graves (burials 1, 3, 5-10) and two were pit graves (burials 2 and 4) (FIGS 5, 6). The pit graves were covered with 3 to 4 square clay slabs, measuring from 0.57 m to 0.61 m (burials 2 and 4).²² The tile-graves have a covering in the shape of an angular slanted roof with a pediment, that is, they are covered by inverted roof tiles with their point stuck into the ground. As support for the tiles they used unworked stones as wedges at different places. The short sides are open or closed up with a fragment of tile or stone. The dead were placed directly on the ground. The earlier use of the site as a cemetery is indicated by a spindle-shaped unguentarium, dated to the late Hellenistic period (mid-2nd to mid-1st century BC).²³ The site of the cemetery is situated in the southern section of the ancient city, in the area within the walls. It appears that during the Roman period the city contracted in its southern part, and this area became a place for burial.

²¹ Fritzilas 2009, in press.

²² For parallels in tile decoration see Nalbantis 2003, 28, 44, 58, 59, 87.

²³ For parallels see Nalbantis 2003, 89; Arapogianni 2005, 90, αρ. Π 6858, εικ. 5.

THE FUNERARY STELAI

Most of the stelai were not discovered *in situ* in the cemeteries, as they had been reused either as building material or to decorate the façade of public buildings or private residences. Some had been located in the past in churches, such as St. Nikolaos and St. Sotira, in the ancient theatre and also in houses in the city.²⁴ Most of the funerary inscriptions were found in the east side of Megalopolis, particularly in the neighbourhood of the church of St. Athanasios.²⁵ Some others were found during surface investigations in the countryside, near the villages of Mallota and Perivolia, in the region of ancient Aimoniai.²⁶

No systematic excavation or publication of the tombs and cemeteries of Megalopolis has yet been done, something which would allow the dating of unplundered graves and their stone markers based on excavation data. As a consequence, the dating of the grave stelai of Megalopolis (and of most known funerary stelai kept in museums for years) has to be based on the letter forms (in those where inscriptions survive) and on their stylistic technique. Certain examples of funerary monuments and stelai are known to us from other cemeteries of ancient Arcadia, such as Alipheira,²⁷ Phigaleia,²⁸ Palaiokastros in Gortinia,²⁹ Tegea,³⁰ Pallantion,³¹ Mantinea,³² Kaphyai,³³ Stymphalos,³⁴ Kleitor or Psophis.³⁵

One of the oldest inscribed funerary monuments of the region was located between the villages of Mallota and Perivolia, approximately 4.6 km east-southeast of Megalopolis. It consists of a plain (unworked) local stone, the short, sharp side of which had been stuck in the ground. Its shape indicates that it comprised an independent monument, i.e. it stood directly on the ground. The only word inscribed on the stone has been interpreted as *Θαφαῖος* (FIG. 9). The letter forms place the date of the inscription in the late Archaic period (end of 6th – beginning of 5th century BC). It has been suggested

²⁴ IG V (2) 482, 489, 487, 483, 485.

²⁵ IG V (2) 473, 477, 479, 480, 492.

²⁶ IG V (2) 493, 494. For the site of Aimoniai see Pritchett 1982, 33–5. Pikoulas 1988, 90–3.

²⁷ Orlandos 1967–8, 203–43.

²⁸ Arapogianni 2005, 83–94.

²⁹ Karapanagiotou 2008, 231–50.

³⁰ Rhomaios 1912, 367–70, 380–2. IG V (2) 173–259; Stavridis 1996, 93–98; Datsoule-Stavridis 1992, figs 1, 2, 11, 12.

³¹ Iozzo & Pagano 1990, 129–31 fig. 71.

³² Fougères 1898, 554, fig. 60. IG V (2) 325–42. Stavridis 1987–8, 474 fig. 5.

³³ Datsoule-Stavridis 1992, εικ. 7.

³⁴ Harding & Williams 1992, 57–66.

³⁵ Papapostolou 1993, 21, 23, 34, 56.

Graves in Megalopolis

that the word *Θαφαῖος* may be derived from the word *ταφαῖος*, which could be the Arcadian form of the attested *ταφήϊος* derived from the word *τάφος*.³⁶ Many conjectures have been made regarding the noun which is implied but not written on this funerary monument. Suggestions include *χώρος*, *λίθος*, *ὅρος* and *τόπος*. If it is not the name of a dead person, then it must be a kind of boundary stone marking a burial place or a particular spot where the body of someone unknown to the locals was found and buried. The place where the gravestone was discovered has been identified with the locality called 'Vromoxylo' on the low hill outside the modern villages of Perivolia and Mallota which belong to the municipality of Megalopolis.³⁷ This hill is now considered to have been a burial place, as confirmed both by pottery finds and human bones which had been found accidentally in the surrounding fields. So the conjecture was formed that perhaps this cemetery belonged to the neighbouring Arcadian town of Aimoniai, which has been located in the fields north-east of the village of Perivolia (formerly Rousvanaga). However, the place was used as a cemetery mainly during the Byzantine era, and only occasionally in earlier times, as shown by the recent excavations of the Greek Archaeological Service during the years 2008-9 during the construction of the new motorway between Tripolis and Kalamata.



FIG. 9. Megalopolis, no. 126.

³⁶ Megalopolis, no. 126 (dim. 0.47 x 0.60 x 0.20 m, let. ht. 0.13–0.21, let. th. 0.11–0.15 m): Lloyd, Roy & Owens, 1982, 250 pls VII a.b. Pikoulas 1988, 92, 188 n. 553.

³⁷ Pikoulas 1988, 92.

Another inscription which is important for the history of the Megalopolitan Chora had been placed beside the modern monument for the war dead in the square of the village of Voutsarà in the municipality of Phalaisia. Its previous use had been as part of the rim of a well at the locality called 'Ai-Yiannis' in the region of Maliokambos, near Voutsarà. According to the locals, it had probably been found originally at a place called 'Ayios Lias', where the cemetery of ancient Malea is placed. The grave stele is dated to the late Archaic period, around 500 BC, and comprises a smooth oblong slab of limestone on which only the name of the deceased is written: Ἀμεύιπ(π)ος (**FIG. 10**).³⁸ The well-formed letters of the inscription are characteristic of the Laconian alphabet of the late Archaic period. The name Ἀμεύιπ(π)ος is composed of the Doric verb ἀμεύομαι and the noun ἵππος.³⁹ The use of the local Laconian dialect has been interpreted as an indication that this area of south Megalopolitan Chora had been one of the perioikic towns of Laconia (perhaps ancient Malaia) during the Archaic age.⁴⁰

³⁸ Pikoulas 1985, 85–6 fig. 1.

³⁹ Megalopolis, no. 597 (dim. 0.46 x 0.44 x 0.15 m, let. ht. 0.035–0.04 m); Pikoulas 1988, 130 fig. 80; SEG XXXV 357; Jeffery 1990, 447 no. F (-ἵππος); LGPN IIIA, 32 s.v. Ἀμεύιπ(π)ος.

⁴⁰ For towns and villages along the Arcadian-Laconian border, see Roy 2009, 205–11.



FIG. 10. Megalopolis, no. 597.

Certain simple funerary stelai inscribed with a brief greeting, *χαῖρε* or *χαῖρετε*, belong mainly to the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods.⁴¹ The inscriptions are in Greek; Roman names are few, written in the Greek alphabet.⁴² Often the greeting *χαῖρε* is accompanied by the name of the

⁴¹ IG V (2) 482–5. Cf. Kahrstedt 1954, 130 and 261, 267.

⁴² For the popularity of Roman names in Arcadia, see Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 1996, 207–214. For Roman names appearing on funerary inscriptions from Megalopolis, see Rizakis & Zoumbaki 2001, 113 no. 11 (ΑΣΙΝΝΙΑ ΜΑΜΜΙΑ), 123 no. 60 (ΤΙΒ[ΕΡΙΟΣ] ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ).

deceased, e.g. *Ἀριστοκράτη χαῖρε, Ἀρίστων χαῖρε, Ἀπολλοφάνη χαῖρε, Διομήδη χαῖρε, Ἐπαφρίων χαῖρε, Εὐρυμέδων χαῖρε, Ξενίσκα χαῖρε, Πῆσσε χαῖρε.*

Some of the stelai had been re-used by changing the names or making additions to or replacements of their inscriptions.⁴³ A characteristic example is the oblong marble stele found north-east of Megalopolis, in the valley of the modern village of Oresteio (formerly Kasidochori), near the road to Thoknia and the village of Plaka, on the right (northern) bank of the river Ligataris (ancient Aminios) (**FIG. 11**).⁴⁴ The bottom part, being roughly worked, indicates that it probably formed part of a monument set directly on to the ground. The same slab had been re-used for a second and third time, when new inscriptions had been carved on it, perhaps because a tomb or stele would often be used for a number of dead people. In its last use the name of the deceased had been written in larger, well-shaped letters 0.035 m - 0.04 m high, carved deeper into the stone (**FIG. 12**):

I. *Τερόκλεια*

Underneath the name of Hierokleia one can fairly easily discern the name of another dead person written earlier in smaller letters 0.02 m to 0.04 m high:

II. *Ἀριστόδαμος*

Underneath the above two inscriptions one can make out some letters belonging to lines with the names of the original, now a worn and mostly illegible inscription (*rasura*):

III. [---]

[---]οξένα

χαῖρετε

⁴³ See e.g. IG V (2) 479.

⁴⁴ Megalopolis, no. 124 (dim. 0.64 x 0.52 x 0.17–8 m): Petronotis 1973, 237. Petronotis 1974, 10, no. 53, s.v. ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΑΜΟΣ, 13, no. 152. s.v. ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΙΑ. LGPN IIIA, 60 s.v. Ἀριστόδαμος (47), 216 s.v. Τερόκλεια (2).



FIG. 11. Megalopolis, no. 124.



FIG. 12. Megalopolis, no. 124.

The height of the letters of the third inscription is approximately 0.04 m. The difference in height as well as in the distance between the letters of the three inscriptions shows that they do not coincide in date, although they all belong to the late Classical - Hellenistic era (4th – 2nd century BC). The form of the letter *alpha* 'A' as written in the three inscriptions is characteristic: a broken cross-bar in the latest one (I), a curved cross-bar in the second (II) and a straight cross-bar in the third (III). Also, a tendency to splay the ends of the letters' apices, which was widespread at the time, is apparent in the latest inscription.

It would be interesting to see whether one can associate the above-mentioned Aristodamos with the Aristodamos appearing in Pausanias (VIII, 27.11), a tyrant of Megalopolis from Phigaleia, son of Artylas. He was assassinated in 255–2 BC by his political opponents Ekdemos and Demofanes who had been exiled (Polybius 10.22.2).⁴⁵ The dating of the inscription, based on its letter forms, to the century when this tyrant lived and died, does not exclude a direct association with the tyrant himself or at least with some

⁴⁵ See Wilken 1896, 924; Volkmann 1964, 566.

Graves in Megalopolis

ancestor or descendant of his family.⁴⁶ Pausanias (8.36.5) saw his grave and mentions that it was a pile of earth to the west of the city, on the road leading to Mainalon. Although the place where the funerary stele was discovered was elsewhere, thus making the association less likely, it must nevertheless be pointed out that the stele was later re-used for the burial of Hierokleia.

The only funerary mound in Megalopolis, lacking any stele, was discovered on the right bank of the river Elisson, outside the walls of the city, at a location called 'Arapomagoula' (FIG. 1, no. 10), near what the British excavations called Tower F, which was one of four strong towers whose walls ended on the banks of the river (FIG. 1, no. 9). Regarding this tumulus, which may have covered more than one burials, an unsupported conjecture was made that it was the grave of Aristodamos, the tyrant of Megalopolis mentioned above. The marble ash urn (FIG. 13) contained offerings of a gold jewel and a coin dated to the early Hellenistic era.⁴⁷



FIG. 13. Megalopolis, no. 46.

⁴⁶ The name appears in inscriptions of the 3rd – 1st century BC from Megalopolis, see LGPN IIIA, 60 s.v. *Ἀριστόδαμος* (43–6).

⁴⁷ Megalopolis, no. 46: Gardner *et al.* 1892, 9–10.

The tallest funerary stele in Megalopolis,⁴⁸ dated to the Hellenistic period (3rd–2nd century BC), has jambs on either side, which support an epistyle and pediment (**FIG. 14**). The architectural frame stands out against the background of the representation. Although no traces of colour survive, nor is there evidence of any preparation of the surface of the local limestone (i.e. polishing or rough levelling), it is however possible that the stele was coloured and may have carried a painted representation or decoration in the background. Funerary stelai with just painted decoration are not rare or unknown in the ancient Greek world, examples being the painted stelai from Demetrias,⁴⁹ from Achaia,⁵⁰ or the naiskos-stele inside the precinct of the Dionysion, and Agathon's stele in the Kerameikos in Athens;⁵¹ on these the main decoration is always painted, since the work involved was easier and cheaper. The name of the deceased must have appeared on the horizontal base of the stele's pediment: evidence for this is a new fragment which has recently been matched with the top corner of stele no. 276, where the letter *alpha* 'A' is faintly legible (let. ht. 0.024 m) and has a broken cross-bar (**FIG. 15**).



FIG. 14. Megalopolis, no. 94 (+276).

⁴⁸ Megalopolis, no. 94 + 276: (dim. 1.86–7 x 0.87–97 x 0.15–6 m)

⁴⁹ Batziou-Eustathiou 2001, 42–7.

⁵⁰ Papapostolou 1993, 32–3, 42ff.

⁵¹ Knigge 1990, 120–5 fig. 120.



FIG. 15. Megalopolis, no. 276.

Some other fragments of funerary stelai kept in the Archaeological Collection of Megalopolis are of unknown provenance and dated to the Hellenistic period (3rd–1st century BC). They are smaller than the one mentioned above and do not have jambs or epistyle, but are crowned with a simple *cyma* and a pediment with akroteria; one example is a stele made of local limestone whose lower part is missing (FIG. 16).⁵² Underneath the pediment and akroteria is a diagonally-cut *cyma*. These small funerary stelai must have cost much less to their buyers. In a fragment of another stele with pediment is preserved a small part of an oblong metope which perhaps bore a painted representation.⁵³ It seems that in the case of this stele (which survives only by its upper half) the name of the deceased or an epigram was painted underneath the oblong recess, since one can clearly discern the final letter *epsilon* 'E' (let. ht. 0.04 m) in the bottom right-hand corner.⁵⁴ A marble pediment crowning a stele of Hellenistic years (FIG. 17), found in the courtyard of the church of the Annunciation at the village of Mallota near Megalopolis, must have belonged to a stele in the shape of a *naïskos*.⁵⁵

⁵² Megalopolis, no. 120 (dim. 0.52 x 0.38–43 x 0.16 m).

⁵³ Megalopolis, no. 277 (dim. 0.50 x 0.48 x 0.17–8 m).

⁵⁴ It is currently impossible to read the whole inscription because of modern layers of cement on the surface, pending its restoration.

⁵⁵ Megalopolis, no. 596 (dim. 0.14 x 1.19); Pikoulas 1988, 93 fig. 36.



FIG. 16. Megalopolis, no. 120.

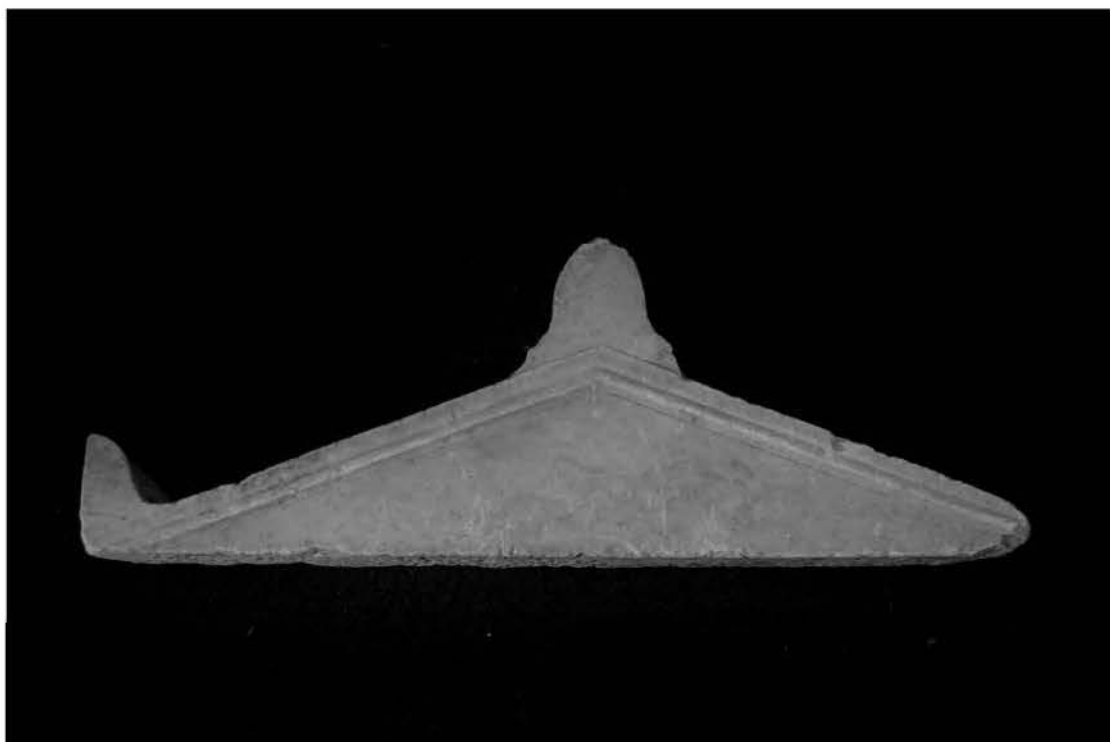


FIG. 17. Megalopolis, no. 596.

Graves in Megalopolis

Built into the wall of the church of St. Nikolaos in Megalopolis an important funerary stele was found and drawn some time ago. It has a figurative metope with the inscription ...λιστοκράτη χαῖρε, while in a metope on a higher part of the stele a standing man was represented dressed in an himation (FIG.18). The deceased had been unconvincingly identified earlier with Plistokrates,⁵⁶ father of the philosopher Pyrron from Elis,⁵⁷ but the currently accepted emendation of the missing part of the name is Ἀριστοκράτης.⁵⁸



FIG. 19. Megalopolis, no. 95.

FIG. 18. Formerly in Megalopolis (from Blouet 1833, Pl. 40 fig. II).

⁵⁶ See Blouet 1833, 47 pl. 40 fig. II; Le Bas 1835, 39–41.

⁵⁷ For this historical figure, see Zoumbaki 2005, 294, 297, 311–3.

⁵⁸ Böckh 1828, 710 no. 1539; Leake 1830, v. III, fig. 49. IG V (2) 482. Cf. LGPN IIIA, 62 s.v. Ἀριστοκράτης (37).

Rarely the name is accompanied by an epigram or certain descriptive adjectives attributed to the deceased, in stelai of Hellenistic or Roman times. The epigram on a stele from Megalopolis with a pediment on the grave of a doctor (**FIG. 19**), dated to the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 1st century BC, refers to the public recognition extended to the deceased when he was alive, as a healer of human illnesses, although he was not able to save himself from the deadly Hades.⁵⁹

Ξυνόν ἐγὼ δόξας ἐλόμαν ἐν παισὶ ἄεθλον. /
Πιερίδων ἱεραῖς τερπόμενος σελίσιν. /
Φοῖβον δ' υἷα βροτοῖσιν ἀλεξητήρα νόσοι[ο] /
σεφθεὶς ἱμερτὰν ἐξεμόγησα τέχνην. /
[ἀ]λλ' ἐμὲ τὸν σῶζοντα συχνοὺς ὁ πολυκτόνο[ς] Αἴδας /
ἄρπαστὸν πέμψεν χῶρον ἐπ' εὐσεβέων [...]

Sometimes an epigram will make a more extensive reference to the character and the life of the deceased, as in the case of Dionysia, a priestess of Isis,⁶⁰ or of the virtuous Phileinos, both dated to the Roman Imperial period (2nd–3rd century AD). In the latter stele,⁶¹ special mention is made to Phileinos's kindly nature. The epigram emphasises the virtues of the deceased, who was loved by everyone, his friends and fellow-men, both foreigners and locals, and never hurt anyone's feelings while he lived, which was for a good number of years (**FIG. 20**).⁶²

Φιλεῖνε ἀγαθὲ / χαῖρε / φιλόφιλε καὶ φι- /
λάνθρωπε, πᾶ - / σιν ποθητὲ, μηδέ- /
να λυπήσας, εὖ- / βίωτε, ξένων καὶ /
ἐντοπίων ἀφθό- / νως ζήσας ἔ[τη] λ.α. *folium*.⁶³

⁵⁹ Megalopolis, no. 95 (dim. 0.60 x 0.16 x 0.14–17 m, let. ht. 0.015–0.025 m): Te Riele 1984, 239–40; SEG XXXIV 325.

⁶⁰ IG V (2) 472.

⁶¹ Megalopolis, no. 40 + 158 (once 87) (dim. 0.28 x 0.275 x 0.06 m, let. ht. 0.018–0.021 m, distance 0.06–0.08 m): LGPN IIIA, 451 s.v. *Φιλῖνος* (7).

⁶² For age of deceased appearing on the stelai, see Larfeld 1914, 449–50; McLean 2002, 265.

⁶³ IG V (2) 491.



FIG. 20. Megalopolis, nos. 40 + 158 (collage).

The grave stele of Mammia (a Roman name) is made of limestone and was found built into the floor of the church of St. Athanasios, on the south bank of the river Elisson (**FIG. 21**). It is dated to the 2nd–3rd century AD. Here the deceased is praised through the use of two epithets / adjectives which characterise her love for her husband and her circumspect nature.

Ἀσιννία Μαμμία / φιλανδροτάτη /
καὶ σεμνοτάτη / [χαῖ]ρε. *folium*.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Megalopolis, no. 99 (dim. 0.88 x 0.73 x 0.17 m, let. ht. 0.06–0.13 m, distance 0.03–0.07 m): Gardner *et al.* 1892, 139 no. XXIV. IG V (2) 492. LGPN IIIA, 287 s.v. Μαμμία.

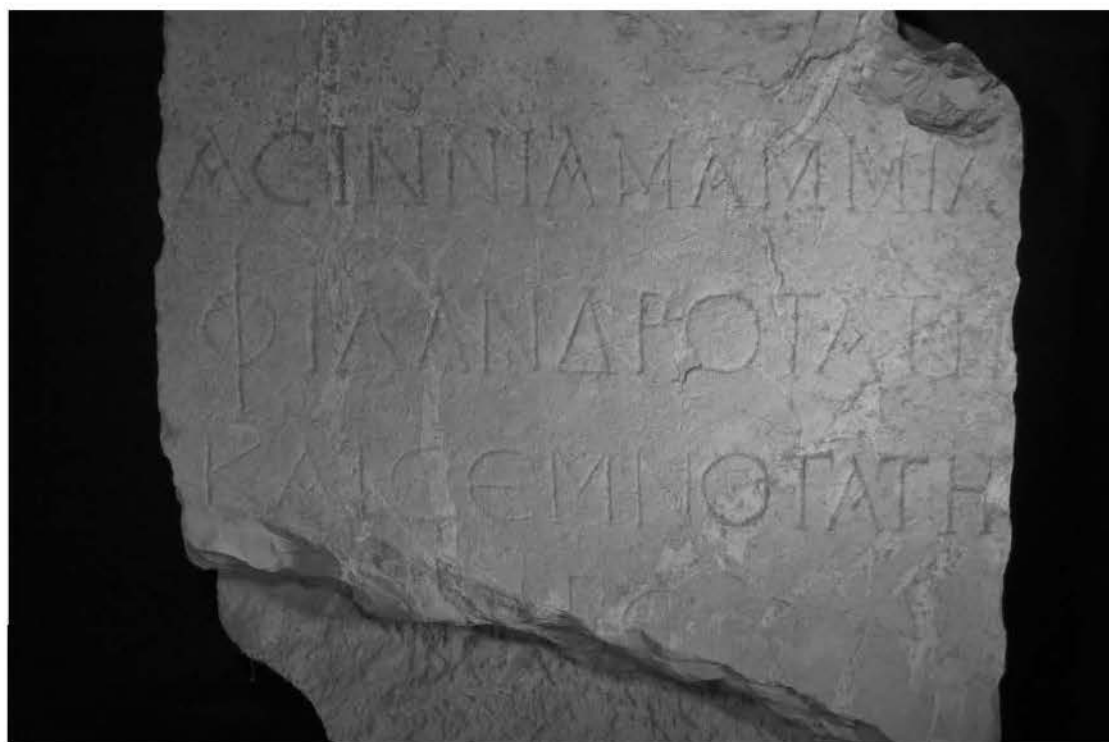


FIG. 21. Megalopolis, no. 99.

The different attitudes towards death during the Christian era, which replaced the afterlife rituals and beliefs of the Greco-Roman world, are expressed forcefully in an oblong stele of the Byzantine period from Megalopolis. We know that already in the 5th century AD there was a Christian community in the city, which was the seat of a bishop. The upper part of the front side of the stele bears an incised cross with the well-known Christian abbreviation *ΙΣ ΧΣ ΝΙ ΚΑ* around it. In the lower part there is a three-line inscription which points out the ephemeral nature of human life, according to the Christian spirit of the new age.⁶⁵

Σήμερον ἐμοῦ, αὔριον/ ἑτέρον καὶ οὐδέποτε τινὸς / ΑΩΟΑ

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper certain representative examples of funerary stelai were examined which come from Megalopolis and are housed in the city's Archaeological Collection, as well as of tombs which were found in the district of the federal capital of ancient Arcadia. Some of these stelai were known for some time, while others came to light during the last decades

⁶⁵ Megalopolis, no. 353 (dim. 0.61 x 0.50 x 0.21 m, let. ht. 0.03–0.05 m): Karapanagiotou 1996, 148. It was confiscated in the house of A. Mathes at a place called 'Ambelorrema' of Megalopolis.

Graves in Megalopolis

through surface surveys, chance finds, items handed in or confiscated. Some of them have no indication of provenance, so that we have to use whatever stylistic and epigraphic data they provide in order to date them. Despite their small number, they represent various periods, from the end of the Archaic to the late Roman ages.

Several of the Megalopolis stelai are made of the local limestone, something which immediately indicates that they are not imports but products of local workshops. They come in various forms: there are simple pillar-stelai or pseudo-naiskos-stelai with a pediment and *akroteria*, while there are cases where a plain unworked stone was used as a funerary marker. There are also pedimental stelai, without any epistyle or jambs on the main body. In a few cases the name of the deceased is written on the stele, or a whole epigram in later periods. A basic formula is used, i.e. the name of the deceased in the vocative with the stereotypical invocation *χαῖρε*. Some are illegible because they have been erased, while in others no trace of writing survives due to erosion of the local limestone. In a few instances the stele was set directly into the soil that covered the burial, as indicated by the roughly hewn lower part of the main body of the stele.

In this paper finds from more recent excavations have also been presented. These are tile and cist graves, which came to light during rescue excavations carried out by the Greek Archaeological Service in the wider area of the capital of ancient Arcadia. Most of the evidence of late Classical and Hellenistic cemeteries of Megalopolis comes from the north-west, on the right bank of the river Elisson, as well as from the south-west and south-east, on the left bank of the river, around the church of St. Athanasios. There is more evidence of simple burials of the Roman and late Roman periods in the south part of the city, but also in other sites of its environs. During the late Roman and Byzantine era graves were dug in its southern part, at Orestia, inside the walls of Hellenistic Megalopolis, a practice which probably indicates a shrinking in the size of land and population of the capital city, which began in the late Hellenistic period, particularly after its destruction by the Spartan king Cleomenes III in 223 BC.⁶⁶ This discovery of the existence of *inter muros* graves in the south part of the Classical-Hellenistic city seems to confirm the information we have from historical sources, such as Polybius (2.55.2 and 5.93.5), Strabo (8.8.1) and Pausanias (8.30.1-32.4), who deplore the sparseness and abandonment of the once powerful federal city and mention that several public buildings and old sanctuaries had not been rebuilt, despite the undoubted flourishing and importance that the city continued to enjoy during the Roman period.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Cf. Nielsen 2004, 522.

⁶⁷ For Megalopolis during the Roman times, see Kahrstedt 1954, 136–48; Roy, Lloyd & Owens 1989, 146–50; Roy 2007, 292–3. Cf. Lauter 1997, 397–403.

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Graves in Megalopolis

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List of illustrations

- FIG. 1. Survey map of the archaeological area of Megalopolis.
- FIG. 2. Burials at Megalopolis city grid no. 237. Ground plan.
- FIG. 3. Burials at Megalopolis city grid no. 210. Ground plan.
- FIG. 4. Burials at Megalopolis city grid no. 210. Grave sections.
- FIG. 5. Grave 4 at Megalopolis city grid no. 237 (Charalampopoulos Plot).
- FIG. 6. Grave 2 at Megalopolis city grid no. 237 (Charalampopoulos Plot).
- FIG. 7. Grave A at Megalopolis city grid no. 210 (Koutsopoulos Plot).
- FIG. 8. Grave B at Megalopolis city grid no. 210 (Koutsopoulos Plot).
- FIG. 9. Megalopolis, no. 126.
- FIG. 10. Megalopolis, no. 597.
- FIG. 11. Megalopolis, no. 124.
- FIG. 12. Megalopolis, no. 124.
- FIG. 13. Megalopolis, no. 46.
- FIG. 14. Megalopolis, no. 94 (+276).
- FIG. 15. Megalopolis, no. 276.
- FIG. 16. Megalopolis, no. 120.
- FIG. 17. Megalopolis, no. 596.
- FIG. 18. Formerly in Megalopolis (from Blouet 1833, Pl. 40 fig. II).
- FIG. 19. Megalopolis, no. 95.
- FIG. 20. Megalopolis, nos. 40 + 158 (collage).
- FIG. 21. Megalopolis, no. 99.

CHAPTER 8

THE SCULPTED MONUMENTS IN LACONIAN CEMETERIES (LATE 19TH – EARLY 20TH CENTURY)¹

PEPI GAVALA

The cemeteries, which are full of sculpted monuments of the 19th and 20th centuries, reveal a cultural approach towards death during the period, which rejects the dark and the morbid and tries to preserve the memory of the dead in perpetuity. The sense of calm, comfort and timelessness is pervasive in all the cemeteries of Greece, organized on the basis of this theoretical construct with kempt vegetation, to echo the order and serenity of Heaven and the Elysian Fields.²

The works of Greek sculptors as well as local workshops of this period, which grace the cemeteries, are strongly influenced by Classicism, which emerged in Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries. Especially influential was the Italian sculptor Antonio Canova's contribution in shaping European cemetery sculpture (1757–1822).³

The epigrams and inscriptions, which are an integral element of the monuments, are inscribed usually in capital letters with frequent mistakes, and reveal biographical information regarding the deceased (occupation, dates of birth and death), thus allowing one to trace the lineage of families and create family trees. These epigrams can sometimes be considered as literary works: laments in ancient Greek, or *katharevousa*, or in the popular idiom (*demotic*), in prose or in verse. However, later on, simple inscriptions with standard biographical information about the deceased replace such epigrams.

Usually people belonging to the urban upper classes (merchants, doctors, members of the Academy and scholars) had the means to choose an artistic grave monument, with a view to achieving posterity for themselves.

CLASSICAL FUNERARY SCULPTURES IN LACONIA

¹ I express my thanks and gratitude to my colleague Ilektra Proimou for her technical support, as well as to Kostas Kyriakoulis for his help.

² Lydakis 1981, 14. Hirschfeld 1875. Gavalas & Gareizou 1984, 731.

³ Prokopiou 1967, A, 191–206.

Some important funerary monuments, influenced directly by the artistic and cultural vision of the 19th and 20th centuries prevailing in Western Europe, can be found in the cemeteries of the two urban centres of Laconia, Sparta and Gytheio. However, similar sculpted marble monuments adorn the cemeteries of smaller towns, such as Goritsa, Geraki, Monemvasia and Molaoi.

These white or grey marble monuments consist of slabs, stelai, crosses or busts. The decorative elements, mostly in relief (wreaths, angels, lamps, lekythoi, rosettes, laurel or olive branches, blossoms, unrolled cylinders as well as garlands, meanders, ribbons, and more rarely birds or anchors) are especially chosen because of their symbolic, protective or apotropaic character. All these decorative motifs represent the survival of the ancient custom of votive offerings to the deceased as well as victory over death, or the protection of the grave, according to Christian tradition.⁴ The busts, including reliefs in *tondi*, create the feeling that human beings will be rewarded after death for their virtue in life.⁵

SPARTA CEMETERY

In Sparta, capital of the predominantly rural Prefecture of Laconia with 4,500 inhabitants, the character of the city was determined by classical buildings of the late 19th century (**FIG. 1**), when the urban 'middle classes' had already been established.⁶ The development of the cemetery followed the style current at the time (**FIG. 2**). Unfortunately, efforts to preserve the monuments in the First Cemetery at the SE edge of Sparta have not been effective. For example, we can mention the 'disappearance' of the grave stone of the Kazakos family dated 1900, the details of which had been copied in 1985. The few surviving old monuments are hardly sufficient to reveal the mentality of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The sculpted marble grave stones are usually decorated with various motifs in relief: *Latin Crosses* with an olive or laurel wreath, as this occurs on the Leopoulos family monument-sarcophagus (1876), or with vine-branches and two olive and laurel wreaths bound with a ribbon, for instance on the funerary slabs of the Polychronakos family (1893), the Dragonas family (ante 1951) and those which have been incised and used as decoration at the entrance to the cemetery. *Vessels*: Loutrophoroi (G. D. Kordia's monument, 1922) and lamps with one or two handles and flame (Dragonas' monument, ante 1951). *Scenes from the daily life* of the deceased are often depicted on

⁴ Florakis 1979, 139; Koukoules 1948, 199–200; Gavala & Gareizou 1994, 733–737.

⁵ Christou 2003, 561–562.

⁶ Gavala 2002, 113–115.

Monuments in Laconian cemeteries

the graves, as on the incised, enclosed slabs, which decorate the façade of the cemetery church. We can also mention the representations of a two-headed eagle (Nikolopoulos' monument, 1939) and the inverted torches (Manousakis' monument, 1898) (FIG.3).



FIG. 1. Panoramic view of Sparta, 19th century.



FIG. 2. The first cemetery of Sparta, 20th century.



FIG. 3. Manousakis family monument, 1898.



FIG. 4. Eythymios I. Oikonomou monument, 1923.

Various types of funerary sculpture are found in this cemetery: *Funerary stelai* decorated with ornamental elements; crowned by *Latin Crosses* (Manousakis' monument, 1898); or *Crosses*, occasionally with artistic ornaments on pedestals (on the family monuments of Kossonakos

(1922), Ladopoulos (1924), Vasilakos (1929), Gianoulis (1939), Nikolopoulos (1939), Skiadas (1940) and Zacharias (1952)). On the last monument we also notice the representation of a handshake– a very common funerary theme.

Four funerary stelai crowned by the *male busts* of Efthimios I. Oikonomos (1923) (FIG. 4), Efsthios G. Kyriakopoulos (1907) (FIG. 5), Leonidas Stamatakos (1919) (FIG. 6) and I. G. Tzanetakis (1953) (FIG. 7) are worthy of mention.



FIG. 5. Efsthios G. Kyriakopoulos' monument, 1907.



FIG. 6. Leonidas Stamatakos' monument, 1919.

The artist's signature appears on only three of the funerary marble slabs, one of which belongs to the Leopoulos Family: ΙΑΚΩΒΟΣ ΜΑΛΑΚΑΤΕΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ⁷ (FIG. 8); the second a broken slab, discarded at the edge of the cemetery, belonging to Katingo Christodouloupoulos (1882): ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΒΟΥΛΓΑΡΗ ΕΠΟΙΟΥΝ⁸ (FIG. 9); and the last of the Kazakos Family: ΕΝ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ Ν. ΡΗΓΟΣ⁹. The artists also signed three busts: one of Efthimios Oikonomou: ΙΩΑΝ. ΚΟΥΛΟΥΡΗΣ ΤΗΝΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ¹⁰ (FIG. 10), another of Leonidas

⁷ Tenian Sculptor (Tenos 1811–Munich 1903). He was very young when he came to Athens and set up his studio in Korai Street. He created many funerary monuments, which are located in several Greek cemeteries.

⁸ The Tenian sculptors Voulgari brothers were descended from the sculptor Ioannis Voulgaris and kept their studio in Athens. One of them was Emmanouel, who later signs his creations. Christou 2003, 586.

⁹ He must belong to the famous sculptor family Rigos from Isteria on Tinos. For the family, see Florakis 1996.

¹⁰ Ioannis Koulouris, sculptor (Venardados, Tinos 1878 – Athens 1966). Christou 2003, 584.

Monuments in Laconian cemeteries

Stamatakos: ΙΩΑΝ. ΡΗΓΑΝΑΚΟΣ¹¹ and a third of I. G. Tzanetakis: Α.Ρ. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ ΓΛΥΠΤΗΣ¹² (FIG. 12).



FIG. 7. I. G. Tzanetakis' monument, 1953.



FIG. 8. Leopoulos family monument, 1876.

¹¹ Ioannis Riganakos, sculptor (Pyrgos Dirou, Mani 1890–Athens 1988). He studied at the School of Art in Athens. Christou 2003, 584.

¹² A. R. Papadopoulos, sculptor (Ntenisli, Asia Minor 1914–?). In 1946 he moved his studio from Corfu to Athens. Christou 2003, 584.



FIG. 9. Christodouloupoulos family monument, 1882.



FIG. 10. Eythymios I. Oikonomou monument, 1923.

Monuments in Laconian cemeteries



FIG. 11. Leonidas Stamatakos' monument, 1919.



FIG. 12. I. G. Tzannetakis' monument, 1953.

Usually the deceased's names as well as his date of birth and death are mentioned in the inscriptions. Sometimes they inform us of the person who undertook to erect the family funerary monument, for example on the Leopoulos family monument (1876):

ΣΗΜΑ ΤΟΔΕ ΑΓΑΠΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΟΡΓΗΣ Ο ΣΥΖΥΓΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΗΡ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ
Θ. ΛΕΩΠΟΥΛΟΣ

Lamentation and mourning are often expressed in these epigrams, as on the Polychronakos family funerary slab (1893), in the metrical form of ancient epigrams, the iambic 15/syllable:

ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΥΛΗΣ
ΠΟΛΥΧΡΟΝΑΚΟΣ: ΜΕΤ' ΕΝΑΡΕ
ΤΟΥ Κ' ΑΓΑΣΤΟΥ ΣΥΖΗΣΑΣ
Α ΣΥΜΒΒΙΟΥ //
ΕΝ ΤΗ ΓΑΛΗΝ/Η ΠΟΘΕΙΝΟΥ ΠΛΗΝ ΕΦΗΜΕ
ΡΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ //
ΘΡΗΝΕΙ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ Η Σ
ΥΖΗΓΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΦΙΛΗ ΤΟΝ
ΠΡΟΩΡΑ ΘΑΝΟΝΤΑ ΣΥΖΗΓΟΝ ΤΗΣ
ΘΑΝΗ ΤΗ 9 ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ 1893

An intense stoical and grieving mood is revealed in two epigrams on the monument of the Kazakos family (1900), which was not found in our recent search. They were written in *katharevousa*, using the iambic 15/syllable and rhyme. One commemorates Ioannis Kazakos from Dimitisana:

ΔΙΑΒΑΤΑ
ΕΑΝ ΠΟΘΗΣ ΑΕΙΠΟΤΕ ΝΑ ΘΕΩΡΗΣ ΤΟΝ
ΒΙΟΝ //
ΘΑΝΑΤΗΦΟΡΟΝ ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ ΑΛΥΣΣΟΥΣ
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΩΝ //

Pepi Gavala

ΣΤΙΓΜΗΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΗΝ ΤΗΣ
ΖΩΗΣ ΝΑ ΠΑΣΧΗΣ ΝΑ ΔΑΚΡΥΗΣ //
ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΥ
ΒΙΟΝ ΑΝ ΠΟΘΗΣ ΠΙΚΡΩΣ ΝΑ ΔΙΑΝΥΗΣ
//ΣΕ ΑΝΑΜΝΗΣΕΙΣ ΖΗΟΙ
ΕΙΝΑΙ Η ΜΝΗΜΗ ΦΑΣΓΑΝΟΝ
ΔΙΑΤΡΥΠΟΥΝ ΤΑ ΣΤΗΘΗ
//ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Χ. ΚΑΖΑΚΟΣ
ΓΕΝΝΗΘΕΙΣ ΕΝ ΔΗΜΗΤΣΑΝΗ ΤΗ 10
9ΒΡΙΟΥ 1851 ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΑΣ ΕΝ ΣΠΑΡΤΗ
8 ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 1900

The second epigram relates to Aphrodite G. Christakou:

ΗΛΘΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ ΕΣΤΕΝΑΞΑ
ΕΔΑΚΡΥΣΑ ΕΛΥΠΗΘΗΝ //
ΚΑΙ ΥΠ' ΑΥΤΟ
ΤΟ ΜΑΡΜΑΡΟΝ ΗΔΗ ΑΠΕΚΟΙΜΗΘΗΝ
//ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ Γ. ΧΡΗΣΤΑΚΟΥ
ΓΕΝΝΗΘΕΙΣΑ ΤΗ 25 ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 1867
ΑΠΟΒΙΩΣΑΣΑ ΤΗ 6 ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 1897
ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝ ΗΤΟ ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΕΤΩΝ ΤΑΜΕΙ
ΑΛΛΑΠΗΝΗΣ Ο ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΗΡΠΙΑΣΕ
ΠΡΟΩΡΩΣ ΕΔΕΧΘΗ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ
ΤΗΣ Ο ΤΩΝ ΜΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΧΩΡΟΣ

An epigram on the Vasilakos family monument (1929) is engraved in *demotic*, following the rules of the iambic 15-syllable, and is based on the form of 'dialogue epigram' (question-and-answer):

-ΣΑΝ ΚΡΙΝΟ ΜΕΣ' ΣΤΗ ΣΠΑΡΤΗ ΜΑΣ
ΑΝΘΟΥΣΕΣ ΣΥ ΝΙΚΑΚΗ
ΚΙ ΟΛΟΙ ΣΕ ΑΓΑΠΟΥΣΑΝΕ ΤΟ ΛΑΤΡΕΥΤΟ ΠΑΙΔΙ
ΗΣΟΥΝ ΓΙΑ ΜΑΣ
ΠΑΡΗΓΟΡΙΑ ΠΟΙΟΣ ΤΩΡΑ ΘΑ ΜΑΣ ΔΩΣΗ;

- Η ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ Μ' ΑΛΛΕΣ ΚΑΡΔΙΕΣ
ΚΑΙ ΣΑΣ ΘΑ ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΣΗ.

GYTHEIO CEMETERY

Numerous funerary monuments from the late 19th to the early 20th century are well preserved in the cemetery located at the entrance to Gytheio. During this period the town was flourishing as the main port of Laconia and 5,500 inhabitants lived there (**FIG. 13**). We should note the growing urban middle class of the period. The cemetery, an important sculpture gallery, is full of marble funerary monuments, slabs, stelai, crosses and busts (**FIG. 14**).

Monuments in Laconian cemeteries



FIG. 13. Panoramic View of Gytheio, 19th century.



FIG. 14. The Cemetery of Gytheio, 20th century.

The *funerary slabs* are decorated with motifs in relief, such as inverted laurel or olive branches and Latin crosses, as well as lamps with two handles (Kopsiayti [1898], Poulakos [1901], Sarantaris [1901] and Liakakos [1905] family monuments).

In at least one case we come across an anchor, indicating the deceased's love of the sea, or perhaps his profession as a sea merchant (Sarantari family monument, [1901]) (FIG. 15). Engraved patterns usually decorate the slabs, for example a bird amongst olive branches on Lieutenant Dimitrios Xanthakos' grave stone. He "died for his country 3. 6. 1940".



FIG. 15. Sarantaris family monument, 1901.



FIG. 16. Vouzounaras family monument, 1897.

There are also various types of *funerary stelai* among the monuments. They are decorated with busts or whole scenes carved in relief.

Pediments crown some of the stelai, for instance the Vouzounaras family stele (1897) (**FIG. 16**), on the front side of which a representation of a woman reading a prayer has been carved in relief, as well as the Xintarakos family stele (**FIG. 17**), on which we note a relief representation of a blindfolded woman holding scales (Themis). Another funerary stele, belonging to the Pastelis family (1908), is crowned by a palmette (**FIG. 18**).



FIG. 17. Xintarakos family monument.



FIG. 18. Pastelis family monument, 1908.

The funerary monument of the Liakakos family (1905) consists of a stele crowned by a marble cross set in a base of a stylized acanthus (**FIG. 19**). On the front side of the stele, a bust-portrait (Kanella Liakakos) carved in relief is decorated with laurel branches. The Vavanakos family funeral stele is decorated with a sculpted olive wreath with a small cross in the center.

Marble Vessels covered with sculpted cloths and decorated with garlands or flames appear particularly on funerary piers. These monuments are often crowned by busts of the deceased (Liakakis (1902), Sarantaris (1901) and Patsourakos family monuments).

A unique monument is in the form of an *unfluted column* on a pedestal base and belongs to the Pastelis family (1892). The column supports a marble vase (based on a metal prototype), covered with a piece of cloth in relief and decorated with a three-dimensional carving of a flame (**FIG. 20**). Note another unique *tomb*, that of the Giannakakos family (1888) made of grey stone, on the upper part of which stood a cross, now detached.

Several monuments consist of *three-dimensional Latin crosses on pedestals*: Crosses decorated with wings between the crossing, on three-stepped pedestals (Poulakos (1901) and Tsigakos (1932) family monument). A cross decorated with a branch and bird in relief (Michelakos family monument (1944, 1947)). A cross imitating a tree trunk, surrounded by vine branches (which is not *in situ*, but has been moved and used to decorate the entrance).

Monuments in Laconian cemeteries



FIG. 19. Liakakos family monument, 1905.



FIG. 20. Pastelis family monument, 1892.

There are only three stelai crowned by busts: those of Dr George Panagakos (1908) (FIG. 21), Dr Pavlos Anagnostakis and Professor Apostolos Daskalakis (1982).



FIG. 21. Dr. George Panagakos family monument, 1908.



FIG. 22. Pastelis family monument, 1908.

The artist's signature appears on only two stelai. The first belongs to the family of Antonis Pastelis: ΕΜ. Ι. ΒΟΥΛΓΑΡΗΣ/ΤΗΝΙΟΣ/ΕΠΟΙΕΙ ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ 1908 (FIG. 22); the other to the family of Thrasyvoulos Il. Liakakis: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ Ν. ΡΙΓΟΣ/ΕΠΟΙΕΙ ΕΝ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΙ.

Epigrams and inscriptions have been engraved on all the monuments. A simple inscription informing us of the date of birth, marriage and death of Stavroula Vouzounaras is engraved on her stele:

ΣΤΑΥΡΟΥΛΑ Ι. ΒΟΥΖΟΥΝΑΡΑ
ΤΟ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΓΡΑΦΕΙΑΔΗ
ΕΓΕΝΝΗΘΗ ΤΗ 10 ΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΥ 1856
ΕΝΥΜΦΕΥΘΗ ΤΗ 9 ΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΡΙΟΥ
1873

Pepi Gavala

ΑΠΕΒΙΩΣΕ ΤΗΝ 2 ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ
1897

Another simple inscription mentions, besides the dates, also the profession of Theodore N. Sarantaris:

ΓΕΝΝΗΘΕΙΣ ΕΝ ΛΕΩΝΙΔΙΩ
ΤΗ 2 ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 1845
ΑΠΕΘΑΝΕΝ ΕΝ ΓΥΘΕΙΩ ΤΗΝ
5 ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟΥ 1901 ΕΠΙ 40ΕΤΙΑΝ
ΤΟΝ ΚΕΡΔΩΟΝ ΕΡΜΗΝ ΥΠΗΡΕΤΗΣΑΣ

The inscription for Thrasyvulos E. Liakakis refers to the manner of his death:

ΘΡΑΣΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ
ΗΛ. ΛΙΑΚΑΚΗΣ
ΓΕΝΝΗΘΕΙΣ ΤΗ 14 ΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΡΙΟΥ
1874 ΕΙΣ ΡΟΖΟΒΑ
ΕΦΟΝΕΥΘΗ ΤΗ 10 ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ 1902
ΕΙΣ ΓΥΘΕΙΟΝ

A large number of archaising epigrams are engraved over the whole of the stele of the Patsourakos family. Members of this family, lawyers, doctors, professors, are honored in these epigrams:

ΒΑΣΙΛ.Α.ΠΑΤΣΟΥΡΑΚΟΣ
ΧΡΗΣ.Β.ΠΑΤΣΟΥΡΑΚΟΥ
ΥΙΟΥΣ ΚΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΠΕΣΟΝΤΑΣ
ΥΠΕΡ ΤΕ ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΟΧ ΑΡΙΣΤΑ ΑΓΩΝΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΣ
ΠΟΛΛΑ ΤΕ ΠΟΛΛΟΥΣ ΔΙΔΑΞΑΝΤΑΣ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΕ
Κ ΕΙΠΟΝΤΑΣ
ΕΝ ΤΕ ΤΩ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗΡΙΩ ΚΑΚΤΟΣ ΕΥ ΑΜΥΝΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ
ΝΕΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΓΗΡΑΚΟΤΕΣ
ΔΕΙΝΑ ΓΑΘΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΓΝΟΝΤΕΣ
ΖΩΝΤΕΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΘΝΗΚΟΤΕΣ
ΣΕΒΑΣ ΜΕΓΑ ΠΑΣΙΝ ΟΝΤΕΣ
ΤΗΙ ΔΕ
ΚΕΙΝΤΑΙ.

The classical tradition is also evident in the cemeteries of rural areas in Laconia, for instance the cemeteries at Goritsa and Geraki in the area of Mount Parnon, as well as at Monemvasia and Molaoi in the southern borders of Laconia.¹³ The monuments, although plain, are representative of this period. They were usually made in local workshops.

¹³ Goritsa, Geraki, Molaoi and Monemvasia are small towns in the Prefecture of Laconia.

Monuments in Laconian cemeteries

GORITSA CEMETERY

In the cemetery of Goritsa (FIG. 23), which is the capital of the Municipality of Therapnai, a funerary stele for the benefactor of the cemetery Spyridon Oikonomou (1892) has survived. The stele is crowned with a Latin cross and adorned with laurel branches, a Greek cross and a single-handled vessel carved in relief.



FIG. 23. The cemetery of Goritsa, 20th century.



FIG. 24. Ioannis Prokos' monument, 1919.

Some monuments consist of round Latin crosses on pedestals or stelai, decorated also with laurel branches carved in relief, such as the family monuments of Ioannis Prokos (1919) (FIG. 24) and Louisa Tselekis (1929) (FIG. 25). The inscription of eight verses in memory of Louisa Tseleki is bilingual, in English and Greek, honouring both countries:

ENGLAND IS MY BIRTHPLACE
AMERICA MY HOME
GREECE RECEIVES MY BODY.
ΛΟΥΙΖΑ τ. ΤΣΕΛΕΚΗ
ΑΓΓΛΙΑ Η ΓΕΝΕΤΕΙΡΑ ΜΟΥ
ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗ Η ΚΑΤΟΙΚΙΑ ΜΟΥ
ΕΛΛΑΣ Ο ΤΑΦΟΣ ΜΟΥ
19-9-29.

GERAKI CEMETERY

Many monuments of this specific period can be found in the cemetery of Geraki, which is the capital of the Municipality of Geronthrai (FIG. 26).



FIG. 25. Louisa Tselekis' monument, 1929.



FIG. 26. Cemetery of Geraki, 20th century.



FIG. 27. Mourtzikos family monument, 1909.



FIG. 28. Pantazis family monument, 1908.

Two simple classical slabs belong to the Mourtzikos family (1909) (FIG. 27) and one to the Moiropoulos family (1889, 1909). A meander runs along the four sides of slabs, in the upper part of which we observe a Latin cross decorated with laurel branches bound with a ribbon. The representation of two women, pointing to each other, is also carved in relief on the slabs. Kneeling women, crying in grief appear on funerary stelai decorated with a cross and inverted torch. We also find two Latin crosses with wings, on pedestals or low stelai, decorated with blossoms and rosettes. The scene of a handshake is depicted in a recessed rectangle.

A three-dimensional cross, with trilobite finials at each end, marks the Pantazis family grave (1908) (FIG. 28). It is set on a low stele, where a relief bust of an angel is sculpted in hollow medallion. A similar cross on the Karopoulos family monument (1943, 1946) is decorated with a wreath of blossoms suspended by a ribbon on a nail, all carved in relief.

A small marble sarcophagus is covered with a slab decorated with a wreath and a Greek cross in relief on the Giannoulis family monument (1897).

Monuments in Laconian cemeteries

A recent monument (funerary stele) with oblique cut at the top has been erected on the grave of a member of the Academy, P. Poulitsas. It is decorated with a Latin cross and a representation of a young man engraved in relief.

The artist states his name on the Mourtzikos monument: Δ. ΚΟΛΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ. The Poulitsas monument, as well as the funerary slab of the Papanikolaou family, was sculpted by the Zarafonitis brothers in Sparta.

Simple inscriptions with basic biographical data are engraved on all the monuments. More biographical information is provided in the Papanikolaou family inscription:

ΟΙΚΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΥ ΠΑΠΑΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΓΕΡΟΝΤΟΣ
ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΑΝΑΓ. ΠΑΠΑΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΣ ΓΕΡΟΝΘΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ
ΙΕΡΟΦΥΛΑΞ ΓΕΡΑΚΙΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑ-ΠΑΝΑΠΙΩΤΑ-ΕΛΕΝΗ

The ten verses of the inscription on the Giannoulis family monument reveal the parents' pain for the loss of their children in 1897:

ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΝΤΑΙ
ΜΙΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΦΙΑ
ΤΡΙΕΤΗ ΠΡΟΣΦΙΛΗ ΤΕ
ΚΝΑ ΑΠΟΔΗΜΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΠΡΟΣ
ΚΥΡΙΟΝ ΕΓΚΑΤΑΛΙΠΟΝΤΑ
ΤΟΙΣ ΤΕΘΛΙΜΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΓΟ
ΝΕΥΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝ
ΤΙΝΩ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΚΕΛΙΚΗ ΠΑΝ
ΝΟΥΛΗ ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΘΛΙΨΕΩΣ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ
1897

MONEMVASIA CEMETERY

The cemetery of Monemvasia is located half-way between the Bridge and Castle gates. It extends over three terraces with stone steps between them, since the rocky slope provides only a limited space (**FIG. 29**).



FIG. 29. The Cemetery of Monemvasia, 20th century.



FIG. 30. Spyridakos family monument.

The weather conditions, wind, rain and sea air have corroded the monuments so much that most of the inscriptions are illegible.

The grave of the famous poet Yiannis Ritsos (1990) is located in the middle of the cemetery.

The most frequent monument types are marble Latin crosses and busts on pedestals.

Latin crosses on elaborate bases are found here as grave markers, such as those on the family graves of Dimitrios Th. Ritsos (1902) and Kalliroï P. Ritsos (1918). The base of D. Th. Ritsos' monument resembles a rock, decorated with an unrolled scroll and blossom in relief; the cross however imitates a tree trunk, where the name of the deceased is engraved on a ribbon in relief. On K. P. Ritsos' cross a bird holding a ribbon is carved in relief.

Busts on stelai appear on the family graves of Andreas Paraskevas (1925) and Ioannis Kapitsinis. There is also a female bust on the Spyridakos family grave (FIG. 30).

MOLAOI CEMETERY

In the Cemetery of Molaoi, where one can count 110 cypress trees (FIG. 31), most of the monuments erected in the early 20th century consist of marble crosses on a base (Batsakis-Smyrnaioi (1922), Tsiklakos (1925), Mylonakos (1929), Zervakos (1932), Karouni (1936), Nikolakakos (1936), Machairas (1943) and Adamopoulos (1951) family monuments).

Monuments in Laconian cemeteries



FIG. 31. The Cemetery of Molaoi, 20th century.



FIG. 32. Ioannis Kounes' monument, 1922.

Usually one finds rosettes or wings at the crossing (Tsiklakos, Nikolakakos, Zervakos and Adamopoulos (1951) family monuments) that are decorated with inverted blossom, unrolled scroll (Karouni family monument), a piece of cloth (Machairas family monument) and a garland hanging on a nail, all carved in relief (Mylonakos family monument).

The most elaborate monument of the same type is the one that belongs to the Batsakis-Smyrnaios family. The marble Latin cross resembles a tree trunk adorned with a vine branch, while the rock-base with a scroll and a garland. There is also an inscription with biographical information about the deceased.

There are also two stelai supporting male busts, one on the Smyrnaios family monument, bearing the inscription ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ, the other on the Ioannis Kounes family monument (1922), which includes the name of the sculptor, ΓΑΥΡΙΤΗΣ/Γ.ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑΔΗΣ/Ο ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ¹⁴ (FIG. 32).

SCULPTORS

It is obvious that only a few works of art were signed by the artist who created them. Iakovos Malakates, the Voulgari brothers, Em. I. Voulgaris, Ioannis Koulouris and Philippos Rigos (all from the island of Tenos), as well as Ioannis Riganakos and A. R. Papadopoulos, were artists who signed some of the artworks in the cemeteries of Sparta and Gytheio. By this period many studios of Tenian sculptors had already been established in Athens (Malakates, Voulgaris) and Piraeus (Rigos). There they received commissions from clients and created sculptures whose decorative elements derived

¹⁴ G. Dimitriadis, Athenian sculptor (Athens 1880–1941). He studied at the School of Art. Christou 2002, 584.

directly or indirectly from the architectural vocabulary of Classicism, as found in Europe. The names of the sculptors G. Dimitriadis (an Athenian) and D. Kolios are preserved on two funerary monuments in the cemeteries of Geraki and Molaoi.

During this period there were also local workshops, such as the one set up by the Zarafonitis Brothers, which carried on the tradition of the 19th century.

THE PRESENT DAY

Marble Latin and Greek crosses, busts, stelai, whole scenes and decorative elements, were used in the past because of their symbolic meaning as guardians of the grave, and they reflect the sentiment of their era. Unfortunately as time passed they were gradually replaced by monuments that reflect aesthetic values of the 21st century, values which have adversely affected our daily life (**FIG. 33**). Large, cold monuments, designed to impress, mirror the uniformity and the dimensions of modern houses which have replaced the classical buildings (**FIG. 34**). It is the human dimensions of the latter that we should try and preserve in both our art and our lives.



FIG. 33. The second Cemetery of Sparta, late 20th century.



FIG. 34. A view of Sparta, late 20th century.

Monuments in Laconian cemeteries

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List of illustrations

- FIG. 1. Panoramic view of Sparta, 19th century
FIG. 2. The first cemetery of Sparta, 20th century
FIG. 3. Manousakis family monument, 1898
FIG. 4. Eythymios I. Oikonomou monument, 1923
FIG. 5. Eystathios G. Kyriakopoulos' monument, 1907
FIG. 6. Leonidas Stamatakos' monument, 1919
FIG. 7. I. G. Tzannetakis' monument, 1953
FIG. 8. Leopoulos family monument, 1876
FIG. 9. Christodoulopoulos family monument, 1882
FIG. 10. Eythymios I. Oikonomou monument, 1923
FIG. 11. Leonidas Stamatakos' monument, 1919
FIG. 12. I. G. Tzannetakis' monument, 1953
FIG. 13. Panoramic View of Gytheio, 19th century
FIG. 14. The Cemetery of Gytheio, 20th century
FIG. 15. Sarantaris family monument, 1901
FIG. 16. Vouzounaras family monument, 1897
FIG. 17. Xintarakos family monument.
FIG. 18. Pastelis family monument, 1908
FIG. 19. Liakakos family monument, 1905
FIG. 20. Pastelis family monument, 1892
FIG. 21. Dr. George Panagakos family monument, 1908
FIG. 22. Pastelis family monument, 1908
FIG. 23. The cemetery of Goritsa, 20th century
FIG. 24. Ioannis Prokos' monument, 1919
FIG. 25. Louisa Tselekis' monument, 1929
FIG. 26. Cemetery of Geraki, 20th century
FIG. 27. Mourtzikos family monument, 1909

Monuments in Laconian cemeteries

FIG. 28. Pantazis family monument, 1908

FIG. 29. The Cemetery of Monemvasia, 20th century

FIG. 30. Spyridakos family monument

FIG. 31. The Cemetery of Molaoi, 20th century

FIG. 32. Ioannis Kounes' monument, 1922

FIG. 33. The second Cemetery of Sparta, late 20th century

FIG. 34. A view of Sparta, late 20th century

CHAPTER 9

LEONIDAS AND THE HEROES OF THERMOPYLAE: MEMORY OF THE DEAD AND IDENTITY IN ROMAN SPARTA¹

OLIVIER GENGLER

Leonidas and the Three Hundred were still in Imperial times the perfect embodiment of the Spartan virtues of courage and honour, just as Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, remained above all the victor of Plataia.² During the reign of Trajan, an athletic contest dedicated to the memory of Pausanias, Leonidas and the Three Hundred makes an appearance in our documentation. My purpose in this paper is to study afresh the evidence relating to these contests, essentially known from Pausanias the Periegete and various inscriptions, and to place it in the broader context of the Spartan renaissance of the second century AD.

THE CONTEST AT THE TOMBS OF PAUSANIAS AND LEONIDAS

Leaving the agora to the west and passing the cenotaph of Brasidas, the reader of Pausanias the Periegete, thanks to the way the space is reconfigured in the description,³ reaches the theatre of Sparta, which at present constitutes one of the few fixed points in the topography of the city (FIG. 1).⁴

Abbreviations: CIG I = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, I, edited by A. Boeckh. Berlin: Royal Prussian Academy of Letters, 1828, IG V.1 = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, V.1: *Inscriptiones Laconiae et Messeniae*, edited by W. Kolbe. Berlin: Royal Prussian Academy of Letters, 1913, SEG 11 = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, 11. Leiden: Sijthoff, 1950–1954.

¹ This study is a part of my current research project on the society of Roman Sparta, funded by a grant of the Gerda Henkel Foundation at the University of Freiburg, Germany.

² Even though the role of Leonidas, the Three Hundred or Pausanias had been minimized by Aristeides in his *Panathenaïkos* (Tigerstedt 1974, 179–181). In this respect, his position functions as a good counterproof.

³ For an overview of Pausanias' method of description, see Gengler 2009.

⁴ Besides the sanctuary of Artemis *Orthia* and the sanctuary of Athena *Chalkioikos*. The whole topography of Sparta has been recently discussed, with previous bibliography, by Kourinou 2000.

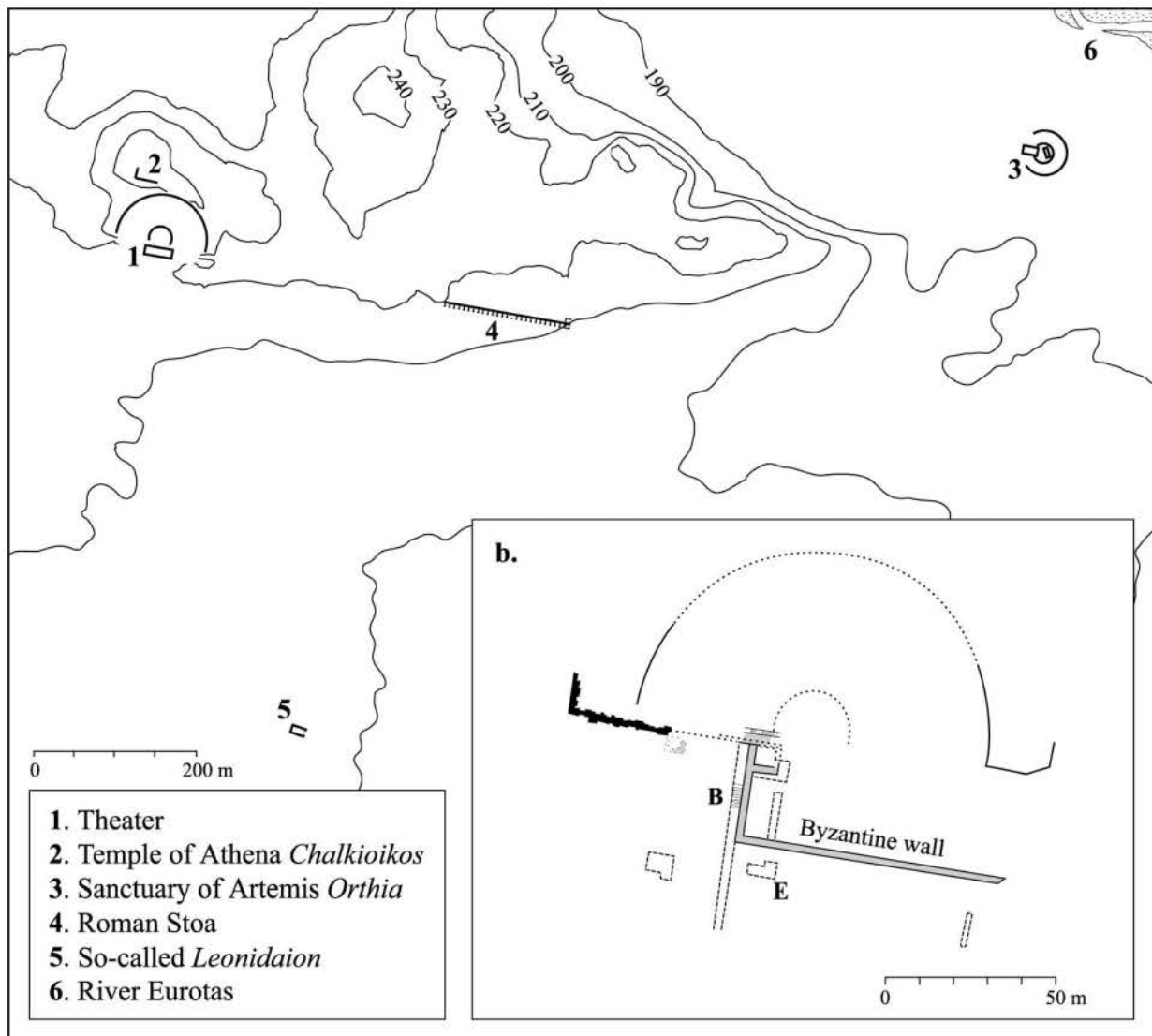


FIG. 1: Schematic map of the principal remains of Ancient Sparta (based on 1/5000 Greek army map). **b.** Location of trenches B and E of the 1906 British excavations at the theater (after Dickins 1906, 396).

“Opposite the theatre” says the Periegete “is a monument (μνῆμα) for Pausanias, who commanded at Plataia. The other is that of Leonidas. Every year they deliver speeches over them, and hold a contest in which none may compete except Spartans. The bones of Leonidas were taken by Pausanias from Thermopylae forty years after the battle. There is also a slab with the names, and their fathers’ names, of those who endured the fight at Thermopylae against the Persians.”⁵

Even though we know where the theatre was, it is not possible to determine the exact location of the tombs of Pausanias and Leonidas. At least we can assume that the tomb of the latter was not in the small temple usually called the *Leonidaion*, which is

⁵ Paus. 3.14.1, in the translation of Ormerod (Jones & Ormerod 1966), slightly modified.

Memory of the dead in Roman Sparta

located too far to the south (FIG. 1).⁶ According to Thucydides, Pausanias was buried at the entrance of the precinct — the *temenos* — of Athena *Chalkioikos*, where he died of starvation.⁷ As is well known, the sanctuary of Athena *Chalkioikos* was on the acropolis of Sparta, above the theatre. If, as the Periegete says, the tomb was at the same time “opposite the theatre” (τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ), it must also have stood on the acropolis.⁸ The only alternative is to suppose that the *temenos* of *Chalkioikos* extended as far south as the lower part of the theatre.⁹ The question remains open, but we are sure that the tomb of Pausanias, that of Leonidas and the inscription with the names of the Three Hundred were in the immediate vicinity of the theatre either above the *cavea* or by the stage building.

INSERT FIG. 1 HERE

The funeral contest alluded to by Pausanias is also mentioned in an honorary inscription seen “close to the theatre” by the 18th century French scholar Michel Fourmont, who copied several texts from Sparta in 1730.¹⁰ The stone, a statue base, came to light during the first British excavation at the theatre site at the beginning of the 20th century. It was found in trench B as indicated on the plan published in the *Annual of the British School* (FIG. 1.b).¹¹ According to the inscription, one Cleon, son of Sosikrates “took part in the funeral contest” — literally, the contest by the tomb (τὸν ἐπιτάφιον) — “of Leonidas, Pausanias and the other heroes” (τῶν λοιπῶν ἡρώων), and was crowned. He is also praised for his seriousness (σεμν[ότητος]).¹²

This text plainly confirms the testimony of the Periegete and provides us with further information. In fact, we learn here that the contest was held not only in memory of Pausanias and Leonidas, but also of the other Spartan warriors at Thermopylae, who were all — generals and warriors — characterised as heroes.

⁶ The building was cleared by Ludwig Ross in 1834 and studied again by Charles Waldstein in 1892: see Ross 1851, 2: 15–16 and the report of Waldstein 1892, 71–2, with Crosby 1893, 353.

⁷ Thuc. 1.134.

⁸ This was the conclusion of Woodward 1925, 263–64 in his report on the excavation of the Athena *Chalkioikos* sanctuary. We now know that the upper part of the theatre was designed as a portico, which surely served as a transition with the sanctuary of Athena: Waywell, Wilkes & Walker 1998, 99–100.

⁹ See the discussion in Bulle 1937, 27–33. Even though the actual theatre had replaced another earlier structure of the same type, its construction in the last decades of the first century BC and the construction of a new stage building under Vespasian certainly imply a reorganisation of the circulation in the whole area and accordingly disturb its perception for visitors to the sanctuary. For an overview of the history of the theatre of Sparta, see Waywell, Wilkes & Walker 1998 with a full bibliography.

¹⁰ This fascinating figure of the early archaeological exploration of Greece has been recently studied by Raspi Serra 1998.

¹¹ Tillyard 1906, 478: “Variations of reading [with the text of Fourmont] negligible”, no details, no measurements. Cf. Dickins 1906, 396 for the description of the finds coming from trench B. The text is now IG V.1 660.

¹² The text is here corrupt. The supplement for ll. 7–8 ([ἀνδρείας ἔνεκα] καὶ σεμν[ότητος βίου]) suggested by Boeckh, CIG I 1417, after CIG I 1426 (IG V.1 472) and accepted by Kolbe is inappropriate: the praise of ἀνδρεία, which is appropriate in honorary inscriptions for successful participants in the *agoge* (cf. also for ex. IG V.1 527, 564 or 652), would be surprising here.

These warriors had thus not only their names inscribed on a slab by the tombs, as Pausanias the Periegete says, but received a real part of the honours given to Pausanias and Leonidas.¹³

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE *LEONIDEIA*

A second set of inscriptions inform us about the general organisation of the athletic contest, which was called the *Leonideia* and was reorganized, as we shall see, at the end of the reign of Trajan. The first texts are written on two square blocks of bluish marble discovered during the excavations in the theatre of Sparta in the year 1906, just like the inscription for Cleon. They were built into a Byzantine wall in front of the theatre, in trench E (FIG. 1.b). The blocks formed, according to Bosanquet, “the upper and lower members of a monument”, the main portion of which is missing. The texts, which are very lacunose, “cover the moulded surface of the front and one side” of each block.¹⁴

We have apparently the beginning and the end of an official document regulating the progress of a festival and an athletic contest, the *Leonideia*.¹⁵ The whole text is a decision of the *synarchia* and of the *gerontes* organizing a series of questions relating to the event: finance, role of the magistrates, etc.¹⁶ One Agesilaus seems to have funded an endowment to double the amount of the prizes given to the victors.¹⁷ One Flavius Charixenus, whose involvement is not clear, is also mentioned.¹⁸

¹³ According to Pausanias (3.12.9), two of them, Maron and Alpheios, also had a heroic sanctuary in the town, along the Aphetais Street. These were already known to Herodotus (7.227).

¹⁴ R.C. Bosanquet cited by Tillyard 1906, 445. According to Tillyard, the blocks’ measurements are 0.35 x 0.95 x 1.5 m for the first block and 0.35 x 0.95 x 0.83 m at the top, 1.105 x 0.925 m at the bottom, for the second one. If those measurements are correct, a further block was required to form with the latter the lower part of the monument.

¹⁵ IG V.1 18 and 20 respectively.

¹⁶ The names of *gerontes*, *nomophulakes* and *ephors*, the last bodies forming the *synarchia* of Sparta, appear at the end of the text on the second bloc (IG V.1 20B). In the first line of the text on the upper block the letters K A I O I Γ E P O N T E are preserved, slightly more spaced than the remainder of the inscription (judging by the facsimile given by Tillyard 1906, 446), where we can identify an opening formula of the type: γνώμα τῶν συναρχιῶν καθὰ ἰκαὶ οἱ γέροντες ἐπέκειναι. See Kennell 1992b for the *synarchia* and Kennell 1992a for the power of the *gerousia* in Roman Sparta, with the parallels p. 200 for the opening formula.

¹⁷ IG V.1 18A, ll. 7–8. The amount of the endowment is unknown. The sum of 10,500 *denarii* appears in the text (l. 4), but in a part too lacunose to be confidently interpreted. We know that a public bank was entrusted with the money and must therefore have given a warranty of 30,000 *denarii* (B, ll. 12–15). If the endowment was of 10,500, the warranty would then be three times as great as the entrusted sum, which is at best unusual. This hypothesis is defended by Bogaert 1968, 99–100, but it seems untenable. As we have seen, the endowment was created to double the number of the prizes offered to the winners, but the known value of the new prizes decided by Agesilaus according to IG V.1 19, ll. 6–11 (see below), which because of the lacunose state of the text is only a part of the whole, already exceeds the funding possibilities of an endowment of 10,500 *denarii*. The whole of an annual income of 10,500 *denarii* would be more realistic, and could be the product of an endowment of, say, 140,000 *denarii* at 7.5

Memory of the dead in Roman Sparta

The missing part of the monument, which is thought to have borne an honorary inscription on the front, had probably also displayed a part of the text of the festival regulation on the side. A third stone, once built into the wall of a house, south of the metropolitan church of Sparta, is often considered to be that very missing part.¹⁹ According to Woodward, who saw and described the stone in 1909, the style of the letters is the same as that of the other inscriptions.²⁰ Moreover, the text itself offers an interesting complement to the others. It is a list of different categories of contest (*dolichodromos*, *diaulodromos*, pentathlon, separately for boys, young men and men) with the accompanying prize amounts “according to the decision of Agesilaus” (κρίσεως τῆς Ἀγησιλάου). We learn here that the names of the *athlothes* and of the competitors at the *Leonideia* had to be published in the vicinity of the statues of Agesilaus and Charixenus.²¹ So, even if this stone is not the missing part of the monument of the theatre — a further investigation of the different parts would be necessary to confirm the hypothesis — the text is clearly related to the reorganisation of the contest.

The prosopography allows us to date the reform. The regulation text is certified by the name of some magistrates: sixteen *gerontes*, five ephors and four *nomophylakes* whose names appear at the end of IG V.1 20. The first sixteen names are not explicitly identified as those of *gerontes*, but we have another inscription with the complete list of the *gerontes* of that year, where the sixteen names appear in the same order.²² Among them, Tiberius Claudius Harmonicus is *geron* for the second time in the year of Philokleidas, a *patronomos* under Trajan, and for the third time in the year of the text regulating the *Leonideia*.²³ Accordingly, Aleximachus the son of Soterichus is *geron* for the first time in the year of Philokleidas and for the second time in the year of the regulation.²⁴ Soandrus the son of Thruphon is *geron* for the third time in the year of Philokleidas and for the fourth time in the year of Lucius Volussenus Aristokrates,²⁵

%, comparable to the one created at Aphrodisias by Flavius Lysimachus in the reign of Commodus (Reynolds 1982, 185–189, with Wörrle 1988, 236–8); see also the donations of Claudius Adrastus at Aphrodisias (Reynolds 1982, 190–192) and of C. Iulius Demosthenes at Oinoanda (Wörrle 1988, 151–64). For his part, Tony Spawforth sees in the 30,000 *denarii* the total of the endowment, of which Agesilaus gave only a part (Cartledge & Spawforth 2002, 192), but even so such income would not suffice to fund the organization of the festival.

¹⁸ IG V.1 18A, l. 3.

¹⁹ IG V.1 19.

²⁰ Woodward 1909, 98. The *editio princeps* was given by Ph. Le Bas, who saw the stone in Sparta during his tour of the Peloponnese in 1843 (Le Bas & Foucart 1848–1878, n. 194c); see also Dressel & Milchhöfer 1877, 439. However, the lettering of IG V.1 19 and 20 presents some differences (especially the M, the N, the Y and the Ψ), judging from the squeezes stored at the Brandenburgische Academie in Berlin. I am very grateful to Prof. Dr. K. Hallof for giving me the opportunity to see these squeezes in Berlin.

²¹ IG V.1 19, ll. 14–16.

²² SEG 11 565. We have also already seen that IG V.1 18 begins with the mention of the *gerontes*.

²³ SEG 11 564, l. 9, cf. SEG 11 565, l. 3.

²⁴ SEG 11 564, l. 10, cf. SEG 11 565, l. 5.

²⁵ SEG 11 564, l. 15, cf. SEG 11 569, l. 3.

which predate by a few years the patronomate of the emperor Hadrian, which we can place in its turn about AD 130.²⁶

One Caius Iulius Agesilaus and one Titus Flavius Charixenus, who are probably the individuals involved with the reform of the *Leonideia*,²⁷ were also jointly the first *athlothes* of the "Great Imperial Ourania Nervanideia",²⁸ a contest founded in the years 97–98 in honour of Nerva, as is commonly believed. According to Anthony Birley however, the Nervanideia could have honoured the whole imperial dynasty, under a title perhaps reflecting the propaganda of Hadrian at the beginning of his reign, when he sought to gain legitimacy.²⁹ All in all, we are here in the time-span covering the first decades of the second century AD.

We do not know exactly who Agesilaus and Charixenus were. They were probably relatives, wealthy, and of high social rank. They played a role together in the organisation of the contest in honour of Nerva or the lineage of Nerva, and in the reorganisation of the *Leonideia*. An honorary inscription for Titus Flavius Charixenus has been discovered, once again, near the theatre, "built into the Byzantine wall". According to Tillyard, who published the inscription, "the letters show traces of red paint".³⁰ Titus Flavius Charixenus had won the first ἀγὼν ἀριστοπολιτείας, the "contest of the best citizen", after his renewal. This contest was probably aimed to honour the most generous citizen of Sparta.³¹

The name of Agesilaus may indicate a claim to a royal lineage. His involvement in the organisation of the Ouranian contest, probably connected with the cult of Zeus Ouranios, whose priesthood was a royal responsibility in Classical times,³² points in the same direction. A little more than a century after him, about AD 230, Sextus Pompeius Eudamus, son of Onasikrates, and a really prominent figure in the city of his time,³³ was hereditary *agonothetes* of the great *Leonideia*.³⁴ This Eudamus is characterized as a descendant from Heracles and from the Dioskouroi. The claim of aristocracy associated here with hereditary responsibility for the contest in honour of Leonidas is significant.

THE *LEONIDEIA* IN CONTEXT

²⁶ The attempt by Bradford 1986 to determine the chronology of the *patronomoi* for the years 124/5–129/30 is not convincing. At best, we can say that the patronomate of Hadrian occurred in the years 126/7–131/2, but not in 128/9.

²⁷ For more details, see Rizakis, Zoumbaki & Lepenioti 2004, LAC 416 and LAC 361.

²⁸ IG V.1 667.

²⁹ Birley 1997, 239.

³⁰ Tillyard 1906, 460–1. IG V.1 467.

³¹ Cartledge & Spawforth 2002, 159 and 198–9.

³² Hdt. 6.56.

³³ Rizakis, Zoumbaki & Lepenioti 2004, LAC 626.

³⁴ IG V.1 559, ll. 10–12.

Memory of the dead in Roman Sparta

The text regulating the *Leonideia* describes indirectly the topography of the contest. It was to take place in the stadium where the *gymnasiarch* had to provide oil for the competitors and in the gymnasium where the victors would have their portrait placed. We do not know exactly where the stadium and the gymnasium were, but they could have been located on the *dromos* which, according to Pausanias the Periegete, contained a race course as well as two gymnasia.³⁵ As we have seen, the names of the *athlothes* and of the competitors had also to be inscribed in the vicinity of the statues of Agesilaus and Charixenus, perhaps the monument close to the theatre which held the text of the regulation. The theatre, where most of the documents relating to the contest were discovered, was probably the focal point of the ceremony, I believe, because of the proximity of the tombs of Pausanias and Leonidas and the slab bearing the names of the Three Hundred. I would argue that there was also another reason.

The statue of Cleon, the son of Sosikrates, stood once there, the man who was crowned at the "funeral contest of Leonidas, Pausanias and the other heroes". According to the Periegete, the ceremony was twofold: "Every year" he says "they deliver speeches over them, and hold a contest in which none may compete except Spartans". I believe that the athletic contest described in the inscriptions relating to the *Leonideia* are to be identified with the second part of the ceremony, and that Cleon delivered a speech during the first part, which would then also be a contest and evidently constituted a part of the festival and probably took place at the theatre.

The delivery of speeches at festivals and speech contests are well attested in Imperial times, when epideictic oratory flourished.³⁶ We could also compare the oration held in honour of the heroes of Sparta with the deliberation which took place every four years before the Greek Council at Plataia, to determine who, the Spartans or the Athenians, would have precedence in the procession of the *Eleutheria*.³⁷ It was not exactly a contest of *enkomia*, as in the musical contests of the time, but a real debate, with a decision of the Council at the end. It is only its repetition every four year which gave the deliberation an artificial touch. At Sparta, the delivery of speeches, which were certainly funeral speeches, over Pausanias, Leonidas and the Three Hundred, could also have functioned simultaneously as an epideictic event, with a kind of competition, and as a ritualised rehearsal of the mourning for the heroes, providing an opportunity for reiterating the most glorious pages of Spartan history.³⁸

³⁵ Paus. 3.14.6. At the time of our text, there was probably only one gymnasium at Sparta. The second would be given to the city only a few years later by C. Iulius Eurycles Herculaneus, perhaps in connexion with the foundation of the funerary games honouring his memory, the *Eurykleia*.

³⁶ Pernot 1993, 55–105, and especially p. 85–92 for the contests. Such a contest also existed in Sparta: *SEG* 11 838, l. 7.

³⁷ Robertson, 1986 with Pernot 1993, 84–5. The evidence shows that the deliberation took place already in the later 2nd century BC, but most of the documents originate in the 2nd century AD.

³⁸ See Kennell 1995, 82.

Cleon was, at the beginning of the second century AD, a distinguished member of the governing class of Sparta. He was secretary of the Council in the year of Caius Iulius Lysikrates, *grammatophylax* in the year of Caius Iulius Charixenus, *nomophylax* in the year of Caius Iulius Philokleidas and ephor in the year of the reorganisation of the *Leonideia*; he was one of the magistrates who led the reform.³⁹ We cannot exclude the possibility that Cleon won an athletic contest, but it seems to me more plausible that he gained his crown for his eloquence.⁴⁰ The speeches were probably delivered in the theatre, which would also explain why Pausanias the Periegete chose, in his description, to link the tombs and the allusion to the contest with the description of that place. Pausanias' choice to provide an explicit link between the theatre, the tombs and the ceremony is significant in this context.

The delivery of funeral speeches plainly brings to mind the practice of *epitaphioi logoi* and the speeches that were held during the *epitaphia* festival in Classical Athens, studied by the late Nicole Loraux.⁴¹ This parallel invites us to examine how ancient the tradition may have been in Sparta. According to Pausanias the Periegete, the regent Pausanias brought the bones of Leonidas back to Sparta forty years after the battle at Thermopylae. By that time, however, the victor of Plataia was already dead. Walter Connor argued consequently that a name was missing in the text of the Periegete: it was not Pausanias, but a son of Pausanias who brought the bones back and who at the same time instituted the funeral ceremony.⁴² The first part of the hypothesis is convincing and resolves the chronological problem. But the institution of the funeral games is not necessarily contemporaneous with the return of the bones of Leonidas.

On the other hand, although the contest was reorganised under Trajan, it need not necessarily have been very ancient or even have previously existed at all.⁴³ Indeed, the creation of an archaistic contest suits perfectly the spirit of Imperial times,⁴⁴ and the association of Pausanias with Leonidas could then be a fiction, which is chronologically inconsistent.⁴⁵ The Persian Wars, and the figure of Leonidas in particular, were celebrated throughout the whole period of the Second Sophistic. It

³⁹ See respectively SEG 11 594; IG V.1 148, ll. 2–3 (SEG 11 537b), 537a, l. 7 and 538, l. 5; IG V.1 51–2 and SEG 11 538; IG V.1 20B, l. 7. Bradford 1977, 244, ΚΑΕΩΝ (13).

⁴⁰ I consider that the honorary inscription for Cleon IG V.1 660 is posterior to the reform of the *Leonideia*, when Cleon was already a member of the political elite of Sparta (*contra* Tillyard 1908, 455). For a winner at the athletic contest, see IG V.1 658.

⁴¹ Loraux 1981.

⁴² See Connor 1979 (with a summary of the other hypothesis). See also the contribution of A. Paradiso in this volume.

⁴³ The decision of Agesilaus to fund an endowment to double the amount of the prizes given to the winners could have intervened during the institutional process creating the contest. See Cartledge & Spawforth 2002, 192.

⁴⁴ Especially in Sparta. See: Cartledge & Spawforth 2002, 198–9. The so-called 'renewal' of the contest of the best citizen constitutes another example of that archaizing taste. For a large part, the *agoge* was also an archaistic construction: see Kennell 1995.

⁴⁵ Just as Connor 1979, 24–5 already suggested.

Memory of the dead in Roman Sparta

was one of the popular themes of rhetoric performance and of historical writing.⁴⁶ Indeed, Plutarch planned to write a biography of Leonidas,⁴⁷ perhaps to please one of his many Spartan friends.⁴⁸ He announced his intention to do so in his pamphlet against Herodotus and therein presented already a few anecdotes about Leonidas.⁴⁹ He said in particular that the king and his men, before leaving for Thermopylae, took part with the other Spartans in a funeral contest organised for themselves, (ἀγῶνα μὲν γὰρ ἐπιτάφιον αὐτῶν ἠγωνίσαντο πρὸ τῆς ἐξόδου), in the presence of their fathers and mothers (καὶ τοῦτον ἐθεῶντο πατέρες αὐτῶν καὶ μητέρες). This text, exactly contemporaneous with the reform of the *Leonideia*, certainly reflects the Spartan traditions that sustained the 'renewal' of the celebration. In this respect, it is interesting to note that we find here the involvement of both the city and the lineage in the ceremony. We have an exact parallel to the terms of the description of Pausanias the Periegete, who also stressed the fact that only Spartans could take part in the contest, and that the names of the Three Hundred were inscribed on the slab close to the theatre with the names of their fathers. The same insistence on the lineage appears also in the text of the festival regulation.⁵⁰ It is not (or not only) a question of citizenship, but actually a question of identity.

The figures of Leonidas and of the Three Hundred embodied Spartan excellence revived under the High Empire through the renewal of the *agoge* and of the Lykourgan system. The figure of Pausanias embodied the leading role of the Spartans in the victory over the Persians and the rivalry with Athens. Even though the reorganisation of the *Leonideia* could have a link with the ideological context of the Parthian campaigns of Trajan, as Tony Spawforth rightly suggested,⁵¹ and finds its place in the broader context of the perennial popularity of the Persian Wars in Greek culture, it is above all an element in the construction of a Spartan identity under the Roman Empire. This festival gives another example of the conscious effort by the Spartan elite during the first centuries AD to match the image of Classical Sparta.

⁴⁶ Tigerstedt 1974, 168–264.

⁴⁷ Ziegler 1951, 896–7.

⁴⁸ See Puech 1992.

⁴⁹ Plut. *de Herodoti malignitate*, 32, 866B.

⁵⁰ IG V.1 19, ll. 15–17

⁵¹ Cartledge & Spawforth 2002, 193. Cf. Spawforth 1994.

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List of illustrations

FIG. 1: Schematic map of the principal remains of Ancient Sparta (based on 1/5000 Greek army map). **b.** Location of trenches B and E of the 1906 British excavations at the theater (after Dickins 1906, 396).

CHAPTER 10

MESOLITHIC AND NEOLITHIC BURIALS IN THE PELOPONNESE

MERCOURIOS GEORGIADIS

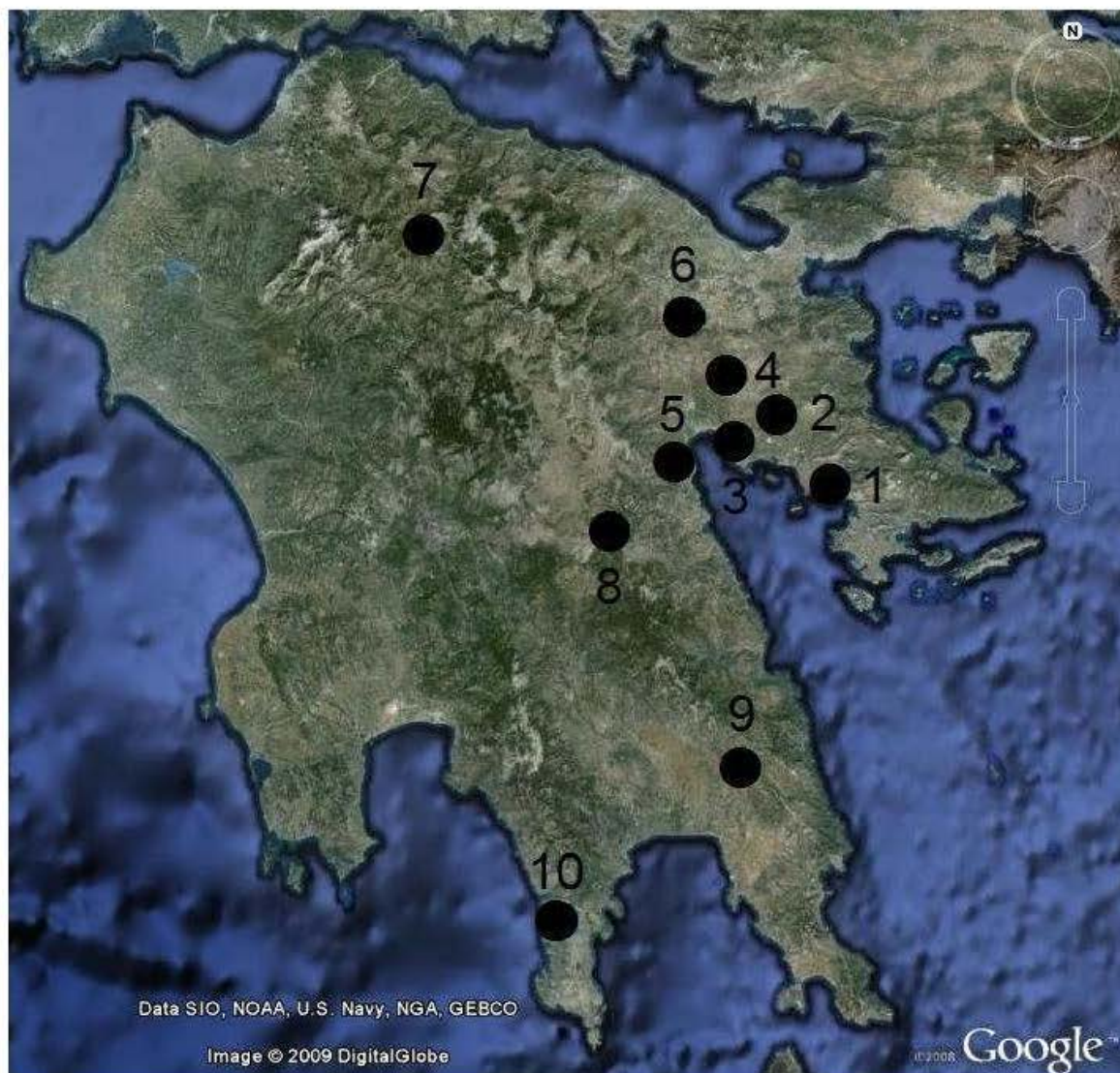
INTRODUCTION

The Mesolithic and Neolithic burials in Greece have received little attention over the years. This is due to the limited number of known cemeteries and burials from two periods that last almost six millennia. For the Mesolithic period the rather limited examples enabled, until recently, arbitrary parallels from far away regions that cannot be assessed or understood in the Aegean context. Today, more data are available from the Aegean providing a clearer picture, which will be presented and discussed. Furthermore, the most substantial Neolithic cemeteries have been recovered in the region with the most dense settlement pattern during the Neolithic era, Thessaly. Hence, the discussions related to burials have been more concentrated in northern Greece rather than in the south. The accumulation of more evidence from the Peloponnese permits a diachronic assessment of this region and an understanding of burial practices. For that reason the cemeteries of the Peloponnese will be presented and will be analysed according to each phase. The aim is to understand the practices and the belief of each cemetery and its relation to contemporary ones in the Peloponnese and the wider Aegean. Broader issues like the burial practices and the relationship of the living and the dead as well as the cemeteries with settlements will be raised. This last issue has been a central question for scholars since it allows comparisons with contemporary regions in the Balkans and the Near East.¹

¹ Demoule & Perlès 1993, 385; Hourmouziadis 1973, 211; Perlès 2001, 274, 281.

CEMETERIES

This presentation will start with the site which has the earliest and most numerous burials in the Peloponnese, the Franchthi cave, and will follow an anti-clockwise geographical order for the rest (**MAP 1**).



MAP 1. The Mesolithic and Neolithic Peloponnese.

The Franchthi cave was occupied from Upper Paleolithic times, but during the Mesolithic period the first burials were deposited within the cave (**MAP 1.1**). There were at least 28 individuals representing all Mesolithic phases, c. 1500 years, from the transition from Upper Paleolithic to Mesolithic until the Final

Mesolithic and Neolithic burials

Mesolithic period.² There were several individuals of all ages found in bone scatters all over the Mesolithic strata of the cave.³ The same treatment can also be seen in one contemporary case at 'Cyclops' cave' in the Northern Sporades.⁴ Primary inhumations have also been recovered like that of a young male (25–29 years old) in a shallow pit.⁵ He was placed in a semi-contracted position with hands crossed on his chest, and he was covered by small stones. Two shells, a land snail and a marine snail, were possibly placed along with the young male, while next to the deceased charcoal remains may be related to him. A parallel treatment of the deceased has been attested at the contemporary primary inhumation of a female at Theopetra cave in Thessaly,⁶ and at several burials of males, females and infants from Maroula on Kythnos.⁷ At the latter site in grave 6 the deceased was covered by a large stone not unlike the practice at the Franchthi cave, finding parallels at contemporary cemeteries in Palestine.⁸ Five more Lower Mesolithic inhumations come from the Franchthi cave, three adult females, one adult male and one infant.⁹ They were partly preserved close to each other, indicating that they were also placed in semi-contracted positions. One further infant burial from the Upper Mesolithic stratum may have been a primary inhumation, close to which shells and charcoal remains have pointed to similarities to Lower Mesolithic practices.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the most astonishing burial practice during the Mesolithic era was the presence of cremations. Two individuals were definitely cremated at the Franchthi cave, which represented the earliest occurrence of this burial tradition in Greece.¹¹

During the EN–MN early period most of the burials within the cave belonged to infants and children up to 8 years old.¹² They are mainly inhumations in pits placed in contracted positions. Some of the children were covered by stone slabs or heaps of stones, while one of the children had a stone 'pillow' below its head.¹³ In this phase a new cluster of burials was formed at Paralia, a few metres north-west of the cave, where adult inhumations were found in contracted positions. This area was also used as a habitation area where the burials were

² Cullen 1995, 274–75.

³ Angel 1969, 380; Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 6; Cullen 1995, 278–80; Cullen & Cook 1991.

⁴ Sampson 2008a, 214–15.

⁵ Jacobsen 1969, 374.

⁶ Kyparissi-Apostolika 2000, 21, fig.1.8.

⁷ Sampson 2008a, 216; 2008b.

⁸ Sampson 2006, 58.

⁹ Angel 1969, 380; Cullen 1995, 276.

¹⁰ Cullen 1995, 277.

¹¹ Cullen 1995, 277–78.

¹² Angel 1969, 380–81; 1973, table 1; Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 7.

¹³ Jacobsen 1969, 373.

incorporated within the living area. The same burial tradition is recovered in the MN burials within the cave and at the Paralia. An infant MN burial was accompanied by a monochrome jar deliberately broken in two and a small marble bowl, and a female adult burial at Paralia had many offerings such as a monochrome Urfirnis vase, 6 bone points and 4 obsidian tools. In the FN phase burials were recovered only at Paralia, representing exclusively inhumations that belong primarily to females, a few males and a few children.¹⁴ The female burials were accompanied by offerings, whilst one grave contained an elder female and a younger male. Although Paralia remained a habitation area and the burials were within it, a wall may have segregated the living from the dead.

Aria had been used during the LN and FN phases. It was an open-air site, located on a low hill close to the modern village, c. 2 km east of Nauplion (**MAP 1.2**). Within the LN strata of the settlement, there was an oval cutting made for the pit grave, which was marked by a partly preserved stone circle.¹⁵ In the grave there was an inhumation of a child aged up to 4 years, with two vessels placed near its legs, providing us with a FN date for the burial.

In the area of Koutsouria in Nauplion a natural cavity of the rocks was used as a burial ground (**MAP 1.3**), which was covered by large stones carefully placed.¹⁶ An inhumation of a male in a crouched position was recovered with a few early EH and Neolithic offerings, but the burial most probably belonged to the FN period.

At Prosymna there was most probably a small cave (**MAP 1.4**), where humans were deposited.¹⁷ The human bones and skulls were recovered in a scattered state and could be dated to the MN period. At the bottom of this cave there were six small depressions: two of them contained nothing but earth and stones and one had a few stone beads.¹⁸ Depression no. 4 contained remains of a cremated child covered by a heap of stones; in depression no. 5 bones of a cremated adult were found accompanied by an obsidian blade, a fragment of a stone bead and two monochrome sherds, all covered by a heap of stones.¹⁹ At depression no. 6 a single long bone was attested broken into three pieces. Blegen²⁰ concluded that the burials represented the remains of cremations practiced in this

¹⁴ Fowler 2004, 77, table 5.2.

¹⁵ Dousougli 1998, 132.

¹⁶ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1971, 10.

¹⁷ Blegen 1937, 25–26.

¹⁸ Blegen 1937, 26–27, fig.28.

¹⁹ Blegen 1937, 27, Figs28–30.

²⁰ Blegen 1937, 28.

Mesolithic and Neolithic burials

small cave. Similar cremations in pits have been found at EN Soufli Magoula, LN Platia Magoula Zarkou and LN Dimini, all in Thessaly.²¹

At Lerna the burials were found in the open air site of the Neolithic and EH periods (MAP 1.5), *extra mural*, but very close to the habitation area.²² There were 9 MN burials, most of which can be dated to an early phase, which belonged to four infants, three children up to 10 years old and two adults.²³ One of the infants was placed within an Urfinis painted bowl, but all infant and child burials were placed in shallow pits or covered by low earth or stone mounds. However, there is a differentiation between infants and children because two out of three of the latter received offerings, namely cups.²⁴ The two adult burials are represented only by forearm and hand bones belonging to a male and a female. They both seem to be closely related to the infant and child burials perhaps suggesting a kind of companionship.²⁵ The two FN burials belonged to adult females in their 20s placed within pit graves, one of which was lined with stones, while both were possibly covered by low earth or stone mounds.²⁶ At burial JC-1 the female was in a crouched position with one vessel as an offering as well as sherds of others and several obsidian blades. The female at burial HTN-1 was placed extended with the hands on the stomach and the breast, and it was accompanied by two pots.

At Tsoungiza in Nemea a small collapsed cave has also been recovered nearby or within the Neolithic settlement (MAP 1.6). Along with the debris of the settlement a number of animal as well as human bones were recognized.²⁷ The human bones included part of a skull, arm, femur, jaw and pelvis, representing at least two individuals. It seems that both the settlement remains and the content of the small cave can be dated to the MN period, bearing resemblances to the use of the contemporary small cave at Prosymna.

The Limnes cave is situated close to Kastria in the Kalavryta area on the border between Achaea and Arcadia (MAP 1.7). In the LN strata of its occupation several scattered human bones have been collected.²⁸ They belonged to at least 15 individuals, from which nine were definitely or possibly males and the rest of uncertain gender.²⁹ From the nine cases in which the age could be determined,

²¹ Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 8; Fowler 2004, 23, 66; Gallis 1982, 173–74, 182; Hourmouziadis 1973, 202.

²² Angel 1971, fig.5.

²³ Angel 1971, 39–40; Vitelli 2007, 131, table 9.2.

²⁴ Vitelli 2007, 132, table 9.2.

²⁵ Angel 1971, 39; Vitelli 2007, 131–32.

²⁶ Angel 1971, 40–41; Vitelli 2007, 121–22, 133.

²⁷ Caskey & Blegen 1975, 258.

²⁸ Sampson 1997, 40–50, 60–62, 68.

²⁹ Stravopodi *et al.* 1997, 460–62, table 77.

seven appeared to be adult, one a teenager close to adulthood and a child 6 to 8 years old. There was only one *in situ* male inhumation, 35 years old, recovered in a grave lined with stones and a few large clay pieces at one end of the cave.³⁰ It remains unclear whether the layer of earth and stones above the burial was a kind of mound or not. The deceased was placed in an extended position without any offering; however bone parts from two more individuals were found within the grave.³¹

Ayioryitika was an open-air Neolithic settlement in the Tripolis plateau in south-east Arcadia (**MAP 1.8**). At this site two graves were recovered, either pits or cists, in which disarticulated bones were found.³² Grave I was dug under the floor of a building, where leg and arm bones were discovered of one or more individuals, along with a few sherds, two flaked stone blades (one chert and one obsidian), fragments of 3 or 4 stone pounders, a part of a saddle quern and animal bones.³³ Grave II was located close to but outside the building area in which numerous bones and a skull were recovered belonging to a male 30–35 years old.³⁴ The bones seemed to represent at least two individuals, while a stone axe was found in the fill above the grave. Grave I appeared to belong to the MN period, while Grave II was most probably of the same date.³⁵

The Kouveleiki caves A and B are located in the eastern part of Laconia on the Parnon mountain range (**MAP 1.9**). Within the cave LN and FN strata have been recovered, with many disarticulated bones reported throughout the excavated area.³⁶ However, in one case in cave B part of a burial was found *in situ* and the rest was disarticulated by natural or human intervention.³⁷ There was another burial in cave B found *in situ* belonging to the FN phase, situated in a shallow pit with a small heap of stones demarcating the position of the head.³⁸ Moreover, an infant burial was attested placed within a vessel in cave A, similar to the one found at Aria, where it was placed inside a larger vessel and closed by a flat stone.³⁹ This burial appears to belong to the FN phase rather than the LN

³⁰ Sampson 1997, 44, drawing 12, Figs14–17.

³¹ Sampson 1997, 44; Stravopodi *et al.* 1997, 460–61.

³² Petrakis 2002, 73–74.

³³ Petrakis 2002, 19, 73–74.

³⁴ Petrakis 2002, 19, 74.

³⁵ Petrakis 2002, 19.

³⁶ Kontaxi 1994, 838; 1996, 711–12; Papathanasiou 2001, 128; Stravopodi 1994, 836; 1996, 710; 1999, 1006.

³⁷ Kontaxi 1994, 838.

³⁸ Kontaxi 1996, 712.

³⁹ Stravopodi 1994, 836.

Mesolithic and Neolithic burials

period, while a similar pot burial comes from LN Rachmani⁴⁰, LN Soufli Magoula⁴¹ and FN Kefala.⁴²

The Alepotrypa cave is situated in the western coastal part of the Mani peninsula (**MAP 1.10**), and was used during the LN and FN periods,⁴³ though Fowler⁴⁴ has dated it to the FN period. In this cave there are different types of burials that were practiced during its use. Ossuary I was found in the first chamber of the cave and contained many disarticulated human bones; along with them a few sherds were attested, probably intrusive, two skulls of dogs and a mandible of a cow or donkey.⁴⁵ Some of the bones and one of the skulls were outlined by stones, while at the northern part of this ossuary a primary inhumation of a child had been placed on a layer of stones. Under this inhumation another child burial was recovered, also placed on a layer of stones, whose bones were disarticulated. Below that, on the natural rock of the cave, a small mass of bones was found belonging to infant twins. In ossuary II fire remains and bases of large vessels one on top of the other were recovered, along with 14 skulls and many cranial and postcranial bones.⁴⁶ The skulls were placed in an upright position without their jaws, while some were surrounded by circles of stones and one was placed on the base of a broken jar.⁴⁷ There has been the suggestion that this ossuary represented a single event related to a final disposal burial stage.⁴⁸ Ossuary I appeared to be earlier in date than ossuary II, according to the excavator.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, there are primary inhumations, both within pits without any offerings, one belonging to an adult female, 27 years old, placed in a contracted position next to a hearth.⁵⁰ There was also a pit that contained multiple primary inhumations of six to ten adults and adolescents.⁵¹ Two of them were found *in situ*, one in a contracted, the other in an extended position, but many had their limbs *in situ* and the rest of their bones disarticulated. No offerings were recovered apart from a few sherds, most probably intrusive, while there was a pit one metre away which contained the skeleton of a sheep or goat without its skull and limbs. Finally, there were two cases of cremated child burials placed in a

⁴⁰ Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 7.

⁴¹ Hourmouziadis 1973, fig.139.

⁴² Coleman 1977, 48.

⁴³ Papathanasiou 2001, 25; 2009, 21–22, 24.

⁴⁴ Fowler 2004, 72, table 5.1.

⁴⁵ Papathanasiou 2001, 33; 2009, 23.

⁴⁶ Papathanasiou 2001, 33; 2009, 23; Papathanasopoulos 1971, 293–94, 297.

⁴⁷ Papathanasopoulos 1971, 298; 1996, 175.

⁴⁸ Papathanasiou 2001, 33.

⁴⁹ Papathanasopoulos 1971, 300.

⁵⁰ Papathanasiou 2001, 34; 2009, 23; Papathanasopoulos 1996, 175.

⁵¹ Papathanasiou 2001, 34; 2009, 23.

niche in the deepest part of the cave.⁵² They both contained shell beads and were covered by large amounts of pottery sherds. From the adult group whose gender could be determined, 17 were males (or probably males), and 15 were females (or probably females).⁵³ Overall, from 161 individuals, 81 were adults and 80 were below 18 years old. The finds did not provide a definite date for the burials, which most probably represented all phases of the cave's occupation.

DISCUSSION

Franchthi had set the pace already in the Mesolithic period for the burial practices that would dominate during the Neolithic phases. The coexistence of habitation area and cemetery within a cave followed the Palaeolithic tradition already attested at the caves of Apidima, Kitsos and Theopetra.⁵⁴ Primary inhumations, cremations and scattered bones were the main types that appeared in the Franchthi cave during the Mesolithic period. The discovery of scattered bones has caused considerable problems, since they rarely provide a definite answer as to whether they were intentionally dispersed or not. This issue prevented us from being clear about the practice of secondary burials, at least in the early phases under review. In the Mesolithic, burials of both sexes and all age groups are represented. The contemporary examples from the Aegean provide a picture similar to the one outlined by Franchthi, with the exception of the cremation found in it, which remains the earliest in Greece.

During the EN period Franchthi remained the only available cemetery in the Peloponnese and followed the burial tradition of the previous phase. In this period there was definite evidence of the practice of secondary burial at Prodromos in Thessaly,⁵⁵ so some of the burials at Franchthi could have belonged to this type too. Nonetheless, cremations were no longer practiced at this site (something that would continue until the end of the Neolithic period) and a new burial cluster was used outside the cave at the same time. In fact this cluster suggested a kind of segregation since mainly children and infants were buried within the cave, while at Paralia only adults are found. The use of two burial clusters, one in the cave and one in the open air, has found parallels in a much later context at FN Tharrounia in Euboea, with a similar spatial arrangement, but with different burial practices.⁵⁶

⁵² Papathanasiou 2009, 24; Papathanasopoulos 1996, 176–77.

⁵³ Papathanasiou 2001, 35, table 2.

⁵⁴ Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 5.

⁵⁵ Hourmouziadis 1971.

⁵⁶ Sampson 1993, 233–40.

Mesolithic and Neolithic burials

MN Franchthi was similar to the previous phase, but some of the burials were now accompanied by offerings. During this phase small caves were used exclusively as burial grounds, as in the case of Prosymna and possibly in the case of Tsoungiza. The first was located at a distance from the contemporary settlement, clearly arguing for a separation between the living and the dead. Moreover, scattered bones were found inside pits suggesting more forcefully the second burial hypothesis. At the same time there was positive evidence of cremation being practiced within the cave, whilst a few burial offerings were attested. At Tsoungiza, where only scattered bones have been found, it has remained unclear how close the cave was to the settlement - possibly adjacent to it or inside it. At Lerna the graves were also very close to the settlement but *extra mural*, and they represented inhumations of children and infants. An age differentiation can be seen between the two groups, with the older group receiving offerings. The remains of two adults argue for the practice of secondary burial, closely associated with the child graves. At Ayioryitika we have had the only definite example of *intra mural* burial within an open-air settlement in the Peloponnese. Two parallels are found, one in a contemporary context at Chaironeia in Boiotia and one at LN Elateia in Fthiotis.⁵⁷ Moreover, both graves at Ayioryitika contained secondary burials of one or more individuals from which only one male was recognized, with one of the burials containing a number of offerings.

Interestingly enough, during the LN phase we found limited evidence of cemeteries being active. The Limnes cave is better preserved with many bone scatters recovered from a number of areas of the cave, belonging primarily to adult males and very few to children. A single inhumation was found in a pit lined with stones, more like a cist grave, along with definite evidence of secondary burials. The practice of secondary burial has also been substantiated in this phase by the human remains found at the Kalythies cave on Rhodes.⁵⁸ At Kouveleiki Cave A some of the bone scatters may have belonged to this phase also. At the Alepotrypa cave the burials cannot be dated since no offerings have been found and the cave was used during the LN and FN times. There are primary burials, multiple primary burials, secondary burials with special emphasis on the skulls, and cremations were recovered within the cave. The last type argues for continuity of this burial practice into the later phase of the Neolithic era. Adults and children are represented equally and the same applies for both genders.

In the FN period more cemeteries were active, the Alepotrypa cave being one of them. The double inhumation at Franchthi was similar, in a way, to the

⁵⁷ Gallis 1996, 173; Hourmouziadis 1973, 210.

⁵⁸ Fountoulakis 1987; Sampson 1987.

multiple inhumations recovered at the Alepotrypa cave. The cases of the caves at Aria and Kouveleiki argued for the presence of burials within the habitation area, while Koutsouria and Lerna argued for the opposite. Lerna was closer to the example of Paralia, i.e. the burials were very close or adjacent to the settlement, but not within it. The same can be seen in the contemporary example of Kefala on Keos and possibly of Yali.⁵⁹ At both Aria and Kouveleiki Cave A there was a burial of a child inside a pot, which has found a contemporary parallel at Kefala.⁶⁰ At Lerna and Paralia there was clearly a better representation of female adults over males, something that was less clear at Kefala⁶¹ and Tharrounia.⁶² At these four Peloponnesian sites (Koutsouria being somewhat unclear), most inhumations of adults and children were accompanied by burial offerings, which seems to have become a broader tendency during this phase. It is worth mentioning that burial gifts were uncommon at Kefala,⁶³ Tharrounia⁶⁴ and Yali.⁶⁵ Koutsouria has followed the MN tradition attested at Prosymna and Tsoungiza, where small caves were used exclusively for burials. At the same time, at the Alepotrypa and Kouveleiki caves the older tradition of cave use as habitation and burial area continued as well. During the FN period primary inhumations appeared to be commoner, attested in all known Peloponnesian contexts, although at Alepotrypa secondary burials were also practised. The same can be seen in contemporary cemeteries outside the Peloponnese such as Kefala, but secondary burials may have been practiced as well,⁶⁶ and the same can be argued possibly for Yali.⁶⁷ The case at FN Tharrounia was different since the secondary treatment is the main burial disposal method at this site both in the cave and in the open-air cluster.

In southern Greece, and particularly in the Peloponnese, there is a large number of natural caves due to the geological formation of this region. It has not been surprising that seven out of ten well-known Mesolithic–Neolithic cemeteries from the Peloponnese were caves, though research bias may partly have caused this. Caves were used as habitation areas on a permanent and semi-permanent basis as well as burial grounds from the Palaeolithic times until the end of the Neolithic period. This suggests a coexistence of the living with the dead within the same context, as happened at the caves of Mesolithic–MN Franchthi, LN

⁵⁹ Coleman 1977; Sampson 1988.

⁶⁰ Angel 1977, 134; Coleman 1977, 48.

⁶¹ Angel 1977, 135.

⁶² Sampson 1993, 233–40.

⁶³ Coleman 1977, 51, table 4.

⁶⁴ Fowler 2004, 83, table 5.3.

⁶⁵ Sampson 1988.

⁶⁶ Coleman 1977, 50–51.

⁶⁷ Sampson 1988.

Mesolithic and Neolithic burials

Limnes, LN–FN Kouveleiki and LN–FN Alepotrypa. Interestingly enough, this trend was altered in some cases, in the sense that small caves were chosen and used exclusively as burials grounds, separating the living from the dead. This phenomenon is so far unique to the Peloponnese and started as early as the MN period at Prosymna and most probably Tsoungiza, as well as at FN Koutsouria, running in parallel with the aforementioned caves. The reasons for this new tradition could be practical (i.e. a small natural cave close to the settlement could easily be employed as a burial ground), or symbolic (i.e. still bearing the symbolic significance relating to death attributed to the caves where habitations and burials coexisted). Perhaps the FN chamber tomb at the Athenian Agora,⁶⁸ a built cave, is but a variation of this idea which became more popular in EBA times and thereafter.

The first open-air cemeteries appeared already in the EN period in Thessaly and at Paralia in Franchthi, but the latter is closely related to the burials in the cave and it is within the EN and MN habitation area. In that respect the notion of coexistence between living and dead has not changed, as argued for several Neolithic sites in Central and Northern Greece.⁶⁹ At both MN sites, Lerna and Ayioryitika, the graves appear to be also part of the settlement; in the latter they were located underneath a house, as attested in contemporary Central Greece. This picture appears to change in the FN period, when Lerna and Paralia were differentiated by the habitation area, although they were located very close to it. The same might be true for Aria, but the published data are unclear regarding the relation of the burial to FN strata. The separation of the living from the dead can be clearly demonstrated only in the FN phase at the open-air sites. The same trend can be seen from the MN period in Northern Greece for both adult and child burials.⁷⁰

The presence of two burial clusters close to each other serving the same community can be seen in the example of Franchthi. There was one cluster within the cave and one outside, at Paralia, both used during the EN and MN phases, with a known parallel at FN Tharrounia in Euboea.⁷¹ An even rarer case appears to be the use of two caves, located 50 m apart, in the area of Kouveleiki, as habitation and burial grounds in the FN phase, if not earlier.

All gender and age groups appear to be represented in the Mesolithic burials at the Franchthi cave. However, at EN–MN Franchthi and MN Lerna more children were buried than adults, whilst at the caves of MN Prosymna, MN Tsoungiza and MN Ayioryitika there seem to be more burials of adults than

⁶⁸ Immerwahr, 1982, 57–62.

⁶⁹ Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 7, 10.

⁷⁰ Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 7.

⁷¹ Sampson 1993, 233–40.

children. The latter pattern dominated in almost all the cemeteries during the LN and FN phases, perhaps with the exception of Aria and Alepotrypa caves, where a more balanced picture is attested. Nonetheless, at Aria this impression arose only from the single burial which has been recovered.

Another trend from the EN to the LN period in all the cemeteries was that only a few offerings were deposited in very few graves. In the FN phase offerings continued to be very few, but they are found in more graves than ever before (with the exception of the Alepotrypa and Kouveleiki caves, where few or no offerings were deposited). This tendency should not be explained by poverty: after all, the MN pottery in the settlements of the Peloponnese is of fine quality and great quantity, while the wares of the FN are far less decorative and with a larger proportion used for storage. Burial offerings are associated with afterlife beliefs, which became more significant in the Peloponnese from the FN period onwards. Perhaps the increase of storage vessels, the accumulation of goods seen in the settlements and the new ceramic repertoire of this phase marked the social conditions that led to more offerings deposited in the graves. Nonetheless, some limited social distinction may be already visible from the MN period onwards, based on the combination of burial practices, the grave construction and the offerings.⁷² The preservation of a heap of stones above the head of the deceased at Kouveleiki Cave B revealed that at least some graves were marked out. The frequent presence of obsidian tools as burial gifts is attested in the Peloponnese at MN Franchthi, MN Prosymna, MN Ayiorytika (along with chert) and FN Lerna, suggesting a pre-existing similar tradition to the one outlined by the richer evidence of EBA graves from southern mainland Greece, the Cyclades and Crete.⁷³

There was also a variety of ways of disposing of the deceased irrespective of context⁷⁴ (i.e. cave or open-air site) and symbolisms and meanings attributed to the burials. Inhumations appear to be a common practice and primary ones are found from the Mesolithic to the FN period. In fact by this last phase inhumation was the main disposal method in all the cemeteries, with the possible exception of the Alepotrypa cave. This seems to be a genuine practice of the period and it cannot be claimed that the reason why it dominates is because of reasons of preservation. Inhumation burial in an urn is a practice attested so far only for children in one case, at FN Kouveleiki Cave A. Multiple burials are attested already from the LN Limnes cave (a combination of primary and secondary ones), from LN–FN Alepotrypa and FN Franchthi. This practice has also found

⁷² Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 6.

⁷³ Carter 1994, 128–33.

⁷⁴ Fowler 2004, 101.

Mesolithic and Neolithic burials

parallels beyond the Peloponnese, at EN Soufli Magoula,⁷⁵ EN Nea Nikomedia,⁷⁶ MN Chaironeia⁷⁷ and FN Kefala.⁷⁸ Most inhumations were placed in a contracted position without any particular orientation and only in a few instances were they laid extended. Inhumations were in some cases placed on pebble floors like at the LN–FN Alepotrypa cave, with a few parallels found at FN Kefala.⁷⁹ As mentioned above, bone scatters within caves were very difficult to interpret, since they can be the result of human intervention (whether or not related to burial practices, for example cleaning), or even natural events such as flooding and cave collapse.⁸⁰ More definite evidence of the practice of secondary burial in Neolithic contexts came from some remains in the depressions at MN Prosymna, the graves of MN Ayioryitika and the adult arm bones from MN Lerna. The same can be inferred from the bones found at the LN Limnes cave alongside the primary inhumation, as well as from two child burials in ossuary I at the LN–FN Alepotrypa cave. Definite evidence of secondary treatment outside the Peloponnese is known from the LN Kalythies cave and FN Tharrounia.⁸¹ The remains at ossuary II in the LN–FN Alepotrypa cave could be interpreted as a secondary burial with emphasis on skulls, as at EN Prodomos in Thessaly.⁸² In this case an ancestral cult could be surmised to have taken place, which could be associated with the presence of burials beneath the house floors and other funerary practices. Cremations appeared in the Peloponnese already from Mesolithic times at Franchthi, and were reserved only for adults. Cremation is also found at MN Prosymna in the case of both an adult and a child, whilst at the LN–FN Alepotrypa cave it was reserved only for some children. Cremations were practiced in two cemeteries in Thessaly, EN Soufli Magoula, where all ages were represented, and LN Platia Magoula Zarkou, where mainly adults were attested with a few children.⁸³ The hiatuses in the practice of cremations in the Peloponnese and Thessaly during the Neolithic phases should be regarded as a result of the limited number of excavated cemeteries and graves rather than any other reason.

CONCLUSIONS

⁷⁵ Gallis 1982, 32, 46, 48–50.

⁷⁶ Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 7; Fowler 2004, 40; Hourmouziadis 1973, 209, fig.138.

⁷⁷ Hourmouziadis 1973, 210.

⁷⁸ Coleman 1977, 48.

⁷⁹ Coleman 1977, 48.

⁸⁰ Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 6–7.

⁸¹ Sampson 1987; 1993.

⁸² Hourmouziadis 1973, 210–11.

⁸³ Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 8–9.

It is clear that in the Peloponnese there was a variety of burials practices that coexisted not only chronologically, but also in the same local context. The Peloponnese did not act as a unified region in the burial traditions since its geography formed areas with limited interaction. Nonetheless, there were certain regional phenomena, such as the practice of cremation and the segregation of the living from the dead. The latter was achieved either by using small caves as burial grounds or by separating the burial cluster from the nearby living area. There were also the limited offerings placed in tombs during the early Neolithic phases, a practice which changed during the FN period in almost all the cemeteries. Moreover, there are regional characteristics from neighbouring areas which were not found in the Peloponnese, such as the built graves recovered at FN Kefala and FN Tharrounia. This seems to be a particular practice attested so far only in the FN Attica-Kefala cultural region.

Furthermore, the question remains open regarding the location where the dead were disposed of, in large excavated Neolithic settlements in Greece⁸⁴ and the Peloponnese in particular, such as EN–FN Corinth and MN–FN Koufovouno. Perlès believed that the majority of people were buried outside the settlement from the EN period onwards in Greece.⁸⁵ This hypothesis produced a unified picture for burial beliefs in Greece and set it apart from contemporary practices in the Balkans and the Near East. However, under scrutiny, a more varied picture appeared, with the Peloponnese as a very good example, where different practices coexisted in contemporary sites.

As more finds have come to light within the Peloponnese itself, one could argue that there existed different regional characteristics. In the north-eastern part small caves were used as burial grounds from the MN period, while in the FN phase inhumations and open-air cemeteries were preferred. In LN–FN Laconia there was a persistence of caves as burial and living areas and secondary burials remained significant. Certainly, the discovery of more cemeteries will enrich our understanding and will elucidate this regional hypothesis in the case of the Peloponnese. Furthermore, they will allow us to appreciate the Neolithic practices and developments which were followed during the EBA, such as the chamber tomb and the use of flaked tools, mainly obsidian, as burial offerings.

Thessaly⁸⁶ and the Peloponnese have been the best documented regions regarding burial traditions in Neolithic Greece. Although there are significant differences in the geography, material culture, size and types of settlement, as well as settlement patterns, similar trends can be seen throughout the Mesolithic and Neolithic phases. As the corpus of burials increases for Neolithic Greece, this

⁸⁴ Hourmouziadis 1973, 210; Perlès 2001, 273–74.

⁸⁵ Perlès 2001, 281.

⁸⁶ Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 6–11; Gallis 1996; Hourmouziadis 1971; Perlès 2001, 273–82.

Mesolithic and Neolithic burials

will allow us to obtain an insight into social conditions, attitudes and practices relating to death at a local level. Thus, we will be able to make valid interregional comparisons in order to comprehend better Neolithic beliefs for the afterlife.

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Mesolithic and Neolithic burials

List of illustrations

MAP 1. The Mesolithic and Neolithic Peloponnese.

CHAPTER 11

NEW INVESTIGATIONS BY THE 39TH EPHORATE AT EVA IN THE THYREATIS. A LATE CLASSICAL BURIAL IN THE WEST ROAD-SIDE CEMETERY.

GRIGORIS GRIGORAKAKIS

In 2008 a new burial dated to the late Classical period was discovered in the vicinity of ancient Eva at Helliniko in northern Kynouria. The text below aims to provide a full presentation of this find, through a brief report on the topographical and historical evidence for the area in the mid-4th century BC, when the regime at Thyreatis was decisively changed. An analytical presentation of the finds follows, ending with the conclusions that have been reached as far as the cemeteries of the ancient town are concerned, the burial practices, as well as the local pottery workshop.

A. KYNOURIA AND THYREATIS

The northern part of *Κυνουρία Γη*¹ (the boundaries of which are mount Parthenion² in the northwest and mount Zavitsa in the north, the Phonemenoi ridge and the 'Zygos' height in the west,³ the river Vrsiatis in the south) includes the Thyrea plain (modern plain of Astros), Xirokambi (the plateau between Agios Ioannis and Agios Petros), as well as the river Tanos, and it is identified as the ancient Thyreatis of written sources. It is alternatively referred to as Thyrea, Thyrai and Thyre (**FIG. 1.1**).⁴

¹ For a variety of opinions regarding the extent of Kynouria in antiquity, see Romaios 1956, 3; Tomlinson 1972, 14, 76, 88; Toynbee 1969, 184; Meyer 1969, 402; Cartledge 2002, 5, 11; Goester 1993, 45; Phaklaris 1990, 18–20, 33 n. 61; Shipley 2000, 377; Shipley 2004, 570–1, 578 (Anthene), 586 (Prasies), 594, 595 (Thyrea); Bolte 1929, 1304.

² On the southeast slopes of mount Parthenion there is a wall nearly 2 m thick and approximately 1 km long. This construction, known as 'Τοιχιάς' or 'Αγριακάς', is considered by researchers to be a horos: Phaklaris 1990, 209–16, esp. 212.

³ Today out of the three once imposing stone mounds, sanctuaries of Hermes Enodios and boundary marks (horoi) for neighbouring states (Sparta – Tegea – Argos), the remains of only one are visible: Romaios 1908a, 25–402; Phaklaris 1993, 193–5.

⁴ Thuc. 1.3, 4.56.2, 3–4, 4.57, 5.41.2, 3–5 and 6.95.1, 3–5; Herod. 1.82, 1; Herodianus, De pros. cath. 3.1. 284, 23). Shipley 2004, 594–5; Woysch-Meautis 2000, 158 ff; Figueira 1993, 294–6; Tomlinson 1972, 45–7; Christien 1989, 75–80; Christien & Spyropoulos 1985, 455–6; Reinholdt 1993, 31 ff. For the geomorphology of the area, see Goester 1993, 43.



FIG. 1.1. The thyreatic plain.

The Thyreatis was land belonging to the Argives, who had ‘dorianized’ the ‘indigenous’ Ionians, the Kynourians.⁵ However, the emergence of Sparta and its eventual victory over Argos in the battle of Thyreatis (546 BC)⁶ resulted in the annexation of Thyreatis and its towns to Lacedaemon as perioikic accessions.⁷ The Spartan feasts commemorating this victory, the influence it exerted on the physical appearance of the Spartans (they now began to grow their hair long), as well as the settlement here in 431 BC of exiled Aeginetans, all highlight the importance the Spartans placed on the acquisition of this region.⁸ Sparta would finally lose the Thyreatis in the middle of the 4th century BC,

⁵ Herodotus 8.73.11. Shipley 2000, 376–7.

⁶ Phaklaris 1991, 35 and n. 73. Id. 1987, 115 ff.

⁷ Thucydides (5.41, 2–4) accounts for the existence of two towns, Thyrea and Anthene, while Pausanias (2.36.6, 2–4), writing in the 2nd century ad, refers to three komai, Athene, Neris and the biggest of all, Eva. It is only ‘Teichio’ at Elliniko that we can identify with ancient Eva with any certainty (see n. 12 below): Christien & Spyropoulos, 1985; Goester 1993, 53–95; Faklaris 1991, 40–106, 129–37, 141–4; Woysch-Meautis 2000; Cartledge 2002, 97, 162, 281; Wallner 2008, 179 ff.

* For the Aeginetans who had been exiled by the Athenians and settled in the Thyreatis, see Figueira 1993, 293 ff. For a comparison of the battle of Thyrea with the battle of Thermopylae, see Isocr., Archid. (orat. 6), 99. 1–5, Maximus Soph. 23.2e, 1–3. and Dillery 1996. For the 'Thyreatic wreaths', see Athenaeus, Depn. 15.22, 15–24. For the 'Gymnopaedia', see Sud a 486, 1–4; Hesychius Lexic., 1002, 1–5; Phrynich. Att., Praep. Soph., 57.19–21; Lexicon Sab. 47, 5–7 and Etymol. Magnum Kal. 243.1–5. Finally, for the 'long-haired' ('κομώντας')

Late Classical burial at Eva, Thyreatis

whether as part of the rearrangement of the Peloponnese after the battle of Leuktra (371 BC), or as a result of the border lines imposed by Philip in the region after his victory at Chaeronea (338 BC).⁹ During this precise period it appears that, apart from the return of the Argives to the Thyreatis, the influence of the new Arcadian confederacy was boosted. Mythological traditions which link the Kynouria and the Thyreatis with the Arcadian kings, may be concealing possible ambitions of the Arcadians to acquire this land.¹⁰ But now, in the middle of the 4th century BC, the Thyreatic town of Eva becomes a member of the Arcadian confederacy for the first time, as can be surmised from literary and epigraphic evidence.¹¹

It is to these years of transition from the Classical to the Hellenistic age, when the regime at the Thyreatis altered for ever, that the grave described below has been dated; it belongs to the west road-side cemetery of ancient Eva.

A.1 THE ANCIENT TOWN AT 'TEICHIO' (EVA). HISTORY OF THE RESEARCH.

In the heart of the Thyreatis, at the location called 'Elliniko', 4 km southwest of Astros and on the height called 'Teichio' ('wall'), remains of the magnificent walls of ancient Eva survive, a town prominent over the Thyrea plain (modern plain of Astros), with unblocked views of the Gulf of Argos (**FIG. 1.1**). The identification of Teichio with ancient Eva is considered certain, since two stamped tiles from it bear the ethnic *EYATAN*.¹² It is obvious that this is the most important site in the northern part of the Kynouria. Its walls, stretching to a perimeter of 1050 m, reveal two basic building phases, one in the 5th century BC and one in the late 4th century BC, while settlement in the area goes back to Mycenaean times.¹³

Spartans and the 'cropped-haired' ('κατακειραμένους τας κεφαλάς') Argives, see Herod. 1.82, 33–9. Shaw 2003, 178 ff.; Stibbe & Heldring 2006, 270.

⁹ For the determination of the boundaries by Philip II in 338 bc, see Polyb. 9.28, 6–7. Paus. 7.11.2. For a discussion regarding the change of regime immediately after 371 bc, see Goester 1993, 47 and cf. Christien & Spyropoulos 1985, 463–4, Pierart 2004, 599 and Shipley 2004, 594–5.

¹⁰ Paus. 8.3.3. (the name 'Thyrea' comes from Lykaon's son, Thyraios): Schol. in Dion. Perieg. 415, 3–5 (the 'Kynouriki' was given / bequeathed to Helatos as his share by king Arkas).

¹¹ Nielsen 1996, 94–5 and n. 22; Vollgraff 1914, 341 and cf. Plassart 1915, 122–4. Also, Pritchett 1989, 88–9 and cf. Faklaris 1991, 38, notes 92–3 and 193; Christien & Spyropoulos 1985, 464, n. 67.

¹² For ancient Eva, see Shipley 2004, 581. For the stamped tile (SEG 30, 377), see Kallitsis 1960, 6–8, who supports the view that it was found at 'Elliniko' or 'Teichio', i.e. in the ancient acropolis. See also Pritchett 1980, 124; Christien & Spyropoulos 1985, 457 and n. 13; Woysch-Meautis 2000, *ibid.* Cf. Faklaris 1991, 104 and 190 no. 11 and fig. 111, who believes that the tile was found in the area of the temple of Apollo (?) at the locality called 'Anemomylos' ('Windmill') to the north of 'Teichio'. While sorting out the store rooms of the Archaeological Museum of Astros in the autumn of 2009, we came across another stamped tile from 'Teichio'. This had been handed in to the Museum in May 2006.

¹³ Scranton 1941, 165, 175, 184, 186; Faklaris 1990, 80–1 and n. 235–7; Goester 1993, 55–84.

The history of research in this region involves mainly trying to resolve problems of topography and of the identification of the ancient town with one of the towns or *komai* referred to by ancient writers.¹⁴

The Dutch Archaeological Survey carried out an investigation in the field between the years 1976 and 1979, with a survey, drawing and study of the walls. According to the conclusions of the study, the wall is dated to the middle of the 4th century BC, while its construction is linked to the establishment of borders imposed by Philip II in the region in 338 BC.¹⁵

A rescue excavation was carried out by the 5th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in 1979, when two cemeteries were investigated: Necropolis A in the vicinity of the chapel of Saints Christophoros and Savvas, on the southern slopes of 'Teichio', and Necropolis B in the west part of the ancient town, inside a field owned by the Kourogiorgas family. The burials are dated from the last quarter of the 5th century BC to the beginning of the 3rd century AD (FIG. 1.2).¹⁶

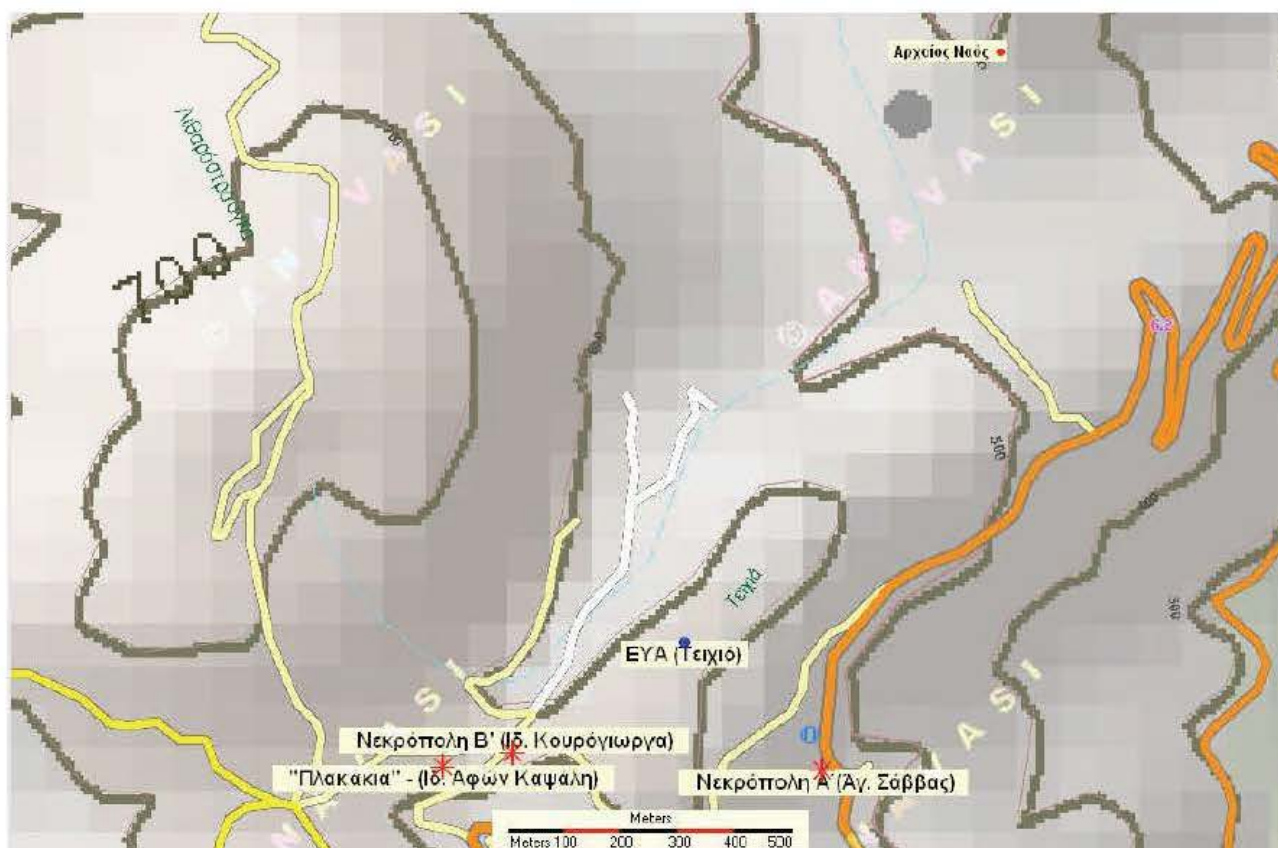


FIG.1. 2. Ancient Eva and the necropoleis.

¹⁴ Summarised in Phaklaris 1991, 88. The site used to be identified by most scholars with Eva or Thyrea. See also Goester 1993, 49–53, 53–55; Woysch-Meautis 2000, 149–64, 157–8. For its identification with ancient Eva, see n. 12 above.

¹⁵ Goester 1993, 55–81 (for the coins, pp. 77–8; for dating the wall to the 4th c. bc, pp. 78–81).

¹⁶ Abadie-Reynal & Spyropoulos 1985, 385–454. One more cemetery was located by the author on 13.1.2009 to the north of ancient Eva, from where the funerary inscribed stele was retrieved. It is not certain whether this cemetery is the one mentioned by Goester 1993, 81.

Late Classical burial at Eva, Thyreatis

Finally, to the west of Necropolis B, at the location called 'Plaka' or 'Plakakia' inside a field owned by the brothers Kapsali, a grave was investigated in 2008, whose contents as well as unusual construction are described in the next chapter (**FIG. 1.2**).

B. THE BURIAL IN THE WESTERN ROAD-SIDE CEMETERY

The grave is at the locality called 'Plakakia' and has a NE–SW orientation and dimensions of 0.50 x 2.40 m (**FIGS 2.1 & 4**). Partly dug in the ground and partly hewn into the soft rock, it has a 'bipartite' structure. In the lower part, which is hewn into the rock, the body had been laid on its back, the head resting on the eastern side. This part of the grave had been sealed with limestone slabs (**FIG. 2.3**). The upper part was covered with two extremely heavy limestone slabs, which in the northern part of the grave sat inside a niche hollowed out of the soft rock (**FIGS 2.1 & 3**). On the south and east sides there was a row of stones aimed at keeping the slabs in a horizontal position (**FIG. 2.3**).

Outside the grave, at its southwest corner, a ditch was located with two drinking vessels inside it (**FIG. 2.2**),¹⁷ presumably libations for the dead woman. Inside the deceased was accompanied by offerings of ten clay vessels placed almost symmetrically to the left and right of her feet, with the exception of an oenochoe and an aryballos, which were placed on the pelvis and between the legs of the deceased respectively.¹⁸ The discus of a bronze mirror ('Klappsiegel') was discovered to the right of the head, underneath the skull, which had been crushed by the collapsed covering slabs; this may have originally been placed on her right shoulder. Underneath the mirror was a shield-shaped button made of gilded clay, with a relief representation of a gorgoneion (**FIG. 2.5**).¹⁹

It is clear from the above that the grave has a unique form. Bipartite graves have been excavated in ancient Theisoa; but there the partition through a stone grill clearly had a ceremonial purpose and was intended for the re-use of the grave.²⁰ In the case of the 'Elliniko' grave there was no such indication, nor was there any sign of a later burial on top.²¹ The grave had not been disturbed at all (**FIGS 2.1 & 3**).²²

Factors such as the sloping ground or the risk of the grave being destroyed if cut too close to the surface, made it necessary to dig a very deep ditch for it.²³ The fact that the lower part of the grave, where the burial is located, was hewn entirely into the soft rock (**FIG. 2.4**) indicates that the ancient builders were looking for a rocky level more stable than the soil, in order to construct a protected space which would receive the body and the offerings.

¹⁷ See below Cat. nos 11 & 12.

¹⁸ See below Cat. nos 1–10.

¹⁹ See Cat. no. 13.

²⁰ Boardmann & Kurz 1994, 185 (Theisoa – Hellenistic period).

²¹ Robinson 1942, 139.

²² The pottery in the libation ditch is contemporary to the pottery of the burial level: Cat. nos 11 & 12.

²³ Robinson 1942, 138–9.



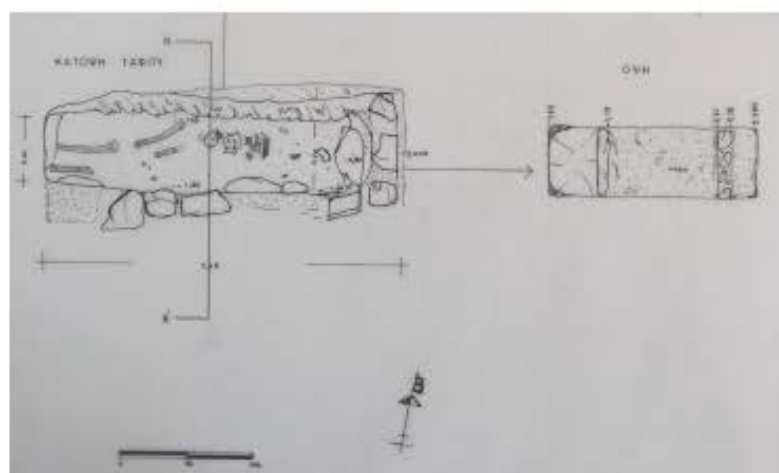
1



2



3



4



5

FIGS. 2.1-5. Photographs and plan of the grave

Late Classical burial at Eva, Thyreatis

B2. THE FINDS²⁴

1. AEMA 699; FIG. 3.1

H: 9.2 ; Db: 5; Dr: 9.9; Max. D: 9

Black-glaze skyphos of Attic type. Everted lip. Ring base. Horse-shoe horizontal handles. Vertical ridges in relief on the main body. Impressed concentric semi-circles decorate the zone between the handles. The same decoration also on the vertical zone which starts half-way between the springing of the handles.

Sparkes & Talcott 1970, 260 no. 350 and pl. 16. Robinson 1950, 310–11 nos 583, 586, 588, 589 and pl. 202. Also nos 577 and 595). Blegen et al. 1964, 287 pl. 75, 474 no. 1. Moore 1997, 305, no. 1304 pl. 122. Onasoglou 1994, 61 and pl. 26, α1 and β. Edwards 1964, nos 310 and 329. Bookidis & Stroud 1997, 402, n. 46 and pl. 66.

2. AEMA 700; FIG. 3.2

H: 9.0 ; Db: 5.2; Dr: 8.6; Max. D: 8.5

Red-figure skyphos of Attic type. Rim slightly everted. Ring base. Horizontal looped handles. Body decorated with four upright owls.

Edwards 1964, 69 no. 310. Herbert 1977, 67–8, nos 160 and 161, pl. 26 (with rf scene by the "Sketch painter" and the "student of the Sketch Painter"). Cf. Rotroff 1997, 257 no. 150, fig. 12, pl. 14, shape more developed. For shape of the handles cf. Sparkes & Talcott 1970, 260 no. 349, pl. 16 and no. 352, pl. 17. In comparison with Kollia et al. 2005, 49 fig. 5 and 50 fig. 9, Stands in between. Later than Abadie-Reynal & Spyropoulos 1985, 418 no. 110 and fig. 76, 424 no. 262 and fig. 95.

3. AEMA 701; FIG. 3.3

H: 10.2 (with handle 14.3) ; Db: 5.2; W trefoil rim: 4.5; Max. D: 7.2

Black-glaze olpe. Much of the glaze on the body has worn off. Vertical ribbon handle looped above trefoil rim. Flat base.

Blegen et al. 1964, 279 and pl. 71, 445, no. 2. Bruneau 1970, 444, nos 3–4 and fig. 13. For general form of

body and handle, Edwards 1964, pl. 10. Very close to no. 274.

4. AEMA 702; FIG. 3.4

H: 4.6 ; Db: 4.4; Dr: 8.8; Max. D: 8.4

One-handled skyphos. Horizontal looped handle. Black glaze preserved over most of surface only on interior. Slightly everted rim. Base slightly raised.

For form of the body and shape of the rim cf. Sparkes & Talcott 1970, 275 and pl. 24, no. 558 ("bolsal cup").

5. AEMA 703; FIG. 3.5

H: 11.4 ; Db: 5; Dr: 4.1; H neck: 2.4

Spherical black-glaze aryballoid lekythos. Ribbon handle. At start of neck moulded ring. Flat base. On shoulder incised zigzag.

Blegen et al. 1964, 283(grave 455), no. 1 pl. 74; op. cit. 290 (grave 487), no. 4, pl. 78; op. cit. 279 (grave 445), no. 3, pl. 71; op. cit. 308 (deposit 36), pl. 73; op. cit. 286 (grave 471), no. 2, pl. 75. Abadie-Reynal & Spyropoulos 1985, 416 nos 106, 418 no. 89 and fig. 78, 420 no. 97 and fig. 80, 420 no. 90 and fig. 79.

6. AEMA 704; FIG. 3.6

H: 4.9 ; Db: 4.2; Max. D: 4.1; Max. L: 10.7

Black-glaze lamp with ribbon handle. Glaze mostly worn. Flat base.

Type IV. Cf. Blegen et al. 1964, no. 5 (grave 445) pl. 71; no. 2 (grave 455) pl. 74; no. 4 (grave 487) pl. 75; no. 5 (grave 488) pl. 76; no. 8 (grave 487) pl. 78; pl. 100, 445, 5 (grave 487) no. 4. Abadie-Reynal & Spyropoulos 1985, 421, no. 85 and 420, no. 120, fig. 83.

350–340 BC

7. AEMA 705; FIG. 3.7

H: 4.9 ; Db: 10.2; D Neck: 4.2; Max. D: 11.1

Red-figure askos/strainer. Cylindrical spout which gradually widens. Flat base. Black glazed ring handle. Body divided into three zones: upper two have rf decoration (ionic cyma, laurel wreath). Bottom zone, with rounded profile, black glazed.

Robinson 1933, pl. 140. Robinson 1950, no. 461 and no. 475 pl. 174. Sparkes & Talcott 1970, 319 no. 1188, pl. 39. Cf. Rotroff 1997, 355 nos 1173 and 1174, fig. 72 pl. 86, where the form and the rf decoration of the vase has reached if not exceeded its limits. For rf laurel wreath v. Robinson 1933, 172–3, nos 401, 403–4, 407 and pl. 140. For Ionic cyma Robinson 1933, 85–6, nos

²⁴ AEMA = Αριθμός Εισαγωγής Μουσείου Αστρούς (Astros Museum Accession Number). H = height, Db = base diameter, Dr = rim diameter, D = diameter, Max. = maximum L = length, p = preserved

Grigoris Grigorakakis

85, 87 and pl. 59. Robinson 1950, 258–9, nos 457, 459–60 and pl. 173–4.

8. AEMA 706; FIG. 3.8

H: 10.3 ; Db: 3.7; H neck: 4.5 ; Max. D: 4.6

Rf lekthos. Ribbon handle. Ring base. Two antithetic female heads on body. Between them an obscure, circular object rendered on clay ground. Spear-shaped rf anthemium on back of body.

Similar shape but not so slim Robinson 1955, 142 no. 86, pl. 84; op. cit. 143, nos 87, 88, 89 and 90, pl. 102; similar scene but form not so slim Kaltsa 1998, 31, no. 1 and pl. 11. Robinson 1933, 147, nos 251–2, pl. 116-ibid. 171–2, nos 393–4, 396–7, 399, 395, pl. 139. For the development of the shape during the transition from Classical to Hellenistic v. Andreou 2004, 561–3. For the representational scene cf. with Moore 1997, 286, no. 1121, pl. 107, also Trendall 1967, 628, no. 6, pl. 244; no. 4, pl. 241 and pls. 380, 382, 387, 426 and 442.

9. AEMA 707; FIG. 3.9

H: 7.4 ; Db 3.4; H Neck 3.5 ; Max. D: 3.9

Lekythos. Ribbon handle. Ring base. Black glazed except for the field at the front of the body, which is decorated with a rf anthemium.

Robinson 1933, 173–4 and 179–81, nos 408–17, pl. 141 and pl. 144–5; Robinson 1955, 146, pls. 103–12; op. cit. 152–3 and 163, pls. 110 and 112, nos 110 and 168. Abadie-Reynal & Spyropoulos 1985, 447, no. 148, fig. 81 and 430, no. 109, fig. 107.

360–348 BC

10. AEMA 708; FIG. 3.10

H: 3.8 ; Db: 4.6; Dr: 9.2; Max. D: 7.4

Handleless miniature bowl. Horizontal everted rim. Traces of black glaze on interior of the vase. The base has a profile resembling an inverted echinus.

No precise parallel. Closest is Sparkes & Talcott 1970, 293, nos 802–3, pl. 32. The base of 802 is almost identical. Doulgeri & Injesiloglou 1994, pl. 282e.

11. AEMA 709; FIG. 4.2

pH: 7.1; Db: 4.9; Mx. D: 8.5

Black-glaze skyphos of Attic type. Preserved from just below lip to base.

For shape see 1.

12. AEMA 710; FIG. 4.1

H: 4.7; Db: 5.2; Dr: 8.9; Max. D: 8.6.

One-handled skyphos. Slightly everted rim. Almost hemispherical body. Ring base. Traces of black glaze in.

Cf. AEMA 702

Bookidis & Stroud 1997, 402 pl. 46 (4th c. BC). Sparkes & Talcott 1970, 290, nos 758–61, pl. 31. Rotroff & Oakley 1992, 118, fig. 23, pl. 56.

13. AEMA 711; FIG. 4.4

D: 2.

Circular, gilded, clay button with relief decoration of a gorgoneion. On the back two fine copper wires protrude, originally intended to attach the button to some other material.

Abadie-Reynal & Spyropoulos 1985, 447, no. 195, fig. 155 (with bust of Athena as metope). Maas 1985; Touratsoglou 1986, 634 ff. Themelis & Touratsoglou 1997, 56–7; cf. Drougou 2005, 159.

14. AEMA 712; FIG. 4.3

D: 13.3.

Bronze mirror. Decorated on the outside with concentric circles.

Schwarzmaier 1997, 12–4, fig. 4.

First quarter of 4th c. BC.

Late Classical burial at Eva, Thyreatis



FIG. 3.1-10. Vases from the grave



1



2



3



4

FIGS. 41-4. Finds from the grave

Late Classical burial at Eva, Thyreatis

B.2.1 THE CLAY FINDS. THE POTTERY WORKSHOP OF THE THYREATIS

As regards the pottery found inside the grave, the most characteristic type is that of Attic skyphos type A with flowing, unified outlines (2). The red-figure skyphos from 'Elliniko' is definitely more developed typologically than skyphoi nos 110 and 262 of the Abadie & Spyropoulos series.²⁵ However, the typological developments which took place during the Hellenistic age, such as the breaking-up of the profile or the reduction of the diameter of the base (making the vessel practical, but at the same time unstable), are not encountered here.²⁶ The two variations of the Attic-type skyphos clearly derive from two different traditions, that of the red-figure style and that of metal-working. The red-figure technique, in its 'Thyreatic' variation, recalls the sketching technique in the way the owls are depicted. It is interesting to note the combination of shape and subject-matter. The red-figure owl appears in Attic pottery from the second quarter of the 5th century BC and decorates the surface of a special category of skyphos (with one horizontal and one vertical handle), which is also called 'owl' ('γλαυξ').²⁷ The Attic-type skyphos appears later and is usually black-glazed, as is the case with the skyphos from the libation ditch (11). However, red-figure decoration on such skyphoi are not rare. In fact, it is also referred to as 'red-figure skyphos' in the bibliography. Most examples are from the second quarter and the middle of the 4th century BC.²⁸

The influence of metal-working is evident on the second skyphos (1), which has no exact parallel,²⁹ given its decoration (impressed circles and ridges on the main body). The use of a mould to make the vase cannot be ruled out. The vertical lines, starting from the middle of the springing of the handles and decorated with impressed circles in a row, cannot be interpreted simply as decorative. It seems that they were a useful means of masking the seam between the two halves of the vase's main body.

Other drinking vessels were the one-handed skyphoi (4 and 12), currently the only examples from cemeteries of 'Elliniko'; the same applies for the unparalleled handleless miniature bowl.

The red-figure technique (of a quality equal to that of the red-figure owl skyphos) was used on the askos-strainer (7). The shape appears at the end of the 5th century BC and becomes especially popular during the 4th century BC. It is very common at Olynthos.³⁰ Its connection with metal prototypes is evident here as well. The askos-strainer was found in

²⁵ Abadie-Reynal & Spyropoulos 1985, 418 no. 110 and fig. 76, 424 no. 262 and fig. 95 (beginning of the second quarter of the 4th century bc). Cf. Cat. no. 2.

²⁶ Rotroff 1997, 94. As regards the outline, they complete the typological sequence of the skyphoi from other cemeteries of 'Elliniko'.

²⁷ Boardman 1995², 45 and Figs 96–7 (second and third quarter of the 5th century bc).

²⁸ For this shape and its development, see Sparkes & Talcott 1970, 81 ff. Rotroff 1997, painted scene 94. Drougou 2005, 150. Also, Cat. no. 2 above.

²⁹ As a shape, it combines typological characteristics of Cat. no. 2 from Elliniko and the skyphos in Rotroff 1997, 257, no. 150 fig. 12 and pl. 14.

³⁰ Cat. no. 7 above.

association with a type IV lamp dated to approximately 350 BC, which combines elements from lamp no. 85 and no. 120 of the Abadie & Spyropoulos series.³¹

Two miniature lekythoi (8 and 9) are also painted in the red-figure technique; the shape represents the perfume bottles of the Classical and late Classical periods, which will be replaced at the end of the 4th century BC with a new type of perfume bottle with a short and spindle-shaped body.³² Here we also find the two types of aryballoid miniature lekythoi which prevailed during the 4th century BC, both the lekythos with anthemium (9) and that with red-figure representations (8). The first finds parallels in nos 148, 109 and 245 of the Abadie & Spyropoulos series, dated to the first half of the 4th century BC. More interesting is the one bearing a scene of female heads facing each other, the only such example so far from 'Elliniko'. The subject-matter of a female head covered with a *sakos* appears in Attic red-figure vase painting already from the end of the 5th century BC, in a variety of vase shapes. It also appears during the first half of the 4th century BC on lekythoi from Olynthus, Acanthus, and from vases of the pottery workshops of southern Italy.³³ The shape of these lekythoi which have red-figure decoration is encountered already in the 5th century BC in Athens and Corinth, while it is common in the pottery workshops of Southern Italy and Sicily (2nd quarter of the 4th century BC), of west Greece (second half of the 4th century BC) and of northern Greek territories (Acanthus, Olynthus – first half of the 4th century BC).³⁴

The spherical lekythos (5) completes the typology of the series of lekythoi from the other cemeteries of Elliniko. Typologically it is close to nos 78, 90, 97 and 106 of the Abadie & Spyropoulos series dating to the middle of the 4th century BC, in which however some carelessness in the making of the vases is evident.³⁵ In contrast, the spherical body of 5 shows no imperfections or asymmetry. The neck is tall, rising vertically. The incised zigzag line which runs over the shoulder is also carefully executed and has no parallel.

Regarding the olpe (3) there is no difficulty in concluding, on the basis of published parallels, that this shape develops from a solid globular to a slender type. It is earlier than nos 267 and 269 but later than no. 126 of the Abadie & Spyropoulos series; and it is very close to no. 3.4 of the Bruneau series, although leaner.³⁶ This shape is encountered at Corinth and Argos.³⁷

³¹ Cat. no. 6 above.

³² Drougou 2005, 153–4 and notes 208 & 212.

³³ Cat. no. 8 above. See also Moore 1997, 269 and fig. 94 no. 968–970 (female heads in profile to the right). The subject matter is particularly popular in the Sicilian pottery workshop. Heads facing each other appear in works of the 'Painter of Catana 4305' (Trendall 1967, pl. 244 fig. 6 & 628). The scene is encountered also at Leontinoi and Gela and seems to be an influence of the Apulian pottery workshop (no. 286, and fig. 244 no. 6). It is common in a variety of shapes, such as the olpe or the trefoil-rimmed oenochoe (fig. 41 no. 4). It is characteristic of the 'Aetna group' (nos 364–5, 380–4, 425–6, 428).

³⁴ Cat. no. 8 above.

³⁵ Abadie-Reynal & Spyropoulos 1985, 416 no. 106, 418 no. 89 and fig. 78, 420 no. 97 and fig. 80, 420 no. 90 and fig. 79, 442 no. 83 and fig. 140, 443 no. 99 and fig. 141.

³⁶ Abadie-Reynal & Spyropoulos 1985 no. 126, 391 no. 267 and fig. 174, 395, no. 269 and fig. 175. Bruneau 1970, 445 no. 3.4 (beginning of the 4th century bc).

³⁷ Cat. no. 3 above.

Late Classical burial at Eva, Thyreatis

Of particular interest is the gold-gilded, shield-shaped, clay button, with representation of a gorgoneion (**Cat. no. 13**). This is the second example from 'Elliniko'.³⁸ It is surmised that these gilded, shield-shaped buttons were attached to the clothes of the dead and imitated actual decorative pieces on expensive clothing.³⁹ Here only one was found, and it must be assumed with certainty that it had been attached to the clothing. It was discovered exactly underneath the bronze mirror (**Cat. no. 14**), which on this side preserves the print of the material with which it was originally in contact (**FIG. IN. 2.5 & 4.1**). It cannot be claimed that this gilded button was an imitation of an actual decorative feature on an expensive dress, nor that it could alone invest the clothing with even a semblance of luxury. Its purpose was obviously apotropaic.

Our knowledge of the pottery of the Thyreatis has undoubtedly been enriched by the offerings found in this tomb. As for the shapes of the vases, the lack of parallels from other workshops points to a local production centre. The same applies to the painted decorative themes, the archetypal character of the stamped or incised decorative motifs, the use of the red-figure technique in the painting of owls, as well as to the preference of shapes such as the oenochoe and the spherical lekythos, as evidenced by the finds of the other two published cemeteries. The existence of a local workshop must, we believe, be considered certain, as has already been pointed out by Abadie and Spyropoulos.⁴⁰ The local ceramic production follows the more general developments of the times without imitating passively. Apart from the local raw material (clay), which includes a variety of colours from orange to yellow, and the obvious influence of metal work, the indigenous decorative motifs (zigzag lines, stamped circles, vertical incised lines, rows of curves)⁴¹ have style and accentuate the architectural structure of the vases. In the same way, the owls are used as a repeated decorative figure. These elements comprise the 'trade mark' of the local workshop.

C. THE TOMB'S DATE. CONCLUSIONS

The burial in the western road-side cemetery of ancient Eva is dated with certainty to the late Classical age. The offerings, especially the vases which accompanied the dead woman on her journey to the underworld, are typical of this period. The red-figure technique has not yet been abandoned.⁴² The pottery found in the grave cannot be dated beyond 340 BC. As a group it points to vase shapes of the burials at Olynthos (Attic-type skyphoi, askos-strainer, miniature lekythoi, one-handled skyphoi), but also to offerings found in tombs of the middle of the 4th century BC at Corinth and Argos. It is a period of regime change in the

³⁸ Abadie-Reynal & Spyropoulos 1985, 447 no. 195 and fig. 155.

³⁹ Maas 1985, 318 ff. Themelis & Touratsoglou 1997, 56.

⁴⁰ For the pottery kiln in the locality called 'Marmaralono' at Agios Petros, see Romaios 1908 b, 177–84. Also, Abadie-Reynal & Spyropoulos 1985, 452 and n. 13 and Phaklaris 1990, 128–9 and n. 391.

⁴¹ Abadie-Reynal & Spyropoulos 1985, op.cit.

region, an event which, nevertheless, did not bring about any sudden change, destruction or upheaval. The grave in the Kapsalis brothers' field and the finds from the other two cemeteries, their size and the existence of other cemeteries, also the magnificent walls of the ancient city, all indicate that life in ancient Eva continued to develop normally until the Roman times.⁴³

The fact that the excavated tombs belong to road-side cemeteries is proved by the position of the grave in the field belonging to the Kapsalis brothers, in relation to the location of cemeteries A and B along an imaginary east-west line, on the slopes of 'Teichio' (FIG. 1.2), in an area traversed by important ancient road axes from and towards Argos, Tegea and Sparta. A main road passed through the south side of the ancient Acropolis and led, either via 'Savanas' or via 'Koutri' of Meligou, to Xirokambi and then via 'Phonemenoi' to Sparta or Tegea. It was linked to Argos through a main road which crossed the northern slopes of Zavitsa, reached Xylopyrgos and Tsiorovos, and from there, via the plain of Tanos and 'Mana tou Nerou' in the area of Loukous, ended at Elliniko from the north side. Finally, as regards the necropolis to the west of the walls of ancient Eva, the existence of graves stretching from the Kourogiorgas estate to the field of the brothers Kapsali makes it obvious that we have to do with an extensive road-side cemetery.⁴⁴

As far as the type of grave is concerned, this is unique, due to purely technical reasons of construction. The burial rituals do not appear to be different from those prevailing at the time. The type of burial exclusively used in the cemeteries of ancient Eva was inhumation.⁴⁵ The body is placed with the head to the east and on its back. The arrangement of offerings indicates that they were to be used in the underworld.⁴⁶ Thus, the dead woman is provided with various kinds of oil containers, dining vessels, an oil lamp and an askos-strainer and, of course, a mirror. The offerings are all objects of everyday use and, in the case of ceramics, come from a local workshop, in their vast majority. Life goes on, as is obvious from the placing of the offerings in relation to the body of the dead woman.⁴⁷ For example, the oil lamp and the askos-strainer were found next to her right hand.⁴⁸ The miniature lekythoi and the spherical lekythos either between or next to the legs; their initial position must have been on the lower limbs. The same could be claimed for the olpe, which was perhaps placed on the belly, as well as for the skyphoi (FIG. 2.5). Finally, after closing the grave, some rite or offering to the dead woman would have taken place⁴⁹ and the skyphoi used as drinking cups placed in a hole next to the grave (FIG. 2.2).

⁴² Regarding this period of transition and the characteristics of pottery production, see Drougou 2005, 139–40.

⁴³ See above.

⁴⁴ Phaklaris 1990, 213–6 (road networks) and 79 and n. 229 (clearing out of graves in the Kourogiorgas fields).

⁴⁵ Abadie-Reynal & Spyropoulos 1985, 387–440.

⁴⁶ Boardmann & Kurz 1994, 195 ff. Themelis & Touratsoglou 1997, 145 ff. Robinson 1942, 178. Blegen & Palmer-Young 1964, 81.

⁴⁷ For the position of the offerings, cf. Robinson 1942, 139, 195. Blegen & Palmer-Young 1964, 69, 75 and 81.

⁴⁸ Robinson 1942, 195 ("... lamps are objects into which mystic meanings can always be read...").

⁴⁹ Boardmann & Kurz 1994, 93–4.

Late Classical burial at Eva, Thyreatis

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Grigoris Grigorakakis

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List of illustrations

FIG. 1.1. The Thyreatic Plain.

FIG. 1.2. Ancient Eva and the necropoleis.

FIGS. 2.1-5. Photographs and plan of the grave

FIGS. 3.1-10. Vases from the grave.

FIGS. 4.1-4. Finds from the grave.

CHAPTER 12

NIKIFOROS VRETTAKOS: “*Let us depart ascending ...*”

GEORGIA KAKOUREOU-CHRONI

NIHILISM AND THE DOMINANCE OF DEATH

In his *Human Faces* (1936),¹ Kleon Paraschos presented Nikiforos Vrettakos as having all the characteristics of a *poète maudit*; deep pessimism, tragic irony, endless depression, irrepressible conceit and absolute nihilism, whose greatest pleasure derives from the discovery that everything is in vain. Verses like the following (and in some cases whole poems such as ‘The Dance of Death’, pp. 40–42) are typical of the mood pervading the poetry Vrettakos wrote at that time: *Bereft of sail, bereft of oar, / bereft of stars / bereft of sun* (‘Bereft of sail’, p. 13); *Roses that died / out in the wild and in my heart* (‘The End of the Day’ (‘, p. 14); *Like a coffin the walls of the world surround me* (‘The Vessel’, p. 20); *Tonight / my great soul / is swamped by death* (‘A Letter to my Wife’, p. 48); *I will lie in my grave* (repeated three times in ‘The Weary Dead’, p. 52); *The grave was the only thing I felt, it is the only thing I talk about* (‘The Apology’, p. 53).²

In *The Voyage of the Archangel* (*Η Επιστολή του Κύκνου*),³ which appeared two years later (1938),⁴ the poet summarises his poetic journey up until that point⁵ and, although this may seem like a contradiction in terms, the work both confirms and contradicts Kleon Paraschos.

In *The Voyage of the Archangel* – *Archangel* being the name of the boat – the boat that the poet builds loses sight of its destination in the exhilaration of sailing through the raging chaos of a storm while on its maiden voyage. The *Archangel* is set outside space and time and the poet-narrator, somehow made a part of the

¹ Paraschos 1936. The Nikiforos Vrettakos collection, *Human Faces* (*Οι Γκριμάτσες του Ανθρώπου*), was available a year earlier in Athens, 1935.

² References are given only for the three volumes of the poet’s collected works as first editions and earlier collected works are now rarely available and because the poet himself chose the work to be included in these three volumes. It was as if he were making decisions about the corpus of his work.

³ Kakourou-Chroni 1994, 30–43.

⁴ Vrettakos 1938.

⁵ For independent editions of work by Nikiforos Vrettakos published before 1991, see Kakourou-Chroni, 1993, 571–640.

composition, is a faceless form in the absence of human beings but in the presence of death. The sole destination of the *solitary, foreign, accursed, proud, strange, stray* vessel, as the poet calls it, seems to be death, since it eventually chooses oblivion rather than go back to Ithaca shamed and having accomplished nothing. This is what seems to confirm Paraschos, but also what contradicts him. Paraschos does not seem to take into account the fact that at this time Vrettakos had settled in Athens, a stark contrast to Ploumitsa,⁶ where he spent his childhood. He felt hurt and betrayed in the big city; his upper class eclecticism rebels: "With no points of reference in this chaos, I felt I had no destination, like a ship lost out at sea . . . I alone knew the truth, nobody else knew it. Life and people who had no real principles opposed me as if I were their rival. I felt that even the sun had deserted me. It scorned me and I wanted to scorn it and desert it in return."⁷ But the inhospitable city and the poet himself were not totally to blame for this. Times were getting worse for everyone; war was close at hand and humanity stood on the brink of tragedy. *Archangel* is set in this maelstrom of evil that swept through everything. Many years later, in 1964, the poet made a conscious connection with what his instinctive poet's pen had scratched out in *Archangel*: "I really felt that *The Voyage of the Archangel* would be the last thing I would ever write. But it might have been only my vanity that had gone, or just a part of me at most. [...] One morning I woke up and wrote *Prayer*. I realised that life was closer. In this poem I confess – how humiliating – that I love life."⁸ After this, in 'The Zenith of Fire', comes the line that is the signature of his poetry: *I love, therefore I am*.⁹ Love is necessary to being. It is – in Christian belief too – the opposite of non-existence; in other words it is the opposite of death.

⁶ Nikiforos Vrettakos was born in Krokees, Laconia on 1st January according to the Gregorian calendar or on 19th December 1911 according to the Julian calendar. He always gave his date of birth as 1st January 1912 and always celebrated his birthday on New Year's Eve. Until he began primary school in 1917, he lived on Ploumitsa, a hill near Krokees where there were two houses, one belonging to his family and one belonging to his paternal uncle. He always spent his holidays there. He went to Athens in 1929 in order to study, but never actually did. For dates in the life of Nikiforos Vrettakos, see: Kakourou-Chroni G. 1993a.

⁷ Vrettakos 1964, 'Confession to the reader' (Εξομολόγηση στον αναγνώστη) 17–18.

⁸ 'Prayer' (Προσευχή) is in the collection *Margarita – Pictures of sunset* (Μαργαρίτα – Εικόνες από το Ηλιοβασίλεμα), first published in 1939. 'Prayer' is also included in *Poems, ibid.*, p. 101. The first humiliation that the poet refers to is summed up in the last two lines of the poem: [...] *I cannot / hate, Lord! Love me!* (Vrettakos 1964, 18).

⁹ Vrettakos 1981, vol. I, 111.

"Let us depart ascending ..."

HEROIC DEATH

When war was declared between Greece and Italy shortly after this, the poet had already enlisted as a private soldier in the front lines. The heroic death that he saw there defied death itself since the physical body was transfigured into an immortal, spiritual body. "The fact that they had died did not mean that they had ceased to exist there, / through their sorrows, their tears and the things they had said."¹⁰ The barrier between life and death was demolished: "And that night Sophocles and Pindar woke up / and Solon and Plato too."¹¹

The poet's inner life and his public life underwent a reconciliation since death imposed a sort of hierarchy on life, a ranking of values that gave meaning to life itself and to death. "I survived," wrote the poet, "having been through a profound experience. I came away with endless admiration for the Greek people, *the ordinary people on their own* without a leader, ruled by their own emotions, by their own nature, amidst illiteracy and deprivation. What a wonderful refuge that was. When I got back I would join them."¹²

Our attitude to death is our attitude to life. It is our attitude to death that defines how we live. The way we face death is the way we face life. His close contact with death teaches Vrettakos a lot about life. His case seems to verify the words of the venerable Augustine who believed that it is only when faced with death that the true self is born.

After this the meaning of heroic death was no longer confined to the battle field, but was a feature of every human being behaving as a civilised being with superior moral awareness. When this is the case, not even poetry is capable of putting death into words: "How should I see you! How should I sing you! How should I paint you, / child of the wind holding a harmonica!"¹³ Even so, the poet still stays with the tragedy of the human situation and opens windows on distant horizons¹⁴ to let in 'The Vietnamese child with the amputated leg,' (vol. II, p. 357), (vol. I, pp. 143–144), 'The child with the bugle,' (vol. II, p. 279), 'The child from My Lai,' (vol. II, p. 361), 'The child with matches,' (vol. II, p. 82) and thousands of infants ('A funerary cross for thousands of infants,' vol. III, p. 220) along with the fifty million who died in World War II (III, p. 272) and the thousands who died in the Iran-Iraq war.

¹⁰ 'A Soldier at the Albanian Front Grumbles', Vrettakos 1981, vol. I, 119.

¹¹ '33 Days', *ibid.*, 131.

¹² Vrettakos 1938, 20.

¹³ 'The Child with the Harmonica', Vrettakos 1981, vol. I, 144.

¹⁴ 'The Window of Admittance', Vrettakos 1991, vol. III, 266.

RECOGNITION OF HUMAN IMMORTALITY

So in the wake of 1940 Vrettakos no longer regards the world as unfamiliar and hostile, as he had done when he began writing. The poet is part of the world. He is closely bound with the spirit of the time and has his own views on its ideological trends. Being a poet means creating, and creating means conversing with the soul of the world. Whatever we are and whatever we become, we are and we become with others, the poet declares.¹⁵ And he adds an extra dimension to this by saying that living in isolation is like sending our mission back to God.¹⁶

To the poet, being in the world means being in harmony with other people, but it also means being in harmony with nature.¹⁷

The poet thereby develops his own personal attitude to things, for which he uses the word love: "I have found a word, a term, with which to express that fluid feeling that abounds within me and likes to embrace everything living or not. It is the word love."¹⁸ So there it is, here too love stands as a being, as a meaning that contrasts with non-existence, with death.

So love is first and foremost cosmic love; a force that attracts, a law that brings order to the universe. This way of looking at love feeds the poet's optimism, since he regards disorder in the universe as a temporary diversion from order and the rule of laws that cohere and regulate the course of the cosmos.

Public love with all its various manifestations is subject to cosmic love. Vrettakos employs all these manifestations in his poetry, equating love with responsibility, justice, freedom, peace and with being in love (Love = responsibility, Love = justice, Love = freedom, Love = peace, Love = the state of being in love).

He would like the love, through which he perceives and sees the structure of the world, to underlie his poetry, as well as giving structure to society. He would like Love the Word to be manifest in his poetical work in the same way that it is manifest in the work of God. For love does not mean only love of one another; it is also Love of the Word, in other words, beauty. So as well as being a cosmic and public force, Love is made into an aesthetic force.

¹⁵ Contemporary psychotherapists such as Irvin D. Yalom recommend offering help to other people as a way to combat fear of death. *In the garden of Epicurus, Leaving fear of death behind*, (original title: *Staring at the Sun. Overcoming the terror of death*), Translated by Evangelia Andritsanou and Giannis Zervas, Pub. Agra, Athens 2008, pp. 141, 144, 147 and 222.

¹⁶ *Science and Life*, issue. 4, 1961, p. 4.

¹⁷ *The whole universe is a shell / wherein hatched his bright / pearl: Man*. Vrettakos 1991, vol. III, 195.

¹⁸ Vrettakos 1938, 18.

“Let us depart ascending ...”

Everything, be it to do with life, i.e. the poet's attitude to people and the world, or to do with art, i.e. his attitude to poetry, derives from the cosmic principle of Love the Word.

Love, as the poet sees it, is the last stage in his attitude to death; an attitude that not only reduces the pain of mortality, but provides a meaningful outlook on life, one that rests on respect of other people and nature. This is so significant that it takes precedence over the future image of the poet himself as seen through his own art.

Death and immortality also feature in ancient Greek philosophy and are themes found in Plato's *Phaedo*. In the last conversation Socrates had with his pupils philosophy is defined as the study of death. The dialogue in question was used as a model in describing the death of philosophers in accounts of their lives. Indeed, because such importance was attached to the manner of somebody's death, an exceptional death would often be invented as a fitting end to an exceptional life.¹⁹

Vrettakos' own death²⁰ so closely reflected his life and poetry that it could well have been the most successful invented death in any fictitious biography.²¹

¹⁹ *A Study of Death, 2nd International Symposium on Philosophy, 1977 'Plethon' Independent School of Philosophy. Athens: Estia.*

²⁰ Nikiforos Vrettakos greeted the world for the last time on Mount Taygetus on 20th July 1991. The poet had gone up the mountain with 2,500 mountain climbers for a performance of his oratorio, *Mass under the Acropolis*, at the mountain refuge. He went back to Ploumitsa on 3rd August and died there at eight o'clock in the morning of the next day, a Sunday. He was buried in the 1st Cemetery of Athens on August 7th.

²¹ The title of this paper is from the poem 'Invitation' ('Προσκλητήριο'), Vrettakos 1939, 104:

*Let us depart ascending and, finally,
Let us skirt the borders of the world,
Like him, with roses aflame!*

The phrase 'Let us depart' underlines how death is constantly close to us as a memory of death in true Orthodox Christian tradition. It is also the memory of death that determines the quality of life 'ascending' in a ceaseless endeavour to cultivate the soul to ever higher levels so that eventually man will embrace the whole world as one.

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CHAPTER 13

THE SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF PALATIAL JARS AS GRAVE OFFERINGS

KONSTANTINOS KALOGEROPOULOS

INTRODUCTION

Among the most impressive vases of early Mycenaean culture are the so-called palatial jars. Palatial jars are monumental ovoid vases with apparent Minoan influences, all of slightly different sizes, ranging from about 0.35 m to 1.00 m in height and decorated with sophisticated decorative patterns.¹

The greatest number of palatial jars comes from southern Mainland Greece. The distribution map shows their extremely widespread use in the LH II period. More than 214 examples from 32 sites are known up to now (**FIG. 1**). As is widely understood, the use of palatial jars did not represent a normal burial custom of an early Mycenaean community. The context of these palatial jars, deriving mainly from tholos tombs or rich chamber tombs, suggests a rather special relationship between these jars and the early Mycenaean elite. On the other hand, palatial jars do not appear in the tholos tombs of the subsequent Mycenaean palatial period. This can be inferred, for example, from the unlooted tholos tomb at Menidi, built in the LH IIIA2–IIIB1 period.² This impression has been strengthened in the last decade with the discovery of two important early Mycenaean Peloponnesian tholos tombs, which contained palatial jars: the great tholos tomb of Magoula/Galatas in Troizenia, opposite the island of Poros,³ and the tholos from ancient Corinth.⁴

However, a glance at the map of the Greek Mainland reveals another phenomenon: these vases were popular in the southern and north-eastern Peloponnese, in Attica and in southern Boeotia. But the offering of palatial jars does not seem to have been adopted as a custom by every local Peloponnesian elite during the early Mycenaean period. For example, their use is not evident in Achaea, in Elis or northern Arcadia, although rich early Mycenaean contexts are

¹ Kalogeropoulos 1998, 85–179.

² Furtwängler 1880, 48; on the date, see Mountjoy 1999, 485, 488.

³ Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003, 171 fig. 45 below.

⁴ Kasimi (forthcoming).

known from Achaea, for example Tholos tomb B at Rodia⁵ or the early Mycenaean tumuli at Portes.⁶

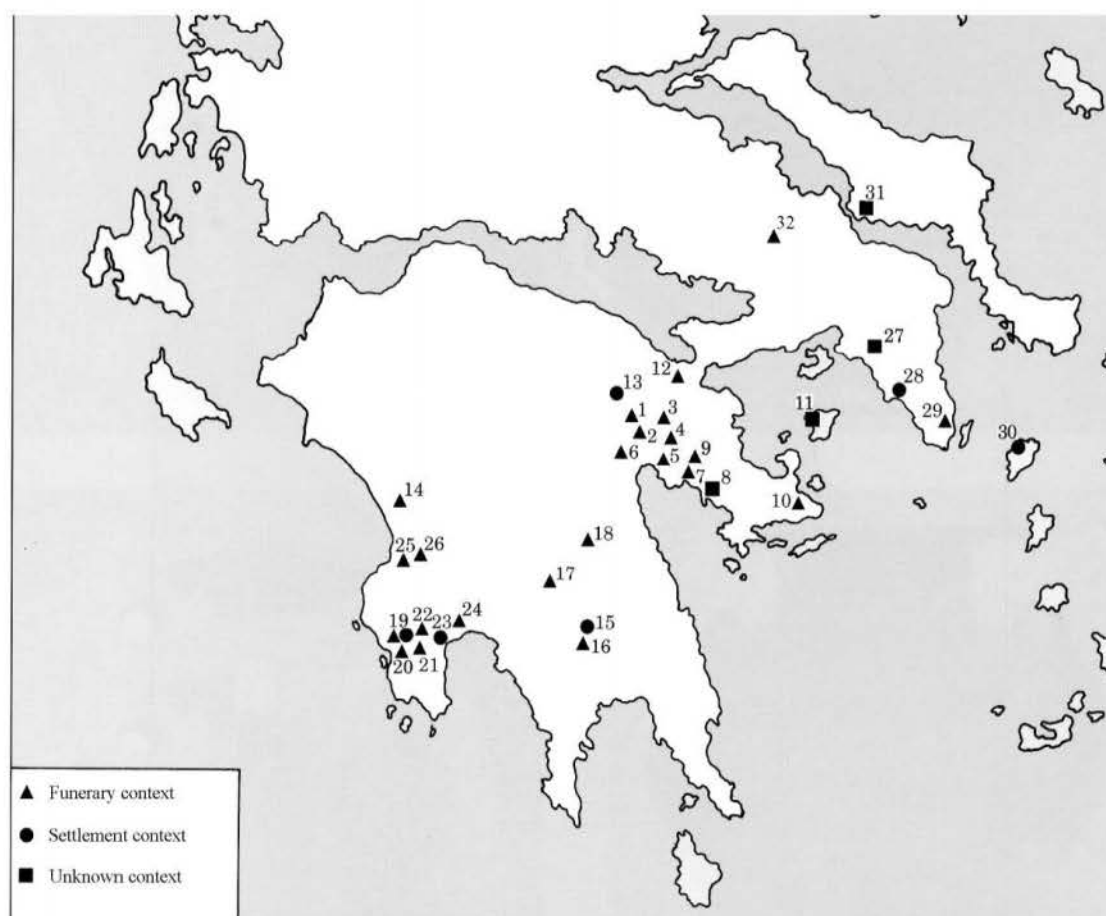


FIG. 1. Distribution of palatial jars in the Greek Mainland. The numbered sites are listed in the Appendix.

These large jars were circulated widely in the central and eastern Mediterranean. They are known from Kommos in Crete,⁷ Phylakopi on Melos,⁸ Miletus in Asia Minor,⁹ Amman in Jordan,¹⁰ but also from Rocavecchia in southern Italy.¹¹

Were these vases simply elegant objects with artistic designs, intended to accompany the local ruler and his family with a rich display of skill and creativity

⁵ Papadopoulos 1998, 8 no. 30 pl. 4 (LH II prestigious dagger with inlaid decoration in gold, silver and niello depicting dolphins).

⁶ Moschos 2000, 13–15.

⁷ Rutter 2006, 494–5 group 47/21 pls. 3.53 (47/21) and 3.91 (f).

⁸ Mountjoy & Pointing 2000, 148 nos. 2–3 fig. 2.

⁹ Kalogeropoulos 2005, 394–5 pl. 87, c.

¹⁰ Kalogeropoulos 2005, 395–7 pl. 88, a.

¹¹ Jung 2006, 95–6 fig. 9 no. 1 pl. 3, 2.

Palatial jars as grave offerings

as examples of ‘conspicuous consumption’?¹² And since palatial jars are also found in comparable early Mycenaean settlement contexts, such as the ‘pre-Mansion 1 complex’ at the Menelaion,¹³ were they mere art-objects, used equally in life and death, in both cases for self-representation? Or, looking at the question from another perspective, were these vases used during sacrificial ceremonies within the tomb?

The first possibility has been favoured by scholarship. Palatial jars were appreciated from an art historical point of view as sophisticated aesthetic constructs.

It is the aim of the present paper to suggest that a close study of the design of the palatial jars supports the second position, namely that they were used during sacrificial ceremonies within the tomb. These vases can therefore also be seen as particularly relevant to a larger discourse on how to understand decoration in early Mycenaean Greece and how to define its purpose in a specific context – here in a funerary, aristocratic one.

TERMINOLOGY, CHRONOLOGY AND CONTEXT

Before turning to these problems a brief note on matters of terminology, chronology and funerary context:

The term ‘palatial jars’ was coined by Oliver Dickinson in 1972 in an important article, where he defined LH IIA and LH IIB on the basis of the sequence on the East Alley Pit in the coastal site Korakou in the Corinthia.¹⁴ Dickinson gave this name to this category of vase in order to accentuate the independent character of mainland palatial jars, which until then were confused with the LM II–LM IIIA ‘palace-style jars’, a term established by Arthur Evans and referring to the monumental vases found mainly in the palace of Knossos and its vicinity.¹⁵ Palatial jars were earlier than palace-style jars.¹⁶ They had a different style¹⁷ and a different context,¹⁸ although in many cases the same artistic concept.¹⁹ But Dickinson went further: he also observed that the earliest palatial jars were not dependent on LM IB fine pottery but rather on LH I and LM IA and that there was also a predominance of plant motifs unknown in LM IB.²⁰

¹² Cavanagh 2008, 337–8.

¹³ Catling 2009, 449.

¹⁴ Dickinson 1972, 108

¹⁵ Evans 1935, 298.

¹⁶ Niemeier 1985, fig. 65 on p. 189.

¹⁷ Kalogeropoulos 2001, 201–2 note 44.

¹⁸ On the context of the palatial jars see Kalogeropoulos 1998, 174–8; on the context of the palace-style jars see Niemeier 1985, 141–71. On the religious function of the palace style jars see Evans 1935, 299; Hiller 1995, 571; Egan 2009, 68.

¹⁹ Compare for example Kalogeropoulos 2001, fig. 2 (Kandia) with fig. 3 (Knossos).

²⁰ Dickinson 1972, 108–10.

Although LH IIA seems to have been a long phase covering most of the 15th century BC,²¹ a subdivision of LH IIA into an early and late phase is, for the time being, not possible. The only settlement context indicating a subdivision of LH IIA is that of Ayia Irini on Kea. In an article published in 1984 Elizabeth Schofield divided phase VII, which means primarily LH IIA, of Ayia Irini into an early (VIIa) and a late (VIIb) phase.²² According to Schofield, two decorative elements dominate in the deposits of VIIa: the use of spots or dots, especially as a dotted background, and the double axe.²³ These are the same motifs that occur on some of the palatial jars from Epano Phournos in Mycenae, which Dickinson interpreted as early and independent of LM IB influence.²⁴ But these motifs were also present, according to Schofield, in Ayia Irini VIIb (=early LH IIB)²⁵; therefore, a detailed chronology of the palatial jars based on stratigraphical data is still required. At present it is safer to conclude that the development of the designs on the palatial jars appears simply to have spanned the entire LH II.

Palatial jars seem to have been placed within the chambers of tholoi or in chamber tombs. The tholos tomb of Aegisthos in Mycenae had 22 of them, tholos tomb A in Kakovatos at least 18, the Epano Phournos tomb in Mycenae 10.²⁶ There is no evidence of lids, suggesting that the jars were perhaps simply deposited in the tombs as open vases. The opinion that they contained wine, honey or oil, expressed in earlier publications, is not convincing, especially since there is no evidence for it and the proposition is always explained on the basis of the later Homeric epic poetry.²⁷

Due to the looted conditions and therefore disturbed contexts of early Mycenaean tombs, it is not possible to reconstruct each funerary context. Nevertheless, there are at least two indications that these jars were used as burial jars: the burial jar in Tholos V at Ano Englianos/Pylos (so-called 'Grave Circle') (FIG. 2),²⁸ and the recently found palatial jars from the tholos in ancient Corinth.²⁹ In both cases the bones of adults were found within the jars. Smaller vases were also placed inside them, maybe as minor gifts or remains of libations. The jars were in both cases placed within a pit. Furthermore, in many other cases, like in

²¹ According to Warren & Hankey 1989, 137–46 LH IIA lasted from ca. 1510/00 to 1440 BC.

²² Schofield 1984; there is also a latest stage within Ayia Irini phase VII ('VIIc'), which according to Hershenson 1998, 163–5 represents a later stage within LH IIB.

²³ Schofield 1984, 180.

²⁴ Dickinson 1972, 108.

²⁵ Schofield 1984, 181.

²⁶ Kalogeropoulos 1998, 98–101 (tomb of Epano Phournos), 101–5 (tomb of Aegisthos), 128–35 (tholos tomb A of Kakovatos)

²⁷ Kalogeropoulos 1998, 176 note 950.

²⁸ Taylour 1973, 150, 166 no. 30 fig. 233 no. 4, a–c (the palatial jar), fig. 210 (*in situ* position of the palatial jar within pit 3), fig. 214 (skull wedged into base of the palatial jar), fig. 327 (plan I, position of burial jar within burial pit 3).

²⁹ Kasimi (forthcoming).

Palatial jars as grave offerings

tholos A of Kakovatos,³⁰ human bones were normally found near the jars, suggesting that these vases played an important role in the burial context. On the other hand, taking into account the dimensions of the jars, it is difficult to imagine that the body of the dead person was deposited directly inside the jar. The mending of the burial jar in Ano Englianos/Pylos by means of lead clamps³¹ suggests perhaps that the jars were re-used over the years as bone repositories. Were smaller versions used for young children?

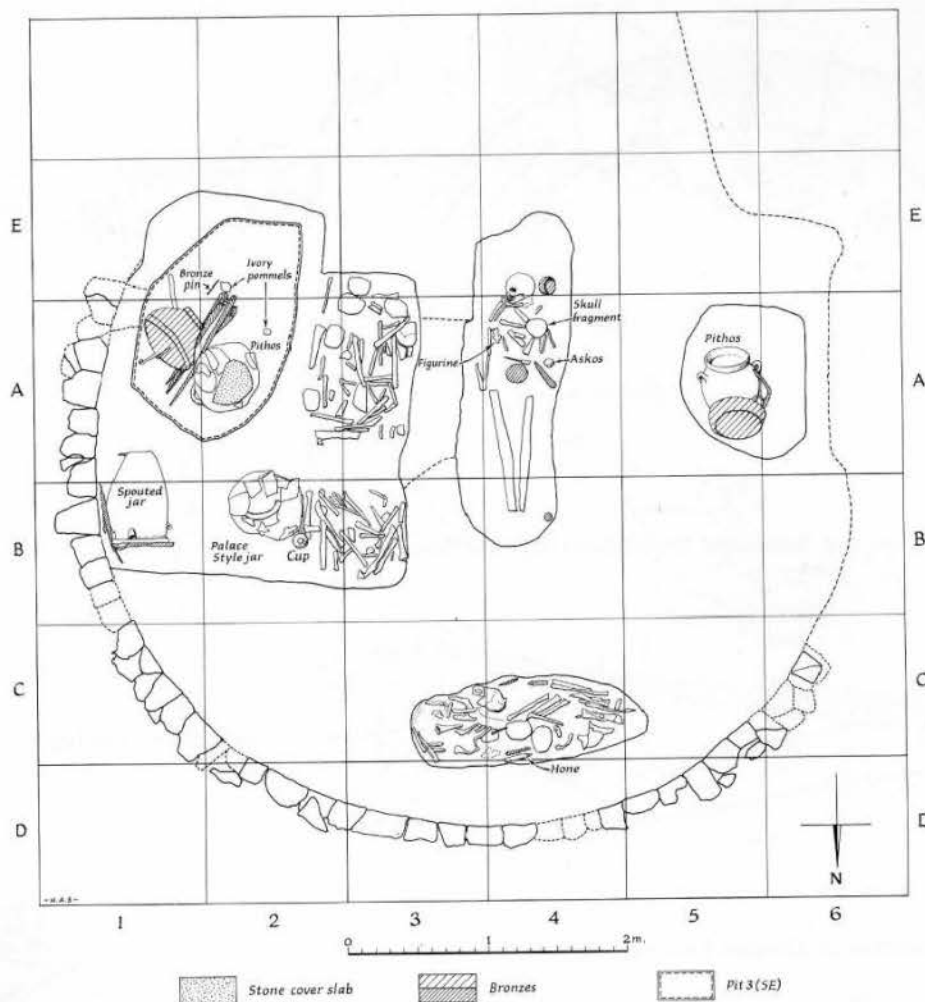


FIG. 2. Ano Englianos/Pylos, Tholos V (so-called Grave Circle), plan I, position of burial jar within burial pit 3. Drawing after Taylour 1973, fig. 327: Courtesy of the Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati.

Such evidence establishes unequivocally a link not only with the well-known Middle Helladic custom of burying the dead within ovoid pithoi,³² but also with the specific east Cretan burial custom of the Neopalatial period (MM III–LM I), of burying prominent deceased members of their communities in

³⁰ Müller 1909, 325.

³¹ Taylour 1973, 150, 166.

³² Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 26, 38.

painted jars.³³ The latter was common practice especially in sites situated around the gulf of Mirabello. That the custom was not used in contemporary burial contexts in the western and central part of Crete is most apparent from the well-known Neopalatial cemetery of Poros, the harbour town of Knossos, where the custom of depositing painted jars is absent.³⁴

THE SYMBOL SYSTEM OF THE PALATIAL JARS

According to Nelson Goodman, a *symbol system* or a *notational system*, is divided into *syntax* and *semantics*. The syntax consists of symbol or notational *schemes*, i.e., of *atomic characters*, with modes to combine them into new, *compound characters*, associated with a *field* or *frame of reference*.³⁵

In the case of the palatial jars, the symbol or notational scheme consists of the *motifs* (*atomic characters* in Goodman's sense), as they were defined by Arne Furumark, for example "grass or reed" (FM 16),³⁶ "rosette" (FM 17), "cross" (FM 54:4), etc.—as well as *compound characters* such as "palm" (FM 14:4–5), "zigzag" (FM 61:7) with "double axe" (FM 35:3) or various forms of "spirals" (e.g. FM 46:1).

Each scheme is governed by *syntactical modes* determining how motifs/characters³⁷ are combined (here named *ways of representation of an idea* or simply *groups*). At this level we are still dealing with the "morphology of design".³⁸

Semantics is the meaning or denotation in Goodman's sense³⁹. Characters (here 'motifs') have meaning, i.e. they are "independent of resemblance"⁴⁰ and

³³ The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of eastern Cretan Neopalatial communities, like those corresponding to the jar burial – cemeteries of Sphoungaras and Pachyammos, were buried in simple storage-type jars, which were either undecorated or decorated with the well-known drip pattern and were accompanied by few or no funerary offerings (Hall 1912, 62; Seager 1916, 14–15). Only a very small percentage of the dead were buried in very finely decorated burial jars. The remarkable quality of the designs of these jars is a feature of elaboration and therefore, as already observed by the excavator Edith Hall in the case of Sphoungaras (probably the burial place for the inhabitants of Gournia), it should serve as an indicator of higher social and economic status: "It seems strange that jars with such perishable decoration ... should have been used for insertion in the ground. Yet we can imagine that these delicate patterns would have shown up well in a funeral procession and that the beauty of the vase would have been a source of pride to a prosperous citizen of Gournia" (Hall 1912, 65).

³⁴ Dimopoulou 1999, 28: "the absence of ... large clay vessels is rather attributable to the applied burial practices".

³⁵ Goodman 1976, 131–42.

³⁶ 'FM' is the standard abbreviation for Furumark Motif Number and 'FS' for Furumark Shape Number, see Furumark 1941.

³⁷ Goodman 1976, 142.

³⁸ Shepard 1980, 267.

³⁹ Goodman 1976, 3–6. Shepard 1980, 259 speaks of the "connotative" aspects of design.

Palatial jars as grave offerings

stand for items in the field of reference. At this level schemes constitute an independent artistic concept with a distinctive contextual significance, a *visual idea* in Lyvia Morgan's sense.⁴¹

SYNTAX

Based on a corpus of more than 200 vases I have identified seven syntactic schemes:⁴²

Scheme 1: the vertical syntax;
scheme 2: the horizontal syntax;
scheme 3: the radial syntax;
scheme 4: the diagonal syntax;
scheme 5: the "unity decoration" system;
scheme 6: the Ephyraean syntax; and
scheme 7: the system with the main decoration confined to the upper half of the vase.

Iconographically each scheme can be divided into several groups.

Scheme 2

I will begin with scheme 2, which, with *ca.* 56 secure examples (*ca.* 27% of the total corpus), seems to be the most popular syntax. Scheme 2 is the scheme of horizontal bands. The following five different *ways of representing the same, basic idea* can be separated, five different ways (here named 'groups') that draw their ideas from different artistic sources.

Scheme 2, group 1: The 'LH I way', a rather tectonic syntax which accentuates the structural parts of the vases, especially the belly and the shoulder (FIG. 3). The motifs dominating here are the running spiral (FM 46:28) and the linked spiral, but also the ivy (FM 12: p, s).

⁴⁰ Goodman 1976, 5.

⁴¹ Morgan 1984, 165, 174.

⁴² Kalogeropoulos 1998, 159–74.



FIG. 3. Scheme 2, group 1. Palatial Jar from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave V. Photograph: Courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens.



FIG. 4 Scheme 2, group 2. Palatial Jar from Kakovatos, Tholos A. Photograph: Courtesy of Prof. G. S. Korres.



FIG. 5 Scheme 2, group 2. Palatial Jar from Analipsis, Tholos. Photograph: Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.



FIG. 6 Scheme 2, group 2. Palatial Jar from Mycenae, Grave Circle B, Grave Rho. Photograph by the author: Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Palatial jars as grave offerings



FIG. 7 Scheme 2, group 2. Palatial Jar from Kakovatos, Tholos A.
Photograph: Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen.



FIG. 8 Scheme 2, group 2. Palatial Jar from Thorikos, Tholos. Drawing after Stais 1895, pl. 11 no.2, Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.



FIG. 9 Scheme 2, group 2. Palatial Jar from Tragana: Viglitsa, Tholos 1.
Photograph: Courtesy of Prof. G. S. Korres.



FIG. 10 Scheme 2, group 3. Palatial Jar from Kakovatos, Tholos A. Photograph: Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen.

Scheme 2, group 2: The 'LM IB inspired way' or the way of the 'pseudo-Minoan class' as defined by Penelope Mountjoy.⁴³ As far as shape and motifs are concerned, these vases closely imitate the LM IB originals, like the motifs of spiral bands above arcade pattern FM 46:1 (**FIG. 4**), pendants FM 38:1 (**FIG. 5**), rock pattern FM 32 (**FIG. 6**), ogival canopy FM 13:1–2 (**FIG. 7**), zigzag FM 61:7 with double axe FM 35:3 (**FIG. 8**) and ivy FM 12: 30 (**FIG. 9**). However, corresponding pieces from Crete make extensive use of this group, not on jars but on rhyta.⁴⁴

Scheme 2, group 3: The 'LH IIA version', which depicts large ivy (FM 12: r, t, u), horizontally arranged on a dotted background (FM 76:1) (**FIG. 10**).

Scheme 2, group 4: A non-standard LM IB version, showing zones of spirals alternating with a row of papyrus-waz motifs (FM 11:3).⁴⁵

Scheme 2, group 5: The eastern Cretan 'standard tradition' version as defined by Philip Betancourt.⁴⁶ Below a main zone at the height of the shoulder decorated with ivy or circles (Furumark's "variegated stone patterns" [FM 76:2]) running spirals alternate with other similar motifs (**FIG. 11**).⁴⁷

Scheme 3

The second most popular scheme is my scheme 3, with *ca.* 28 secure examples, some 14% of the total. Scheme 3 is the scheme of radially arranged motifs. Four different images can be separated:

- 1) radially arranged papyri FM 11:1, 23–28, 44 (**FIG. 12**);
- 2) radially arranged palms FM 14:1–2, 9, a–b, d, f (**FIG. 13**);
- 3) radially arranged papyrus-waz motifs FM 11:1 (**FIG. 14**);
- 4) radially arranged octopus FM 21:1 (**FIG. 15**).

⁴³ Mountjoy 1999, 21; Mountjoy 2008, 476 note 4.

⁴⁴ E.g. Koehl 2006, 108 no. 238 fig. 10 pl. 19 (Gournia), 167 no. 660 fig. 30 pl. 42 (Palaikastro), 167 no. 663 fig. 30 (Palaikastro).

⁴⁵ Kalogeropoulos 1998, 109 pl. 35 ('Mykene 51').

⁴⁶ Betancourt 1985, 137–9.

⁴⁷ Kalogeropoulos 1998, 167–8 pl. 36.

Palatial jars as grave offerings



FIG. 11 Scheme 2, group 5.
Palatial Jar from Kakovatos,
Tholos A. Drawing after Müller
1909, fig. 16 no. 21.



FIG. 12 Scheme 3. Palatial Jar
from Kakovatos, Tholos A.
Photograph: Courtesy of the
Deutsches Archäologisches
Institut, Athen.



FIG. 13 Scheme 3. Palatial
Jar from Kakovatos, Tholos
A. Photograph: Courtesy of
Prof. G. S. Korres.



FIG. 14 Scheme 3. Palatial Jar
from Tragana: Viglitsa, Tholos 1.
Photograph: Courtesy of Prof. G.
S. Korres and the Archaeological
Society at Athens.



FIG. 15 Scheme 3. Palatial Jar from Routsí, Tholos 2. Photograph: Courtesy of Prof. G. S. Korres and the Archaeological Society at Athens.



FIG. 16 Scheme 1. Palatial Jar from Ano Englianos/Pylos, so-called Grave Circle (Tholos V). Photograph: Courtesy of Prof. G. S. Korres.



FIG. 17 Scheme 1. Palatial Jar from Kakovatos, Tholos A. Photograph: Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen.



FIG. 18 Palatial Jar from Mycenae showing combination of pendants and marine rock vegetation.

Palatial jars as grave offerings

Scheme 1

The third most popular scheme is my scheme 1 with a total of 18 secure examples. Scheme 1 is the scheme of vertical plants. Three different plant images can be separated:

First, the vertically arranged ivy leaves FM 12:j–l, n (**FIG. 16**). This decorative scheme forms a very interesting group. It shows an artistic concept unknown in Cretan pottery at that period. Second, vertically arranged racket motifs FM 63:10, mirrored along the central, vertical axis (**FIG. 17**) and third, vertical palm trees FM 14:1, a–b, d.⁴⁸

SEMANTICS

Scheme 2

All five groups of the palatial jars of scheme 2 have horizontal ornamental bands that run round the vessels, giving the impression of endless movement. This impression becomes more emphasized by the use of a wavy-line decoration on the neck (**FIGS 4–5**).

Let us take a closer look at these groups:

The LM IB-inspired way (scheme 2, group 2) favours Furumarkian motifs like pendants FM 38:1 (**FIG. 5**), rock pattern FM 32 (**FIG. 6**), ogival canopy FM 13:1–2 (**FIG. 7**), running spiral FM 46:1 (**FIG. 4**), zigzag pattern FM 61:7 (**FIG. 8**) and ivy FM 12:a, p, t, x, z, 8, 30 (**FIG. 9**).⁴⁹ All motifs seem to symbolize water. As already suggested by Morgan, the motif of the pendants FM 38:1, as it appears on the example in the tholos of Analipsis (**FIG. 5**), has a purely nautical context.⁵⁰ It occurs on a palatial jar from Grave Rho at Mycenae decorated with marine rock vegetation and with a scale pattern indicating the sea element (**FIG. 18**).⁵¹ This same connotation is used in LM IB. On Crete it appears on the well-known jar from Tylissos, arranged in alternate zones with the marine trefoil, a marine rock vegetation.⁵² The Tylissos jar was found in the pillar crypt of house A at Tylissos, a magazine with a shrine above it, and has been plausibly interpreted by Mountjoy as shrine furniture.⁵³

⁴⁸ Kalogeropoulos 1998, pl. 25, a ('Asine 3') and b ('Argos 3').

⁴⁹ Kalogeropoulos 1998, 165.

⁵⁰ Morgan 1984, 166.

⁵¹ Morgan 1984, 171 note 7.

⁵² Morgan 1984, fig. 1, b; Mountjoy 1984, 196 pl. 21, f; Müller 1997, 350 pl. 35.

⁵³ Mountjoy 1985, 235 fig. 1.7.

The horizontal zigzag lines on a jar from Thorikos (**FIG. 8**) are similar to the symbol for water on Egyptian wall paintings.⁵⁴ The double axe here can be interpreted as a cult symbol rather than a cult implement symbolizing sacrifice.

The rock-like motif decorating a jar from grave Rho in Mycenae (**FIG. 6**) has been named 'Rock pattern' FM 32 by Furumark,⁵⁵ but its association on a jar from Pellana with the marine motif trefoil⁵⁶ suggests that it should rather be understood as the rocky ground line in a marine composition.

The role of the spiral as a symbol for political authority and royal power has recently been emphasized by Stefan Hiller.⁵⁷ However, as Morgan⁵⁸ and Vance Watrous⁵⁹ have shown, in several cases spirals appear in conjunction with sea motifs or water. In the case of the palatial jars, this seems to be the case, since at least in one instance spirals are used in the same manner as the wavy line, the standard symbol for water.⁶⁰ The spirals on a palatial jar from Asine occupy the same position as the wavy line does in almost all the other cases.⁶¹ It seems, therefore, that the running spirals on the palatial jars were not simply decorative but symbolic of water.

In the case of a palatial jar from Tragana small rows of ivy run along the vase in horizontal bands, while below and above each band a chain of dotted waves is depicted (**FIG. 9**). The whole image resembles small fish swimming over the waves and is accentuated on the sides with figure-of-eight shields (**FIG. 19**). The movement of running ivy clearly has a religious connotation through the presence of the shields.⁶²

Ogival canopy (**FIG. 7**), the last popular motif of this group, should perhaps be seen in the same context.

The movement of water is clearly represented in the exceptional jar from Mycenae with wave-like snail spirals and rows of oblique papyrus-waz motifs (scheme 2, group 4). The same should apply to the jars of the LH I (scheme 2, group 1) and east Cretan style (scheme 2, group 5), which have good parallels from the cemetery of Sphoungaras (**FIG. 20**).⁶³

The LH IIA version (scheme 2, group 3), the interpretation of whose image forms probably the most important remaining uncertainty, also seems to represent the motion of seawater (**FIG. 10**). The ivy reflects the rhythmical

⁵⁴ Lurker 1964, 20 fig. 3, top; Hiller 2003, 75 fig. 89.

⁵⁵ Furumark 1941, 322–5 fig. 54.

⁵⁶ Spyropoulos 1998, 31 fig. 2.11.

⁵⁷ Hiller 2005.

⁵⁸ Morgan 1987, 187–9.

⁵⁹ Watrous 1991, 289–90.

⁶⁰ Morgan 1984, 172–3 fig. 4, c.

⁶¹ Kalogeropoulos 1998, pl. 44, a ('Asine 4').

⁶² On the ritual association of the figure-of-eight shield see Danielidou 1998, 82–101; especially on the palace style jars from Knossos see also Hiller 1995, 570.

⁶³ Hall 1912, 66 fig. 37.

Palatial jars as grave offerings

movement of water, which seems to be represented by the dotted background. The real significance of large ivy leaves in a funerary context is best shown by a jar from Prosymna, which shows strong wavy lines beneath the dotted background (FIG. 21). It is again the movement of water that is implied here.⁶⁴



FIG. 19 Palatial Jar from Tragana decorated with eight-figured shields. Photograph: Courtesy of Prof. G. S. Korres.



FIG. 20 LM IB painted burial jar from Sphoungaras, Eastern Crete. Drawing after Hall 1912, 66 fig. 37.



FIG. 21 Palatial Jar from Prosymna, Chamber tomb 26, showing wavy lines beneath the dotted background. Photograph: Courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens.



FIG. 22 Communion Cup from Thera, Akrotiri. Photograph after Marthari 2008, 381 fig. 37, Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Scheme 3

⁶⁴ It is clear from the above that in the case of the symbol system of the palatial jars' *denotation* has many symbols, suggesting that the system was *redundant* in Goodman's sense (Goodman 1976, 151, 159).

The first three images (**FIGS 12–14**) seem to follow the same pattern. These images apparently represent an exotic land. It is interesting that the exotic images are shown beyond a body of water, since double and triple wavy lines (the abstracted sign of water) appear at the bottom or in the background of the scenes. Vertical double and triple wavy lines also seem to indicate water.

The religious character of the image with the radially arranged palm-trees is at least secure since it appears in exactly the same way on a conical rhyton from Pylos⁶⁵ and perhaps, more interestingly, on the Punt reliefs in the funerary temple of Hatsepsut at Deir el Bahari.⁶⁶ Religious connotation could also be claimed for the radially arranged papyri (**FIG. 12**), which are always connected with rosettes⁶⁷, even if one does not accept Spyridon Marinatos' idea that the symbolism of the scene recalls the Egyptian text 'numerous years of joyful life'.⁶⁸

The octopus is the most popular sea creature for decorating palatial jars (**FIG. 15**). An important motif, extending in four directions, the octopus occupies one side of the jar by itself. It always has large eyes and symmetrical tentacles set emblematically.

What is the common element that connects all four images? Following a rather neglected line of thought developed by Evans and reactivated in recent decades especially by Hiller in the case of the palace style of Knossos⁶⁹ and by Watrous in the case of the Late Minoan painted larnakes⁷⁰, I think that the idea behind such images could be something like 'a land of regeneration' and thus a form of immortality. This applies at least to the image of palm trees, which in the *communis opinio* of Aegean scholarship are always associated with life and the defeat of death,⁷¹ as well as to the octopus, which has the ability to regenerate itself.⁷²

Scheme 1

Here, the common idea of the vertically represented vegetation is the image of the sacred tree.⁷³ Since the meaning of the ivy spray and the palm tree is more or

⁶⁵ Donovan 1973, fig. 249 no. 26; Koehl 2006, 154 no. 567 fig. 22 pl. 37.

⁶⁶ Shaw 2000, 273–5 pl. 23 (composition on the south wall: men carrying trees).

⁶⁷ Hiller 2000.

⁶⁸ Marinatos 1951.

⁶⁹ Hiller 1995, 563–6 (paintings of papyrus-landscapes on palace style vases as indicative of the Elysian Fields).

⁷⁰ Watrous 1991, 296–305 (paintings of papyri and palms on Late Minoan larnakes as representations of the Afterworld, as a 'blossoming land of springtime' [*ibid.* p. 305]); see also Rethemiotakis 1995, 180–1.

⁷¹ Morgan 1988, 28; Gallou 2005, 51.

⁷² Gallou 2005, 49 notes 488–9 (references).

⁷³ Morgan 1987, 186.

Palatial jars as grave offerings

less obvious, I will concentrate on the racket tree. The fact that the image of the tree was sacred during the Aegean LB I period is clearly shown on a communion cup (FIG. 22),⁷⁴ a well-known Neopalatial ritual drinking cup, and on a cylindrical rhyton (FIG. 23)⁷⁵ from Akrotiri on Thera. Both vases have a definitely religious connotation. Since the eruption of Santorini and the painting of these vases should not be more than a generation apart (if any), I suggest that the painters of the racket tree on the palatial jars are likely to have seen the Theran paintings. The theme of the sacred tree was monumentalized and the details of the leaves were changed to the very popular early Mycenaean 'hatched loop' motif (FM 63).⁷⁶



FIG. 23 Cylindrical rhyton from Thera, Akrotiri. Photograph after Marthari 2008, 381 fig. 38, a, Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

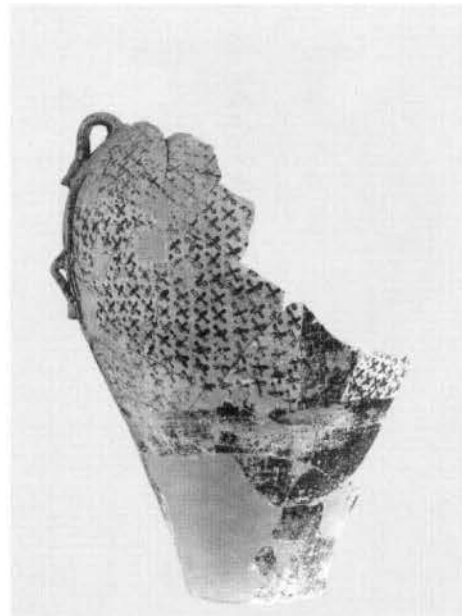


FIG. 24 Scheme 5. Palatial Jar from Koukounara, Tholos. Photograph: Courtesy of Prof. G. S. Korres and the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Scheme 5

The last scheme under discussion is my scheme 5, the Unity Decoration system. As the name implies, every motif or group of motifs is arranged in a manner that appears to form a whole. Quatrefoils,⁷⁷ 'hatched loop' rosettes,⁷⁸ octopus FM 21, argonaut FM 22:2,

⁷⁴ Marthari 2008, 381 fig. 37.

⁷⁵ Koehl 2006, 209 no. 1096 fig. 40, pl. 50; Marthari 2008, 381 fig. 38.

⁷⁶ Furumark 1941, 394–6 fig. 69 no. 63.

⁷⁷ Kalogeropoulos 1998, pl. 44, a ('Asine 4').

⁷⁸ Kalogeropoulos 1998, pl. 44, c–d (Koukounara 3').

reeds FM 16 and the cross FM 54:4 (FIG. 24) are the most important motifs. I think that here again we have the concept of water. The only motif which does not have a clear connotation of water is the cross (FIG. 24). However, this same motif appears in combination with argonauts on a LH IIA bowl (FS 248) from Mycenae⁷⁹ (FIGS 25–26).



FIG. 25. Bowl FS 248 from Mycenae. Interior decoration with argonauts. Drawing after Furtwängler & Loeschcke 1879, pl. III no. 12, Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches

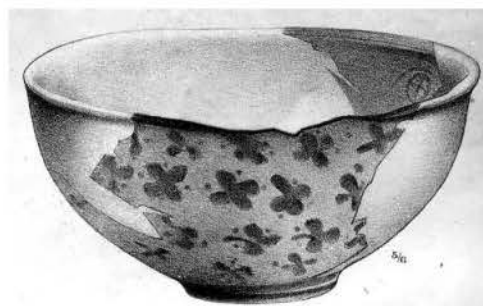


FIG. 26. Bowl FS 248 from Mycenae. Interior decoration with argonauts. Drawing after Furtwängler & Loeschcke 1879, pl. III no. 12, Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen.

A SYSTEM OF BELIEFS ADAPTED FROM EASTERN CRETE?

Using the method of contextual association with each motif, a system of beliefs can now be traced, which was previously unknown for the early Mycenaean elite. It seems to comprise a land of regeneration and immortality and the journey of the soul to an exotic land. This idea connects the early Mycenaean rulers with the rulers of the previous period, as it is evidenced, for example, by the golden face-masks of the Shaft Graves.⁸⁰ However, the movement of water (especially seawater) seems to have been of immense importance, particularly since these jars were found in connection with human bones. It is therefore not improbable that the early Mycenaean elite social groups thought of the soul's journey as a journey across the seas. Neopalatial painted burial jars from the area of the gulf of Mirabello seem to emphasize similar religious ideas in the same manner, as can be demonstrated by a MM III pithos from Mochlos with wavy spirals and impressed double axes (FIG. 27),⁸¹ recalling the Thorikos palatial jar (FIG. 8) and a MM III/LM I octopus jar from Pachyammos (FIG. 28),⁸² as well as the whole series of octopus jars (FIG. 15). Furthermore, since Middle Helladic burial pithoi – with the exception of

⁷⁹ Karo 1930/33, pl. 168 no. 197; Mountjoy 1999, 95 no. 64 fig. 15.

⁸⁰ Hiller 1994–95, 17 note 59.

⁸¹ Seager 1912, 88 fig. 51; compare also Watrous 1991, 305 note 16.

⁸² Seager 1916, 21 pl. XIII below, no. XI, b. In the case of the Pachyammos jars it is difficult to separate MM III from LM I, see Niemeier 1985, 184 note 1424.

Palatial jars as grave offerings

Messenia –⁸³ were intended mainly for child burials,⁸⁴ it is more probable that the background for this custom was formed in east Crete. The east Cretan jars from Kakovatos (FIG. 11) show perhaps where this custom originated.

This transfer of an east Cretan religious burial rite for the elite took place some time during the end of LH I to very early LH IIA, that is, immediately after the eruption of Santorini, when Minoan dominance of the Aegean apparently lost its hold,⁸⁵ and it coincides with the general picture of the dynamic consolidation of old (e.g. at Ano Englianos/Pylos, Peristeria, Mycenae, Argos, Asine)⁸⁶ and new (e.g. at Analipsis, Pellana, Vapheio) local leaders in the southern Greek Mainland.⁸⁷ LH IIA saw a renaissance of elite display at several centres which had functioned as secondary sites during the Shaft Grave period, such as Analipsis⁸⁸ and the Menelaion.⁸⁹ Many ambitious small kings or chiefs interacted within a very fragmented political landscape. The desire for immortality, as reflected in the palatial burial jars, could be seen as an important part of the growing ideological needs of these LH IIA elite groups.



FIG. 27. MM III painted burial jar from Mochlos, Eastern Crete. Photograph after Seager 1912. 88 fig. 51.



FIG. 28. MM III/LM I painted burial jar from Pachyammos, Eastern Crete. Photograph after Seager 1916. 21 pl. XIII below. no. XI. b.

⁸³ References in Boyd 2002, 80–2.

⁸⁴ Demakopoulou 1975, 26.

⁸⁵ Mountjoy & Pointing 2000, 184; Mountjoy 2008, 470.

⁸⁶ Wright 2008, 241, 245.

⁸⁷ According to Wright 2008, 238 “by LH II the stratification of the society was complete”; on the importance of LH II for the formation of the Mycenaean palatial system see *ibid.* 252.

⁸⁸ Analipsis was inhabited in the Shaft Grave period; however the impressive tholos tomb of the site was built in LH IIA (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 180).

⁸⁹ The Menelaion was settled during MH II and MH III (Catling 2009, 461) but the site became important only in LH IIA as indicated by the presence of numerous palatial jars (*ibid.* 337–8). The architecturally interesting Mansion I was built later, in LH IIB (*ibid.* 448–50).

CONCLUSION

From the above, we may come to the following conclusions:

- 1) Palatial jars in burial contexts are a phenomenon of the LH II phase connected with elite social groups. Palatial jars do not appear in tholos tombs of the Mycenaean palatial period.
- 2) The distribution map shows a gap in the north-western and northern Peloponnese. This could partly reflect differences in religious customs among different regions in the Peloponnese.
- 3) Although the context of most of the early Mycenaean elite tombs is disturbed, it is clear from at least two undisturbed Peloponnesian contexts (the so-called Grave Circle at Ano Englianos/Pylos and the tholos tomb at ancient Corinth) that palatial jars were used as burial jars for the early Mycenaean aristocracy.
- 4) An examination of the motifs and images painted on the jar's large body in my seven syntactic schemes shows that certain images are favoured for certain schemes.
- 5) The knowledge of the iconographic use of each motif within these schemes is essential, if one wishes to extract meaningful messages (semantics). No iconographic detail within a scheme can be ignored, because all details are interrelated. It would therefore be misleading to isolate individual motifs or compounds of motifs in an image and to try and identify their meaning independent of their metaphorical context.
- 6) These images seem to function as symbols denoting the movement of water and especially seawater (schemes 2 and 5), whilst exotic images and sea creatures convey the message of regeneration (scheme 3) and the sacred tree is a motif of clearly religious connotation (scheme 1). These conclusions seem to reinforce the assertion that the palatial jars had a ceremonial function.
- 7) The syntax and semantics of the motifs on the palatial jars are also found on the slightly earlier Neopalatial east Cretan burial jars. The painted burial jars from east Crete must therefore serve in future as key works for our understanding of the way this custom came to mainland Greece immediately after the Thera explosion at the end of LM IA.

Palatial jars as grave offerings

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List of illustrations

FIG. 1. Distribution of palatial jars in the Greek Mainland. The numbered sites are listed in the Appendix.

FIG. 2 Ano Englianos/Pylos, Tholos V (so-called Grave Circle), plan I, position of burial jar within burial pit 3. Drawing after Taylour 1973, fig. 327; Courtesy of the Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati.

FIG. 3 Scheme 2, group 1. Palatial Jar from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave V. Photograph: Courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

FIG. 4 Scheme 2, group 2. Palatial Jar from Kakovatos, Tholos A. Photograph: Courtesy of Prof. G. S. Korres.

FIG. 5 Scheme 2, group 2. Palatial Jar from Analipsis, Tholos. Photograph: Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

FIG. 6 Scheme 2, group 2. Palatial Jar from Mycenae, Grave Circle B, Grave Rho. Photograph by the author: Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

FIG. 7 Scheme 2, group 2. Palatial Jar from Kakovatos, Tholos A. Photograph: Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen.

FIG. 8 Scheme 2, group 2. Palatial Jar from Thorikos, Tholos. Drawing after Stais 1895, pl. 11 no.2, Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

FIG. 9 Scheme 2, group 2. Palatial Jar from Tragana: Viglitsa, Tholos 1. Photograph: Courtesy of Prof. G. S. Korres.

FIG. 10 Scheme 2, group 3. Palatial Jar from Kakovatos, Tholos A. Photograph: Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen.

FIG. 11 Scheme 2, group 5. Palatial Jar from Kakovatos, Tholos A. Drawing after Müller 1909, fig. 16 no. 21.

FIG. 12 Scheme 3. Palatial Jar from Kakovatos, Tholos A. Photograph: Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen.

FIG. 13 Scheme 3. Palatial Jar from Kakovatos, Tholos A. Photograph: Courtesy of Prof. G. S. Korres.

Palatial jars as grave offerings

FIG. 14 Scheme 3. Palatial Jar from Tragana: Viglitsa, Tholos 1. Photograph: Courtesy of Prof. G. S. Korres and the Archaeological Society at Athens.

FIG. 15 Scheme 3. Palatial Jar from Routsis, Tholos 2. Photograph: Courtesy of Prof. G. S. Korres and the Archaeological Society at Athens.

FIG. 16 Scheme 1. Palatial Jar from Ano Englianos/Pylos, so-called Grave Circle (Tholos V). Photograph: Courtesy of Prof. G. S. Korres.

FIG. 17 Scheme 1. Palatial Jar from Kakovatos, Tholos A. Photograph: Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen.

FIG. 18 Palatial Jar from Mycenae showing combination of pendants and marine rock vegetation. Photograph: Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

FIG. 19 Palatial Jar from Tragana decorated with eight-figured shields. Photograph: Courtesy of Prof. G. S. Korres.

FIG. 20 LM IB painted burial jar from Sphoungaras, Eastern Crete. Drawing after Hall 1912, 66 fig. 37.

FIG. 21 Palatial Jar from Prosymna, Chamber tomb 26, showing wavy lines beneath the dotted background. Photograph: Courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

FIG. 22 Communion Cup from Thera, Akrotiri. Photograph after Marthari 2008, 381 fig. 37, Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

FIG. 23 Cylindrical rhyton from Thera, Akrotiri. Photograph after Marthari 2008, 381 fig. 38, a, Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

FIG. 24 Scheme 5. Palatial Jar from Koukounara, Tholos. Photograph: Courtesy of Prof. G. S. Korres and the Archaeological Society at Athens.

FIG. 25 Bowl FS 248 from Mycenae. Interior decoration with argonauts. Drawing after Furtwängler & Loeschcke 1879, pl. III no. 12, Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen.

FIG. 26 Bowl FS 248 from Mycenae. Exterior decoration with crosses. Drawing after Furtwängler & Loeschcke 1879, pl. III no. 12a, Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen.

Konstantinos Kalogeropoulos

FIG. 27 MM III painted burial jar from Mochlos, Eastern Crete. Photograph after Seager 1912, 88 fig. 51.

FIG. 28 MM III/LM I painted burial jar from Pachyammos, Eastern Crete. Photograph after Seager 1916, 21 pl. XIII below, no. XI, b.

Palatial jars as grave offerings

Appendix: List of Greek mainland sites with palatial jars, see FIG. 1.

The alphanumeric system in brackets behind each Mainland site (e.g. A 1) refers to Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979.

Unless otherwise stated data are based on Kalogeropoulos 1998, 85–179.

1. Mycenae (A 1): 60 examples
2. Prosymna (A 4): 13 examples
3. Berbati (A 5): 4 examples
4. Dendra (A 6): 4 examples
5. Tiryns (A 7): 1 example
6. Argos (A 8): 3 examples
7. Asine (A 20): 5 examples
8. Kandia (A 21): 1 example. Ref.: Kalogeropoulos 2001, fig. 1–2.
9. Kazarma (A 25): 3 examples
 - Argolid (in general, of unknown provenance): 15 examples
10. Galatas Troizenias, Magoula (new site: Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003, 159, 187 fig. 1 no. 1): 2 examples. Ref.: Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003, fig. 45 below.
11. Aegina/Kolonna (A 45): 7 examples
12. Ancient Corinth (A 52): 2 examples. Ref.: Kasimi (forthcoming).
13. Zygouries (A 67): 3 examples
14. Kakovatos (B 94): 23 examples
15. Menelaion (C 1): 40 fragments representing several examples. Ref.: Catling 2009, 337–8.
16. Vapheio (C 4): at least 1 example.
17. Pellana (C 56): 2 examples. Ref: Spyropoulos 1998, 31 Figs 2.11–2.12.
18. Analipsis (C 58): 3 examples
19. Ano Englianos/Pylos (D 1): 4 examples
20. Tragana (D 11): 3 examples
21. Koukounara (D 35): 7 examples
22. Routsis (D 54): 4 examples
23. Nichoria (D 100): 4 examples
24. Antheia/Aithaia (D 137): several examples
25. Peristeria (D 200): 11 examples
26. Vassiliko (D 222): 1 example
27. Athens (F 1): 3 examples
28. Kiapha Thiti (F 22): 3 examples
29. Thorikos (F 25): 7 examples
30. Ayia Irini (Kea): 4 examples
31. Lefkandi (F 81): 1 example
32. Thebes (G 23): 8 examples

CHAPTER 14

THE LAMENT IN SOUTHERN 'KOILE LAKEDAIMON' AND THE TURBULENT HISTORY OF GREECE

DIMITRIOS TH. KATSOULAKOS

THE REGION

The present study concerns the villages within the modern municipality of Pharis¹ (excluding the villages in the defunct municipality of Phellia)². They are: Xirokambi, Palaiopanagia, Anogia, Lefki, Trapezondi, Kavouraki, Lefkohoma (Karaspai), Kydonia, Liakaiika, Katsoulaiika, Mousga, Paliohori and Kaminia. Linked inseparably with them are the villages on the eastern flank of Taygetos, now mostly deserted, namely Boliana, Dipotama, Sotira, Toriza and Koumousta.

The area in question has geographical cohesion. The inhabitants of these villages had regular contact between them in the form of commercial transactions, social contacts, intermarriage, family relationships etc.) Thus a uniform way of thinking was gradually formed throughout these villages, as well as a common linguistic usage, common songs, similar traditions. The frequent gatherings in churches and monasteries of the region (at Gola, Zerbitsa, Koumbaris, Kataphygiotissa), during the feast of 'Hagiosaranda' at Xirokambi in earlier times, in the open market held every Friday at the same place, the general participation in various feasts and the administrative unity of the villages since the time of Otto – all these factors firmly predetermined the destiny of the inhabitants.

THE NAME OF THE REGION

¹ This is the municipality neighbouring with that of Sparta to the south.

² The municipality of Phellia comprises the villages of Goranoi, Liantina, Polovitsa, Potamia, Kourtsouna, Arna, Kotsantina and Tseria: see Houliarakis 1973, 120.

The names 'Lakedaimon' and 'Pharis' are found for the first time in Homer.³ Ancient Pharis is mentioned for the last time in Pausanias, the 2nd century AD traveller.⁴ In 1834 Otto's regency period brought about an administrative division and gave the name 'Pharis' to the newly-constituted municipality (*demos*) which was comprised of the villages mentioned above.⁵ The *demos* of Pharis was abolished in 1912⁶ and in 1998 the same name was given by the 'Kapodistrias' scheme to the reconstituted *demos*, to which were now added the villages of the defunct *demos* of Phellia.

THE IDENTITY OF LOCAL LAMENTS

The life which the people of these villages shared in common meant that the funerary improvised laments (*moiroloia*) of the area took on their own distinct identity. My own grandmother Evgenia Konidi-Katsoulakou (1905–2005) was one of the best official mourners in the region and when she read the laments of Skoura (a village in the neighbouring *demos* of Therapnae on the eastern bank of the Evrotas)⁷, she said characteristically: "That is not how we used to mourn our own dead".

QUESTIONS REGARDING DEATH

"Man has always been puzzled by the subject of death. Fear of our certain end, the separation of the body from the soul, these matters continue to exercise even the most sensible minds".⁸ Since ancient times the habit of mourning the dead has been extremely wide-spread:

“Τρωῆσιν δ’ Ἑκάβη ἄδινου ἐξῆρχε γόοιο”⁹

Death is everyone's destiny; and a good death is a blessing and a privilege. "Those who die well should not be mourned too much". When death is sudden, people find it difficult to accept it. Such a deflection from the

³ Hom. *Il.* 2. 581-582: "Οἱ δ' εἶχον κοίλην Λακεδαίμονα κητώεσσαν, / Φᾶριν τε Σπάρτην....".

⁴ Paus. 3.20.3: "Διαβᾶσι δὲ αὐτόθεν ποταμόν Φελλίαν, παρὰ Ἀμύκλας ἰοῦσιν εὐθεῖαν ὥς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Φᾶρις πόλις ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ ποτε ᾤκειτο".

⁵ Law of 1834, published in Government issue ΦΕΚ 3/10-1-1834.

⁶ Law of 10 February 1912, no. 4057 'On the establishment of municipalities and communities' (Government issue ΦΕΚ 58/14-2-1912).

⁷ Roumeliotis 1983, 405–420.

⁸ D. T. Katsoulakos 2002, 41.

⁹ Hom. *Il.* 22. 430.

Lament in southern 'koile Lakedaimon'

course of normal life creates a feeling of injustice in the human soul: "Isn't it a shame, isn't it unfair ...?"¹⁰

THE WARS OF GREECE

This country has experienced a lot of turmoil (pre-Revolution uprisings, the 1821 Revolution, Balkan Wars, First World War, Asia Minor War, Second World War, Civil War). It was inevitable that these events should inspire the popular muse. The death of young people, even when the outcome of war proved favourable, was always a source of enormous grief. The joy of victory was unable to mask the pain, which was expressed through a *moiroloi*:

– Γλώσσα, δε σ' έχω για σπαθί, δε σ' έχω για ντουφέκι,
σ' έχω να κλαις το δίκιο σου, να κλαις το μερτικό σου.

– Tongue, I don't need you for a sword or rifle,
I need you to weep for justice, weep for your lot.¹¹

THE 1821 REVOLUTION

The struggle for national independence was an important source of popular inspiration:

– Εσείς πουλιά της άνοιξης, εσείς πουλιά του Μάη,
φέτος μην κελαϊδήσετε, αυτό το καλοκαίρι,
γιατ' ήρθε η άνοιξη πικρή, μαύρο το καλοκαίρι,
θά'ρθει και το φθινόπωρο πικρό φαρμακωμένο.

– Birds of Spring, birds of May,
do not sing this year, this Summer,
because a bitter Spring has come, a black Summer will follow,
and when Autumn comes it will be bitter and painful.¹²

This well-known lament is thought to reflect the feeling that was prevalent in the Peloponnese during the struggle against the Egyptian general Ibrahim (1825–1828).¹³

¹⁰ D. T. Katsoulakos 2002, 43.

¹¹ Pasagiannis 1928, 29.

¹² Kapakos 1972-1973, 8.

¹³ Politis 1932³, 27.

THE RULE OF THE BANDITS (19TH CENTURY)

During the 19th century the newly-established Greek state was facing many serious challenges. One of these was the problem of bandits. Certain freedom-fighters chose to carry on being outlaws and others followed them. An example of the insecurity prevailing mainly in mountainous areas of the country (especially in the region being examined here) is the fact that, when in the summer of 1836 the German traveller Count Hermann von Pückler-Muskau visited Koumousta, he had with him a large force led by the chieftain (*kapetanios*) Yorgis Yatrakos.¹⁴ The German traveller relates that “the inhabitants of Koumousta, who welcomed us very warmly, would surely have robbed us if we had not been accompanied by two kapetanaioi who came from that area”.¹⁵

Yorgis Parigoris was a notorious bandit of the region in the middle of the 19th century. His hideout was near Pentavloi on Taygetos, within the wider locality of the modern Refuge. Eventually the local gendarmerie managed to kill him and the spot where he was shot became known as ‘Parigoris’s Pine’.¹⁶ The local community was greatly affected by the bandit’s death. In the lament of the same name it is obvious that the sympathies of the popular muse lie with Parigoris:

Τρεις περδικούλες κάθουνταν πάνου στον Αηδημήτη,
τον ήλιο νεθαμπώνανε από τα κλάματά τους.
Μοιρολογούσαν κι έλεγαν, μοιρολογούν και λένε:
– Το κρίμα νά’χει ο Μποτσονάς και τ’ άδικο ο αδερφός του,
που πήγανε στο λοχαγό, στον Κωνσταντή Κυβέλο, 5
του είπαν ο Γιώργης κάθεται μες τα Μουζιά στη ράχη.
Ο Κωνσταντής περήφανος, ήταν και παλληκάρι,
τα παλληκάρια του άρπαξε και τ’ ανηφόρι πάει,
στη ράχη απάνου ανέβηκε κι είδε τον Παρηγόρη.
Μια μπαταριά τού ρίζανε οι ανθρώποι του Κυβέλου, 10
τίποτα δεν του κάμανε κι ο Παρηγόρης φεύγει.
Ο Κωνσταντής τον κυνηγάει με το σαλμά στο χέρι.
– Γιώργη, για ρίξε τ’ άρματα, προσκύνα τον Κυβέλο.
Κι ο Παρηγόρης γύρισε, σκοτώνει τον Κυβέλο.
Πέφτουν τα παλληκάρια του απάνου στον Κυβέλο. 15
‘Νας Ρουμελιώτης έμεινε, για το κακό του μπάχτι,
μια τουφεκιά του τίναξε κι έπεσε ο Παρηγόρης.
Τη συντροφιά του μίλησε Μικρούτση και Κορώνη :

¹⁴ Katsaros 1992, 3.

¹⁵ Katsaros 1992, 4.

¹⁶ Fragi 1996, 9-10.

Lament in southern 'koile Lakedaimon'

– Πισωγυρίστε, βρε παιδιά, πάρτε μου το κεφάλι,
μην το πάρει ο λοχαγός, ο άτιμος Κυβέλος, 20
και μου το πάει στο Μυστρά και μου το πάει στη Σπάρτη,
γιατί έχω οχτρούς και χαίρουνται, φίλους και με λυπιούνται,
κι έχω και τη γυναίκα μου και θα μαυροφορέσει...

Three partridges were sitting on Ai-Dimitris,¹⁷
Their weeping made the sunlight grow faint.
They cried and said, they cry and say:
– The crime lies with Botsonas, the injustice with his brother,
because they went to captain Konstandis Kyvelos¹⁸ 5
and told him that Yorgis was staying at the ridge of Mouzia.
Konstandis was proud and brave,
he summoned his men and rode up the hill.
He climbed the ridge and saw Parigoris.
Kyvelos's men took a shot at him
but didn't harm him, so Parigoris ran off. 10
Konstandis chases him with a *salmas*¹⁹ in his hand.
– Yorgis, throw down your guns and give in to Kyvelos.
Parigoris turned round and killed Kyvelos.
His men fell upon Kyvelos['s men]. 15
Unluckily for him, one of the Roumeliots²⁰ survived,
he shot him once and Parigoris fell down.
He turned and spoke to his companions Mikroutsis and Koronis: ²¹
– Come back, lads, and cut my head off
before that foul-playing captain Kyvelos cuts it 20
and takes it to Mystra, to Sparta,
for I have enemies who will rejoice, friends who will feel sorry for me,
and a wife who will be dressed in black ...²²

THE CRETAN UPRISING

¹⁷ This is part of Taygetos in the forest of Vasiliki, where stands a chapel of that name.

¹⁸ He used to be an outlaw and Parigoris' comrade. In an attempt to impose order in the countryside, the Greek state tried to befriend some outlaws and at that time Kyvelos collaborated with government forces and hunted down his former comrade: see Kyvelos 1995, 18.

¹⁹ Sword, knife.

²⁰ The Sarakatsanoi of Taygetos were called Roumeliots. This name, given to them by the indigenous Laconians, indicates their passage through the mainland ('Roumeli'). The Sarakatsanoi were a strong presence throughout the general area of Taygetos: see T. S. Katsoulakos 2002, 331–349.

²¹ Outlaws based on Taygetos, comrades of Parigoris: see Fragi 1996, 10 and Orfanakou 1997, 7.

²² Pasagiannis 1928, 64–65.

The Cretan Uprising of 1866–1869 was an important event of the 19th century. Volunteers from all over Greece hastened to join the ranks of Cretan freedom fighters. Among them were the following men from Xirokambi: Antonios D. Koumoustiotis, Gerasimos D. Katsoulakos, Ilias P. Kosonakos, Yorgounis P. Marinakos, Evangelos Moutoulas, Leonidas Moutoulas, Yeorgios S. Xiropodis and Yeorgios E. Solomos (Lekkas) serving under Captain Yeorgios P. Kosonakos. They joined the expeditionary force of Dimitris Petopoulakis and embarked at Gythion heading for Crete. Yeorgios E. Solomos and Yeorgios P. Kosonakos gave their life for the freedom of that island.²³ The latter was a member of the powerful Kosonakos family who lived at Kosonaiika, a settlement in the region of Xirokambi, where the KEEM army camp is now situated. His death was mourned with a long *moiroloi*. In it his mother and his wife appear and address him mournfully as they bid him farewell:

Ανάθεμά την την αρχή,
τον Έπαρχο και το Βοϊδή,
πώβαλε λόγο στη Βουλή,
να μαζευτούν οι αρχηγοί
κι ο Κοσονάκος μπροστινός, 5
που ήταν απ' όλους γνωστικός.
Μάζεψε στράτευμα πολύ
και πάει στου Μαμουσούμπαση.
Γιωργάκαινα αγνάντεψε
από το μπαλκονάκι της. 10
– Μάνα, Γιωργάκης έρχεται
και φέρνει στράτευμα πολύ
δεν είναι και δουλειά καλή!
Κι όσο να μπει κι όσο να βγει
γιόμισε η μάντρα κι η αυλή. 15
– Μάνα, ψωμί, μάνα τυρί
να φάν' τα παλληκάρια μου.
Έρθα να πάρω την ευκή
από καρδιά κι από ψυχή.
– Κάνω να σε καταραστώ, 20
μα πάλε θε να σ' ευκηθώ...
Καλά να πας, καλά να ρθεις,
γλήγορα να προβιβαστείς,
να γίνεις πρώτος αρχηγός
και πρώτος αξιωματικός. 25

²³ Laskaris 2002, 75–78; T. S. Katsoulakos 1966, 1–2; Koumoustiotis 1980, 66.

Lament in southern 'koile Lakedaimon'

Γιωργάκαινα σαν τ' άκουσε
αμέσως λιγοθύμησε.
– Γιωργάκη, πού μ' απαρατάς
χωρίς τέκνα, χωρίς παιδιά;
Τόσω χρονώ νοικοκυρά 30
δεν εσταρώσαμε γενιά...
Γιωργάκης αναχώρησε
στο Γύθειο για να πάει.
Γιωργάκαινα του μίλησε
από το παραθύρι: 35
– Γιώργη, δος μου τη βούλα σου
και παρ' την εδική μου,
για να'χεις θύμηση να πεις,
για να'ρθεις πάλι να με βρεις...
Απέκει ο Γιώργης αναχωρεί 40
τρέχει κατά το Γύθειο.
Κι απόξω στο Πελεκητό
βλέπουν τ' Αρκάδι στο γιαλό.
– Παιδιά μου, για προσέξετε
τίποτα να μην κάμετε. 45
Πάμε στις Κρήτες τα χωριά
μέσα στα τούρκικα σπαθιά....
Στο Γύθειο νότα μπήκανε
βρίσκουνε την Επισκοπή
και τον Ηλία τον Βοϊδή. 50
Στ' Αρκάδι μέσα μπήκανε
στην Κρήτη επηγαίνανε.
Τρία παπόρια τούρκικα
μια μπαταριά τους δώσανε,
πάει τ' Αρκάδι το μισό 55
κι ο Κοσονάκος ο αρχηγός...

A curse on the authorities,
the *Eparch* (Governor) and the *Voidis* (General)
who made a speech in Parliament
calling on all the heads of families to gather together.
Kosonakos, the most sensible of them all, 5
was first to volunteer.
He put together a strong force
and went to Mamousoumbasi²⁴.
His wife Yorgakaina saw them

²⁴ This was the name of the community of Kosoneika during the Turkish occupation.

from her little balcony. 10
– Mother, your son Yorgakis is coming
bringing many soldiers with him,
and it doesn't look good!
By the time she had gone in
the yard had filled with soldiers. 15
– Mother, bring bread and cheese
to feed my men.
I've come to ask for your blessing,
with your heart and soul.
– I feel like cursing you 20
but still I will bless you ...
Go safely, come back safely,
and then you'll be promoted
and become top commander
and top officer. 25
When his wife heard this
she fainted straight away.
– Yorgakis, where are you going
leaving me alone and childless?
I've been a married woman for so long 30
but we still haven't been blessed with a family ...
Yorgakis sets off
for Gythio.
His wife called to him
from the window: 35
– Yorgis, give me your *voula*²⁵
and take mine,
so that you keep my memory alive
and come back again to me ...
Then Yorgis rushes away 40
and heads towards Gythio.
When they reach Pelekito
they see the *Arkadi*²⁶ anchored off the harbour.
– My boys, take heed
and don't make any trouble. 45
We are going to Crete
there to fight against the Turkish sword ...
They arrive at Gythio
and go first to the Bishop's Palace

²⁵ Engagement ring.

²⁶ The ship on which they sailed to Crete.

Lament in southern 'koile Lakedaimon'

where they find Ilias the *Voidis*. 50
Then they embark on the *Arkadi*
and set sail for Crete.
Three Turkish ships
bombard them on the way
Half of the *Arkadi* is gone, 55
together with Kosonakos the commander ...²⁷

THE ASIA MINOR WAR

The War of Asia Minor had disastrous consequences and caused grief throughout the country. There were dead from almost every village:

– Σαγγάριε ατρόμητε και συρματοπλεγμένε,
συ μού'χεις κάψει την καρδιά, παναθεματισμένε.
Βάζει το πυροβολικό, τα σύρματα χαλάει
και της Ελλάδος ο στρατός αμέσως προχωράει.
Πολλές μανάδες κλάψανε, κατάμαυρα φορέσαν, 5
σαν μάθανε πως χάθηκε το δεύτερο το τάγμα.
Πολλές μανάδες κλάψανε, ας κλάψει κι η δική μου,
τι μέσα στο Σαγγάριο θα μείνει το κορμί μου.

– Sangaris (mod. Sakarya),²⁸ fearless river, edged with wire fences,
you broke my heart, a curse on you.
The artillery goes into action, they break through the wire
and the army of Greece advances forward at once.
Many mothers wept and put on black dresses²⁹
when they heard that the second battalion was lost.
Many mothers wept, let my mother weep too,
for my body will lie in the Sangaris for ever.³⁰

²⁷ Pasagiannis 1928, 73–74. There are also other variations of this lament, which is widely known in Laconia: see Koutsilieris 1997, 112–113; Kallidonis 1981, 134–135; Kougeas 2000, 144–148.

²⁸ River of central Anatolia near Ankara, the capital of Kemal's government. The Sangaris was the farthest point reached by the Greek army during the Asia Minor War. It was here that the Turkish forces fought back the Greek advance in August 1921. The battle, which was particularly fierce, effectively decided the outcome of the whole war. The resonance of the battle of Sangaris was huge. Colonel Bourazelis of Paliochori relates how, when he was a small boy, the elders would always mention that battle in their story-telling: see Bourazelis 1998, 5.

²⁹ The battle of the Sangaris claimed many lives.

³⁰ D. T. Katsoulakos 2002, 57–58.

The following *moiroloi* is in a similar style:

– Εσείς βουνά της Άγκυρας και της Μικράς Ασίας,
ποτέ μη χορταριάσετε, ποτέ να μην ανθίστε
για το κακό που έγινε στις δεκαπέντε Αυγούστου.
Ανήμερα της Παναγιάς άναψε το ντουφέκι,
γεμίσαν τα βουνά κορμιά κι ο τόπος παλληκάρια. 5
Κλαίνει οι μάνες τα παιδιά κι οι αδερφές τ' αδέρφια
και μία που είναι νιόνυφη, τρεις μέρες παντρεμένη,
τον άντρα της που πήρανε μες τη μεγάλη μάχη.

– Mountains of Ankara³¹ and Asia Minor,
may you never grow grass, nor ever bloom,
because of the disaster that happened on the 15th August.
On the day of the Virgin Mary's Assumption³² the shooting began,
the mountains filled with corpses, the whole place with young men.³³ 5
Mothers mourn their children, sisters their brothers
and a newly-wed, a three-day-old bride
mourns her husband who fell in the great battle.³⁴

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The appropriate *moiroloi* were also composed for the Greco-Italian war of 1940–41:

– Εσείς βουνά της (Γ)κορυτσάς και κάμποι της Χιμάρας,
την άνοιξη οπού θά'ρθεί, βουνά, να μην ανθίστε
με το κακό που έγινε πάνω στο Τεπελένι.
γιομίσαν τα βουνά κορμιά κι όμορφα παλληκάρια.

– Mountains of Goritsa,³⁵ valleys of Himara,³⁶

³¹ The Greek soldiers could see the mountains of Ankara from the river Sangaris.

³² The Assumption is an important feast of the Christian Orthodox calendar, often referred to as 'Summer Easter'. The Turkish attack began on 13 August 1921. On the 15th the Greek defence line began to collapse. In this lament the popular muse links ingeniously the great religious feast with the defeat of the Greek army.

³³ Many soldiers died during the retreat of the Greek army.

³⁴ D. T. Katsoulakos 2002, 59.

³⁵ Town in Northern Epirus. Here the mourner has confused Korytsà with Goritsà, a village in Laconia, within the municipality of Therapne on mount Parnon. Goritsà is visible from Xirokambi. Korytsà was occupied by the Greek army on 22 November 1940.

Lament in southern 'koile Lakedaimon'

when Spring comes do not bloom,
because of the disaster that happened at Tepeleni.³⁷
The mountains filled with corpses of lovely young men.³⁸

The *moiroloi* that follows is in the same vein:

– Πουλιά μου άγρια κι ήμερα,
όλα να'ρθείτε σήμερα·
κι οπ' έρθει το γρηγορότερο
θα του χρυσώσω το φτερό,
θα τ' ασημώσω το λαιμό 5
θα του κρεμάσω μια γραφή
στο Τεπελένι να βρεθεί
που πολεμάνε τα παιδιά
και με ψυχή και με καρδιά.

– Birds, both wild and tame,
come to me today.
I will paint gold the feathers
of the bird that comes first,
I will hang silver from its neck 5
I will tie a message to it,
to take to Tepeleni
where our boys are fighting
with all their heart and soul.³⁹

This lament was sung by a mourner from Xirokambi during the wake that took place after news reached the village of the death of one of the following villagers who was killed in battle: Panagiotis Anastasakos (son of Georgios), Sofianos Georgoulis (son of Stylianos), Theodoros Kioussis (son of Dimitrios), Vasilios Mandrapiliias (son of Panayotis), Andreas Smyrniotis (son of Konstantinos), Klearchos Sykiotis (son of Panayotis), Anastasios Christopoulos (son of Christos), Panagiotis Christopoulos (son of Vasilios).⁴⁰

³⁶ Town in Northern Epirus, occupied by the Greek army on 22 December 1940.

³⁷ Town in Northern Epirus, where fierce battles took place. Due to its natural defences and its Italian fortifications, the Greek army failed to capture it. News from the front quickly reached the rear. The initial strong defence and subsequent victorious advance of the Greek army inside Northern Epirus created huge enthusiasm among the Greek population, so that the names of towns in that area (for which many bloody battles were fought) were soon incorporated into popular laments.

³⁸ D. T. Katsoulakos 2002, 129.

³⁹ Dekosis 1983, 7.

⁴⁰ D. T. Katsoulakos 2002, 63.

THE EVENTS OF DECEMBER 1944

About two months after the liberation of Greece from the German occupation, fighting broke out in Athens and this proved to be the start of the Civil War that followed shortly afterwards, which blighted the country's development for around half a century. During the fighting many people lost their life, both combatants and civilians. One of the victims was Petros I. Katsoulakos who came from the village of Katsoulaiika. He was executed aged 48 on December 14th 1944.

– Πέτρο, σε κλαίει το σπίτι σου, μοιριολογάει η αυλή σου,
στάζουν τα κεραμίδια σου εννιά λογών φαρμάκι
κι ήπιαμε και χορτάσαμε για τη δική σου αγάπη.
Πέτρο μου, μια, Πέτρο μου, δυο,
να σε παινέψω δεν μπορώ, 5
μια ήσουν στο φανερό,
μια όλους τους αγάπες
τους φίλους και τους συγγενείς,
μια και τους υποστήριζες
πάρα πολύ τους φίλους σου. 10
μα αυτοί όλοι σε μισούσανε,
βάλαν και σε σκοτώσανε
πάνω στου Γκύζη το βουνό
να τό'βρουνε 'πο το Θεό.

– Petros, your house weeps for you, your courtyard mourns,
the tiles on your roof are dripping with nine sorts of poison,
and those of us who love you drank it to the full.
My dear, dear Petros,
I can't praise you enough, 5
you were always open-hearted,
you loved everyone,
friends and relatives alike,
you supported them all,
especially your friends. 10
But those people hated you
and had you killed
on the hill at Gyzi.⁴¹
May they get their come-uppance from God.⁴²

⁴¹ District of Athens, where many executions took place during the December events.

⁴² D. T. Katsoulakos 2002, 102.

Lament in southern 'koile Lakedaimon'

This *moiroloi* was recited by Evgenia, the wife of Stavros G. Katsoulakos (a first cousin of the dead man), during the wake that took place at Katsoulaiika when the news of the death arrived.

THE CIVIL WAR

Civil war is the worst kind of war. Passions become more intense, the whole population is divided, brother kills brother. The Greek Civil War was extremely violent and bloody. The region under scrutiny was the stage of many important campaigns.

Although not unknown in the region, revenge was not a characteristic of social activity here. Even laments composed for the dead of the Civil War do not contain the element of reprisal. A well-known mourner of the area, Angeliki E. Arnioti, says in her *moiroloi* for Dimitris N. Michalakos, who was a member of MAY of Xirokambi and was killed aged 19 on the 23rd March 1947 during a clash at Kosonaiika:

– Δημήτρη μου, παιδάκι μου αδικοσκοτωμένο.
Του πεθαμένου τα σκουτιά δεν πρέπει να φοριούνται,
του σκοτωμένου τ' όρματα δεν πρέπει να βαστιούνται.
Μον' πρέπει να τα ρίξουνε σ' ένα βαθύ πηγάδι,
να τρώει η σκουριά το σίδερο κι ο κόπιτσας τα ρούχα. 5

– Dimitris, my boy, you've been unjustly killed.
No one should wear the clothes⁴³ of a dead man,
nor should anyone carry the weapons of a man killed in battle.
They must be thrown down a deep well,
where rust will eat the iron and *kopitses*⁴⁴ will eat the clothes.⁴⁵ 5

Vasilis Dim. Solomos ('Tourkovasilis') from Xirokambi was platoon-commander of ELAS during the Occupation.⁴⁶ During the Civil War he had again taken to the mountains. On the 22nd February 1947 he was spotted at Xirokambi and executed, aged 33, by members of the MAY organisation of the village.⁴⁷ Only close relatives were present at his funeral, as the climate was heavy during those troubles and people did not dare to appear at such a

⁴³ The word used is 'skoutià, clothes. The dead man's mother had laid out his blood-stained clothes in the garden, forbidding anyone to touch them.

⁴⁴ Moths.

⁴⁵ D. T. Katsoulakos 2002, 70.

⁴⁶ Kastanis 2005, 75.

⁴⁷ Lefas 2007, 245. On the death of Tourkovasilis, see D. T. Katsoulakos 2008, 3-6.

funeral. Two months later his brother Stratis was also killed, on the 28th April 1947. During his funeral the next day, the mourner Zacharo Papadakou ('Karoutzitsa') took the opportunity, while mourning the recent death, to mourn Tourkovasilis as well, through a couple of lines:

– Μη γελαστείς, λω θειά,
και βάλεις στο μαντήλι αυγά
και πας κατά τα Χειμαδιά
στης Σκούντρας το ποτιστικό,
και το Βασίλη για να βρεις. 5
Το Βασίλη τον σκοτώσανε
και τον αδικοθανατώσανε.
Αλλά, θεια μου, μην ανησυχείς
θα πάει ο Στράτης να τότε βρει
και θα του πει για να ερθεί 10
να κάμετε μαζί Λαμπρή.

– Don't be fooled, auntie,⁴⁸
and wrap eggs in a scarf
and take them to Chimadia,⁴⁹
to the vegetable patch at Skoundra,⁵⁰
seeking to find Vasilis. 5
Vasilis has been killed,
unjustly murdered.
But don't worry, auntie,
Stratis will go and find him
and tell him to come 10
and celebrate Easter with you.⁵¹

In both the above laments composed during the Civil War, the words "unjustly killed/murdered" carry no ideological subtext. The injustice lies merely in the loss of a young person.

⁴⁸ Reference to the mother of the dead men, Vasiliki, wife of Dimitrakas Solomos.

⁴⁹ Hilly region west of Xirokambi, where the Solomos family owned a lot of land.

⁵⁰ Irrigated part of the Solomos fields.

⁵¹ D. T. Katsoulakos 2002, 94.

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CHAPTER 15

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE OFFICIAL MOURNER WITH THE DECEASED AS A SOURCE OF INSPIRATION

THEODOROS S. KATSOULAKOS

The words 'folk song' even on their own convey a strong implication of sensibility and history. They are linked to the people (the *demos*) and tragedy respectively. The Greek spirit sings of its troubles and its glories in the same way throughout the centuries. Electra's lament in front of the urn supposedly holding Orestes's ashes seems to burst out of the bosom of some modern day Maniot woman mourning her brother:¹

Ω φιλτάτου μνημείον ἀνθρώπων ἐμοὶ
ψυχῆς Ὀρέστου λοιπόν, ὥς σ' ἀπ' ἐλπίδων
οὐχ ὥνπερ ἐξέπεμπον εἰσεδεξάμην.
Νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδέν ὄντα βαστάζω χεροῖν²

*O, relic of the one I loved more than any man,
the remains of Orestes's soul, how differently have I received you
from the hope-filled time I bade him goodbye.
Now he has become nothing, and I hold him in my hands*

The Greeks are a tortured, pained nation, so everything they create contains blood deep inside it. The underworld of the modern Greeks is identical to the ancients' Hades (*Αἴδαο δόμους*). These lines from a modern lament (*moiroloi*)

Εσύ, παιδί μου, κίνησες να πας στον κάτω κόσμο
κι αφήνεις τη μανούλα σου πικρή χαροκαμένη

*My child, you have begun your way to the underworld
leaving your wretched mother struck down by death*

¹ Melas 1948, 165.

² Soph. *El.* 1126–1129.

bring to mind Andromache's lament:

νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν αἶδαο ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης
ἔρχεαι, αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ στυγερῶ ἐνὶ πένθει λείπεις³

But now you are making your way to the kingdom of Hades under the
earth's roof,
leaving me here in unbearable mourning

Despite their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Greeks have viewed the death of the body with fear and grief.⁴ The ancient figure of Charon has lost his main attribute, that of a ferryman, and has become a violent plunderer;⁵ this is why the picture of the underworld given by the *moiroloia* is a lot more cruel and violent than the one passed down by ancient texts.⁶

Death is the ultimate evil.⁷ There is no way back from Hades:

Ο Αδης έχει έμπατα, μα έβγατα δεν έχει·
στο έμπα δίνουν τα κλειδιά, στα έβγα κλειούν τις πόρτες.⁸

*Hades has a gate in but no gate out;
On the way in they hand over the keys, on the way out they lock the gates.*

The *moiroloi* is an expression of pain at times when there can be no pretence, when the human soul is revealed in its most clear and genuine state.⁹ The *moiroloi* which is composed in such circumstances usually has the concision and density characteristic of a two-liner. In the *moiroloia* from the Mani, especially those that deal with revenge, it is easier to trace the source of inspiration, because of the passions raised by the event itself. However such *moiroloia* have been transmitted in many variations, so that it is difficult to establish the prototype, the contribution of its original creator.

The ancient Greek views regarding the role of boys in the family (*στῦλοι γὰρ οἴκων παῖδες εἰσιν ἄρσενες*)¹⁰ survives in the following passage from a *moiroloi*, in which the sister undertakes to recite the *moiroloi* on behalf

³ Hom. *Il.* 22. 482.

⁴ Petropoulos 1959, κβ.

⁵ Kyriakidis 1990, 97.

⁶ Saunier 1999, 14.

⁷ Saunier 1999, 313.

⁸ Kougeas 2000, 48.

⁹ Koutsilieris 1997, 14.

¹⁰ Eur. *Iph. Taur.*, 57.

Relationship of the official mourner with the deceased

of the mother (κάλλιο της ήτα να μη ζει – better that she had not lived [to see this]):

Τη νύχτα την οχτεσινή
εγίνηκε ανακύλιση¹¹
στο σπίτι του πατέρα μου.
Το θεμέλιο' χε κλονιστεί
και τώρα πάει κ' η σκεπή.¹²

*Last night
there was a disaster
in my father's house.
The foundations were shaken
and now the roof is gone.*

As the embodiment of the continuation of the family line, boys prevail as a subject-matter of the *moiroloia*:

Του Λία μας το όνομα στο χιόνι ήταν γραμμένο,
το πήρε ο ήλιος κι έλειωσε και το νερό εχάθη
και σαν ψηλός βασιλικός έπεσε και μαράθη.¹³

*Our Ilias's name was written in the snow,
the sun took it when it melted and the water evaporated,
like a tall basil plant he fell and withered.*

The pain for the loss of a child leads the mourner to despair, an overstepping of the mark. From her position, which she turns into a public forum, the mourner goes beyond the established rules and even expresses doubt as to divine justice:

– Α, ρε Θεέ από ψηλά
που δε σε φτάνει ούτε γκράς
δεν κατεβαίνεις χαμπηλά
να πούμε δικαιώματα;
Τα πλέα τα 'χουμε εμείς
που μείναμε χωρίς παιδί.¹⁴

¹¹ Note by the author: disaster (καταστροφή)

¹² Koutsilieris 1997, 64–65.

¹³ Katsoulakos 2002, 82.

¹⁴ Seremetakis 1994³, 103.

– Hey God, you up there,
who not even a gun can reach,
why don't you come down here
to talk about our rights?
Our claims are the strongest,
who have been left childless.

The nature of the event overwhelms humans. Those inner forces which had been lying dormant are let loose:

– Γλώσσα, δε σ' έχω για σπαθί, δε σ' έχω για ντουφέκι.
Σ' έχω να κλαις το δίκιο σου, να κλαις το μερτικό σου.¹⁵

– Tongue, I don't need you as a sword, I don't need you for a rifle.
I need you to weep for justice, weep for your fate.

The beauty of life, the premature end of youth, these generate sympathy and lead to their expression through unique metaphors:

– Πού πας, ασήμι, να χαθείς, μάλαμα να σγουριάσεις
και κόκκινο τριαντάφυλλο, να κιτρινοφυλλιάσεις;¹⁶

– Where are you going, silver, you'll disintegrate, electrum you will tarnish,
red rose, your leaves will turn yellow.

or

Ξύπνα μαγιάτικη μηλιά με τ' άνθη, με τα μήλα,
με τα χρυσά περικόλωνα, με τα ασημένια φύλλα.¹⁷

Wake up, apple tree in May, full of blossom, full of apples,
with gold branches and silver leaves.

The magnitude of a disaster such as the loss of a child lead the mourning mother to original, poetic imagery:

Εφούντωσε η καρδούλα μου και καίει σαν καμίνι,
που ο Δούναβης ο ποταμός να πέσει δεν τη σβήνει.¹⁸

¹⁵ Kougeas 2000, 10.

¹⁶ Katsoulakos 2002, 77.

¹⁷ Kougeas 2000, 106.

Relationship of the official mourner with the deceased

*My poor heart is on fire, burning like a furnace,
if the River Danube were to fall on it, still it would not quench it.*

The *moiroloia* express the psychological makeup of the community and the values which it adheres to. A public lament does not overshadow brotherly love:

– *Ε μάρη μου Γαρυφαλιά,
για σένα αστράφτει και βροντά
και ρίχνει βόλι στρογγυλό
κι αστροπελέκι κόκκινο
τ' έχασες μοναχόν καφό¹⁹.*

– *Wretched Garyfalia,
for you it is lightning and thunder
bullets of hail rain down
and the bolts of lightning are red
as you've lost your only brother.*

The loss of the natural protector of the family, his larger-than-life personality, perhaps, and his role in the family life enable his mourning wife to compose lines to great effect:

*Δένδρο είχαμε στην πόρτα μας και πύργο στην αυλή μας
εξεριζώθη το δεντρό και πλάκωσε τον πύργο.²⁰*

*We had a tree at our gate and a tower in our yard ...
the tree was uprooted and smashed the tower.*

The final departure of the deceased from the house provides the cue for the mourning to reach a climax, since the house, with which he is closely connected, is the work of his own hands:

– *Τέσσεροι τοίχοι του σπιτιού, έχετε καληνύχτα
και πέστε της γυναίκας μου δεν έρχομαι τη νύχτα²¹.*

¹⁸ Katsoulakos 2002, 83.

¹⁹ Koutsilieris 1997, 68. καφός=αδελφός (brother).

²⁰ Razelou 1870, 8.

– *I wish you good night, four walls of the house,
tell my wife that I won't return at nightfall.*

or:

– *Πόρτες και τάβλες του σπιτιού, όλα μετατοπίστε,
τι ο νοικοκύρης του σπιτιού δε ματασεργιανίζει²².*

– *Doors and planks inside the house, all of you change place,
Because the master of the house will never again walk around in here.*

Pain for the loss of a fiancé spills out purely and impulsively, creating a work of consummate skill. Here it is not Kali, the girl to whom the deceased was engaged, who is singing, but the official mourner, who is inspired by the girl's laments. Her grief at losing her beloved made a great impression on the male-dominated society of Mani:

*Εβγήκε η ξακουστή Καλή
στον Μιχαλέα την αυλή
κι ανέβη απάνου στο λιακό
με δίχως ψίκι και γαμπρό.
Δίχως κουμπάρο και παπά,
δίχως φουστάνια νυφικά
δίχως γαμπρό και στέφανα.
Κι έσκουξε απόγρια φωνή
η μάντρα ν' αναταραχτεί
κι ο λοντάς να κουνηθεί
να πέσουν τα ραφικά
να σπάσουν τα γυαλικά.²³*

*Famed Kali came out
in the courtyard of Michaleas's house
and climbed up onto the terrace.*

²¹ Katsoulakos 2002, 135.

²² Pasagiannis 1928, 19.

²³ Kassiss 1980, 109–115. The girl was Kali Mandouvalou, fiancé of Vasilis Michaleas. This *moiroloï* survives in many variations. The father-in-law, devastated by Kali's grief, offered his second son to her as a husband:

*Κι ο πεθερός της εμιλά:
– Καλή, δε φεύγεις από πα.
Σε θέου για το Φωτεινό
και για τον άλλονέ μου γιο.*

*Her father-in-law spoke to her and said:
– Kali, you don't have to leave this house.
I want you for Fotinos,
as my other son's wife.*

Relationship of the official mourner with the deceased

*There was no bridal procession, no groom,
no best-man or priest,
no wedding dress,
no bridegroom or marriage wreath.
She let out a terrible wail
That shook the wall of the yard
and made the furniture shift,
made the shelves collapse
and the glasses shatter.*

Knowing the time of the death being lamented contributes positively to the realisation of the work. “What a moment Death has chosen to take me!” is a line known throughout Greece. It was the day of St. George’s feast, and a dying woman from my home village asked to be lifted up in her bed so she could look outside. When she saw the effect of Spring in its pride she cried out: “What a paradise!” She died a short while later.²⁴ This coincidence in terms of timing has symbolic value.²⁵

Lamenting is generally the task of the women, as if it concerns them more than the men:

*Φεύγουν οι μάνες σκούζοντας κι οι αδελφές θρηνώντας
κι οι χήρες οι μαυρόχηρες τα μαλλιά τραβιώντας.*²⁶

*Mothers rush hither and thither and sisters lamenting,
widows, the black widows, tearing at their hair.*

There are occasions when men do the lamenting,²⁷ especially when the deceased is someone killed by the enemy; this recalls the night-long lament over the body of Patroclus:

*μυρομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι φάνη ροδοδάκτυλος
Ἥως ἄμφι νέκυν ἐλεεινόν....*²⁸

Rose-fingered Dawn appeared

A mother’s lament is impulsive and genuine:

*ὅπως με κλαίει η μανούλα μου, κανένας δεν με κλαίει*²⁹.

²⁴ One of my mother’s memories.

²⁵ Saunier 1999, 317.

²⁶ Kougeas 2000, 94.

²⁷ Katsoulakos 2002, 125. Motsios 1995, 359–362.

²⁸ Hom. Il. Ψ 109–110.

As my mother weeps for me, no other mourns.

Here memory serves as an apt source of inspiration:

*Άσπρη κολόνα του σπιτιού και μάρμαρο της βρύσης,
τη μαύρη γης αγάπησες, τη μάνα σου αρνήθης³⁰.*

*White column holding up the house, and marble at the spring,
you fell in love with the black earth and rejected your mother.*

Also:

*Παρακαλώ σε, μαύρη γης κι αραχνιασμένο χώμα,
αυτόν τον νιο που σου στείλα να μη μου τον πικράνεις.³¹*

*I beg you, black earth, cobwebbed soil,
the young man who I've sent to you, do not spoil him.*

What characterises the *moiroloï* is that it is not a prepared piece, but is improvised as it is being sung.³² The place where the deceased is laid out is considered sacred and the atmosphere is heavy with emotion (“καὶ γυναῖκες πάρεσιν αἱ προσήκουσαι ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον ὀλοφυρόμεναι”).³³

“Suddenly the deceased’s mother or wife or his sister³⁴ lets out a shrill cry. Then a great wail spreads. The pain which had been held back until then is released and a general lament begins, accompanied by blows to the chest and pulling of hair. A battle with Death ensues. The women become unrecognisable, they are so carried away, so changed in appearance by the enormous pain, so wild from looking at death face to face. When all this has been given vent, when the grief settles down, then starts the *moiroloï*; this has to be started by a woman of the household, a close relative and the most respected among family members.

The first *moiroloïa* are songs of anger, rage, containing curses and threats of revenge: anger against Death, who chooses to take young people, leaving behind mothers who will have a

²⁹ Pasajannis 1928, 13.

³⁰ Kougeas 2000, 103.

³¹ Theros 1909, 78.

³² Economides 1965–66, 19.

³³ Thuc. 2.34.4.

³⁴ “Your mother mourns you first, then your sisters”, Kougeas 2000, 91.

Relationship of the official mourner with the deceased

wretched old age, sisters who will remain unwed, young widows, little orphans without a protector; against Death who knows no holiday, Christmas or Easter, as he continues working even during the great feasts, never breaking off, never resting.

A *moiroloi* is recited in rhythm, bodies moving now to the right, now to the left, hands holding the ends of loosened hair together with the black headscarf, beating the chest rhythmically and with force. With every beat come violent words and every syllable is emphasized with hard, angry utterance. The last word is repeated by all the women as a refrain.

When another woman wishes take her turn at the *moiroloi* and continue it, she gives her hand to the first as if she is asking for her permission. Those who are skilled in the art of mourning will all take their turn and express their grief in their own words and to a different melody. Sometimes their violent movements make their black headscarves slip down on their shoulders and then you face a tragic sight, a devastating picture. Out of the black cloth you see emerge the white heads of the old - exposed, bent and tousled. You see eyes red from crying, you see tears roll down wrinkled faces, and you shudder".³⁵

At such moments, the women having reached a state of frenzy, a miracle of creation and recreation takes place. In the church's pious atmosphere, communication with the divine is more effective. "Ἐν ἐκκλησίαις εὐλογεῖτε τὸν Θεόν" ("worship God in church"). In the same way great athletic achievements are reached in open competition cheered on by the supporters.

Recording a *moiroloi*, an act which comes after its creation, poses no great difficulty. However a problem does arise if an official mourner is asked to repeat a specific song. It is as if she is being asked to relive the same event, the same drama, out of time and place. She will not want to do it. This is where the weakness of research lies, in recording reality. I will mention an example of my personal experience. When my mother was asked to recite a *moiroloi*, not only did she refuse, but she considered the suggestion as frivolous. Her reaction was, "just like that, without a dead body?" And she took her leave. It was as if you had asked a tragic actress to recite Antigone's lament in the sitting-room of her home and expected a highly finished result.

As a rule, those *moiroloia* which have been published appear without any information regarding the circumstances of their performance, without the vital details of the identity of the deceased and of the mourner. None of the published collections include historical, philological or ethnographic commentaries which would assist the reader to appreciate the substance of

³⁵ Dekosis 1983, 128-130.

the text. Such lack of information regarding the personality of the deceased, his relations with his fellow-villagers and the circumstances of his death often render the *moiroloï* incomprehensible.³⁶

The relationship with the deceased is directly related to the depth of the artistic inspiration:

*Μα σα δεν στράψει δεν βροντά, σα δεν βροντά δεν βρέχει
και σαν δεν κλαιν οι εδικοί, οι ξένοι πώς θα κλαίνε;*

*Α δε φουσκώσει η θάλασσα, ο βράχος δεν αφρίζει
κι αν δε σε κλάψει η μάνα σου, ο κόσμος δεν δακρύζει.*

*Μην μπιστευτείς, μανούλα μου, τα ξένα μοιρολόγια·
οι ξένοι αλάργα κάθονται κι ανάρια ανάρια κλαίνε,
κι αριά τραβάνε τα μαλλιά, να μην τριχοπονέσουν.
Δεν χύνουν δάκρυα καυτερά, να καίν' τα μάγουλά τους,
να πέφτουν και στα στήθια τους να καίγεται η καρδιά τους³⁷.*

*If there is no lightning there is no thunder, and if there is no thunder there is
no rain
and if your own kin don't mourn you, why should strangers keen?*

*If the sea doesn't swell, the rock doesn't foam,
and if your mother doesn't mourn you, the world won't shed a tear.*

*Sweet mother, don't trust a stranger's lament;
Strangers sit at a distance and cry just a little bit,
they tear at their hair carefully so that it won't hurt.
They don't shed hot tears that would burn their cheeks,
tears that would fall on their breast and burn their heart.*

If we know the mourner, her relationship to the deceased, and the circumstances which brought about the death, as well as other details which would possibly complete the picture, we would be able to approach the result with more confidence. The degree of kinship, the nature of the relationship, these are details directly analogous to the quality and the originality of the inspiration and the aptness of its conception. Modern researchers have highlighted particularly the question of gifted individuals who have contributed to the shaping of the art.³⁸ "A talented individual can sense where

³⁶ Saunier 1999, 19.

³⁷ Motsios 1995, 51.

³⁸ Motsios 1995, 16.

Relationship of the official mourner with the deceased

there are certain needs and proceeds to fulfil them within the framework of tradition, in such a way that the other members of the group consider that the innovation expresses fully their own feelings as well as the intentions of the whole community... However, in each of these cases the individual relies not only on an artistic inheritance, the perpetuator of which he considers himself to be, but also his personal talent, which can only flourish within the framework of that tradition".³⁹

During the wake at Kokkala in Mani for Mitsos Mourkakis, who fell in the battle at Sarandaporo (1912), Dimostenena Kouvarina mourned her own son Yiannis Kouvaris, a medical student, who earlier had fallen at the same place:

– Χαιράμενή μου Σταν'ρ'ανού
που να χαρείς ό,τ' αγαπάς
κι από δεκχιά κι από ζερβγιά
μόνε και 'μένα άσε μου.

...

Έλα κοντά μου, Λιβανά,
τ' εσύ το γνώριζες καλά
ότι το χαϊδανάστησα
κι ότι το σπούδαξα γιατρό
για τα καλά γεράματα
κι απέει⁴⁰ μου το σκοτώσασι
εκεί 'ς το Σαραντάπορο.⁴¹

– Mother Stavrianos, I beg you
in the name of all that you love,
from those to your left and to your right,
let me sing, too.

...

Come close to me, Livana,
as you know very well
I raised him lovingly
and saw him through his studies to make him a doctor,
for me to enjoy my old age.
But now they've killed him
over at Sarandaporo.

A relative of Mourkakis continued the lament:

³⁹ Motsios 1995, 20.

⁴⁰ Απέει < απέκει, ύστερα, μετά (later, afterwards).

⁴¹ Koutsilieris 1997, 129, 131. Kassis 1980, 253–260.

Συγνώμη ζας παρακαλού
όλος ο κόσμος κι ο λαός,
τη χάρη να μου κάμετε
και τίποτα δε χάνετε.
– Ε κορωνίτσα μου χρυσή,
δόμον την άδεια και συ
να το μιλήσουν ναν το πον
στου φίλου μας του λικρινούς
πο' χαθη ένα καλό παιδί
για της πατρίδας την τιμή.⁴²

*Forgive me,
all of you,
please grant me the favour [and listen to me]
and you won't lose by it.
– Little gold crown,
give me your permission, too,
to tell all our true friends
that a good lad is gone
for the honour of his country.*

A very well-known *moiroloï* from this region says:

*Όγιοις δεν έχει πεθατούς δεν κλαίει τους πεθαμένους,
όγιοις δεν έχει σκοτωτούς δεν κλαίει τους σκοτωμένους.*

*Whoever has no dead relatives does not mourn the dead,
whoever has lost no-one in battle does not mourn those killed.*

Two examples suffice to prove this belief. Evgenia Katsoulakou (1901–2005) lost her father when she was two years old and her mother when she was nineteen. Her only family was her grandmother, whom she accompanied at all the funerals in the village. She herself, when she became older, was an official mourner during funerals and memorial services, both at the grave and in the house of the deceased. She never sang ordinary songs and when comments were made about that she would find some excuse. The pain of losing her loved ones during childhood had become a second nature to her. Often upon the death of a relative or friend she would mark the event with certain lines from *moiroloïa* which she had selected and would use as appropriate. Once she asked, “I hear the bell toll, who has died?” When she

⁴² Koutsilieris 1997, 135.

Relationship of the official mourner with the deceased

was told, she commented using such a phrase: “The widow sits indoors, while people gossip outside”. The following two *moiroloia* illustrate the potential differences in the lament’s climax and in the inspiration that gives rise to it. The first was composed during the funeral of Stavroula Panagaki (at Krokeés in 1972), the second during the funeral of Veneta Lintzeri (at Katsoulaiika in 1989). The first woman was simply an acquaintance, while the second was a close friend and confidante:

– Λιγάκι σας παρακαλώ
και μένα να μ’ αφήσετε
να κλάψω και να λυπηθώ
στον πόνο σας το βαρετό.
Χατίρι η αγάπη σας,
χατίρι ολωνώνε σας,
χατίρι άλλη μια φορά
για πεθαμένα κόκκαλα.

*I beg you
to let me, too,
weep and mourn
and share the burden of your pain.
It will be a favour for your kind hearts,
A favour to all of you,
once again,
to the bones of the dead.*

– Πού πας, κασέλα κάρυνη με το μαργαριτάρι;
– Με χάρηκε το σπίτι μου, ας με χαρεί ο Άδης.
– Που πας, κασέλα κάρυνη και κλειδωνιά ασημένια,
που λέγαμε τα λόγια μας κι ήτανε κλειδωμένα;
Μη φύγεις, μην αναχωρείς
για’ θα μεταμεληθείς.
Η γης δεν έχει στρώματα,
κρεβάτια και παπλώματα,
ήτε προσκέφαλα διπλά·
μον’ έχει λάσπες και νερά.
Μη φεύγεις κι αφήνεις τα παιδιά
και ασκημίσει η γειτονιά.⁴³

– *Where are you going, walnut chest, chased with pearls?*
– *My home has enjoyed having me, let now Hades rejoice in me.*

⁴³ Katsoulakos 2002, 111, 134.

Theodoros S. Katsoulakos

*–Where are you going, walnut chest dressed with a silver lock?
We used to tell each other everything and lock our words inside.
Don't go, don't depart from us,
because you will regret it.
The earth has no mattresses,
no beds, no quilted covers,
no double pillows for your head.
All it has is mud and water.
Don't go and leave your children alone
and let the neighbourhood grow ugly.*

Despo Georgouli (1891–1968) from Xirokambi had lost her husband in the Balkan Wars (at the battle of Bizani in 1913) and her son Sofianos in the war against Italy (1940–1941). Sofianos did not use the excuse of his father's death for exemption from serving in the army, but found himself in the front line. One of his colleagues wrote about it: "I saw him at Katara, near Metsovo, when we were advancing. I was surprised and asked him, 'What are you doing here? Why have you left Despo on her own?' He replied jokingly, 'The country's borders are here, not down at Vatia'."⁴⁴

Despo Georgouli was destined to mourn those who died in battle. On such occasions she was heard to say, "No other woman has suffered and mourned like me". Unfortunately only one *moiroloi* survives out of many she composed. Even in this one she laments the loss of her son:

*Θε μου, να ρίξει ένα νερό κι ένα κακό χαλάζι,
να μείνει ο Χάρος στα βουνά, να τονε φάν' τ' αγρίμια.
Παίρνει τω μανάδων τα παιδιά, των αδερφιών τ' αδέρφια,
παίρνει και τω χηράδωνε τους ευλοητικούς⁴⁵ τους.
Στον Άδη που θα κατεβείς καλό παράδεισο να βρεις
και να κοιτάξεις και να δεις
και το παιδί μου για να βρεις
και πες του γρήγορα να ρθει
που μ' άφηκε μοναχή
σαν την καλόγρια στο κελλί.⁴⁶*

*God, send a downpour and hard hail,
so that Death stays up in the mountain, so that the wild animals can devour
him.
He takes a mother's children, a brother's brothers,*

⁴⁴ Dekosis 1983, 127. Vantias is an olive grove next to Xirokambi.

⁴⁵ Ευλοητικός = σύζυγος (spouse, from a marriage blessed in church).

⁴⁶ Katsoulakos 2002, 103.

Relationship of the official mourner with the deceased

a widow's blessed husband.

*When you go down to Hades, may you find paradise there,
look carefully
and find my child
and tell him to come home quickly,
for he has left me all alone
like a nun inside her cell.*

A recent scholar comments as follows: "Our job is to provide enough information so that the reader can appreciate the context of the *moiroloi*. But our primary aim is to reproduce the texts in the form in which they were originally recited. If we succeed in this, then we will have given our reader the chance to learn the idiom of a certain region (e.g. the Mani), which survives only in the *moiroloia*".⁴⁷ K. Pasayiannis also recognises this historical responsibility when he owns, "I did all I could, having to work unaided".⁴⁸

In conclusion, one has to ask, what is the purpose of such efforts? First of all one must seek out the talented official mourner, a woman who is able to compose verses, who can apply formulaic phrases skilfully to meet the specific occasion. Above all, one looks for a particular individual who, whilst performing, can transform (as Paul Valéry says) an exclamation into poetry, that is, an original mournful lament. The tradition of *moiroloia* may have declined or even died out, but the wealth of existing material will continue to occupy scholars, leading to opinions and analyses which increase our knowledge and often solve specific problems.

⁴⁷ Koutsilieris 1997, 19–20.

⁴⁸ Pasagiannis 1928, γ.

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CHAPTER 16

FUNERARY STATUARY OF THE ARCHAIC PERIOD IN THE PELOPONNESE

GEORGIA KOKKOROU-ALEVRAS

INTRODUCTION

As has been observed for some time now, during the Archaic period free-standing sculpture is rare in the Peloponnese. The same applies to reliefs, with the exception of the mysterious and large group of Laconian, so-called 'hero' reliefs.¹ This observation is all the more notable given that some of the most powerful centres of the period, that is to say city-states such as Sparta, Argos, Corinth or Sikyon, flourished in the Peloponnese. This phenomenon has not been satisfactorily explained to date, in spite of the continuous attempts and the interesting theories proposed by many researchers.² The same phenomenon can also be recognized, in a similar way, in the case of sculpted grave monuments in the Peloponnese. Whilst these are found in Attica in particular, but also in other archaic centres such as Thera, Samos and Ionia, a great number of funerary statues of all the varied types of Archaic sculpture: kouroi, korai, seated figures, riders, lions and mythical beasts (sphinxes and gorgons); in the Peloponnese, as we shall see, only one statue of a kouros could until recently be associated with a cemetery.³ The number of

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¹ For the Laconian, so-called 'Hero-reliefs' see: Stibbe 1991–92, 1–44, esp. 40. Hibler 1993, 199–204; Salapata 1993, 189–97; Förtsch 2001, 178–180, 218–19; Kokkorou-Alevras 2006, 89–90.

² Ridgway 1977, 70, 143; Förtsch 2001, 182–83; Kokkorou-Alevras 2002, 136–38 with further bibliography. Kokkorou-Alevras 2006, 94. Meyer-Brüggemann 2007, 115, 130–32.

³ For kouros and kore statues see Meyer-Brüggemann 2007, tables 1 and 2. Cf. Karakasi 2002, 146, 156 with table 5, 161 with table 1, 165 with table 11. For the seated man from Kerameikos,

the other types of statuary, notably lions, which can be characterised as funerary, is rather greater. Just as rare in all the centres of the Peloponnese are grave monuments in relief, if we omit the group of Laconian reliefs, whose interpretation is ambiguous and, in any case, problematic, and which will not be discussed further in this paper.⁴ Finally, the inscribed pillars, columns and capitals, which have been found mainly in the area of Troizene and the Argolid, form another category of funerary monument from the Peloponnese.⁵

STATUES OF LIONS

The majority of the funerary sculptures which have been preserved from the Peloponnese are statues of lions. Very well-known among the old finds is the limestone lion from Perachora, which today is on display in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.⁶ The lion, 0.95 m high, represents the type of the seated lion, that is to say it rests on its hind legs, which are folded underneath it, its fore-legs are straight whilst the head is turned at right angles to its right. The statue was found in 1890 in the field belonging to G. Aikaterinis at the entrance to Perachora and was interpreted from the beginning as funerary, although there is no reference to the existence of tombs or other monuments in the area, nor to a sanctuary. Its seated pose and the turn of its head to one side, which was evidently the front view of the statue, led E. Buschor initially, and other researchers since, to the view that it had been placed on a pillar, in the manner of the statues of funerary sphinxes with a similar stance.⁷ As far as concerns at least the inscribed funerary monuments, which have survived from the Argolid and have been identified as pillars by Jeffery,⁸ the great

the Kerameikos rider etc. see Ridgway 1977, chapter 6, 149–63. The only certain Peloponnesian grave kouros was the kouros of Tenea: Meyer-Brüggemann 2007, 209 no. 335. Recently (2010) two new, almost intact, life-size statues of kouroi were seized and handed over to the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. They were almost certainly found in a field very close to the village of Klelia in the Corinthia, where an Archaic necropolis is under excavation and where the shins of both kouroi later came to light. I would like to thank Dr. K. Kissas, Director of the 37th Ephorate at Corinth for all the relevant information.

⁴ *Supra* n. 2. For Peloponnesian undecorated grave stelai see *infra* n. 47.

⁵ IG IV 800, 801. Welter 1941, 39–40. Jeffery 1990, 168 no. 15, 169 no. 16 pl. 27, 181 no. 2, 182 no. 3. Compare Hansen 1983, 75 no. 138, 76 no. 139, 74 no. 136. A find of the 80s is a thick, unfluted column in volcanic stone from Methana, which was found in a watering sump and will be published by the archaeologist M. Giannopoulou who informed me about this find: Giannopoulou (in press).

⁶ MFA inv. no. 97.289. Gabelmann 1965, 40, 48–50, 113 no. 29, pl. 5,1–2; Floren 1987, 190, pl. 14, 3; Bookidis 1995, 244; Mertens-Horn 1995, 273, pl. VI; Kourinou 2002–03, 18 with n. 4 (extensive bibliography), 22–31, figs 11–12.

⁷ Buschor 1926, 148–9. Kourinou 2002–03, 31.

⁸ *Supra* n. 5

Archaic funerary statuary

majority of them are unfluted or octagonal columns (**FIG. 1–2**). The oblong, rectangular plinth of the Perachora lion is certainly suitable for placing the statue either on a pillar or on a column, as one can judge from the plinth of the Sphinx of the Naxians at Delphi which was, as is well known, placed on top of an Ionic column.⁹ That lion statues placed on columns were one of the forms of archaic Ionian funerary monument is illustrated by the lion from the beginning of the Severe Style, which was placed on the tomb of Mikos, son of Metrodoros.¹⁰ H. D. Niemeier has also restored a funerary lion from the Kerameikos cemetery on top of a Doric column.¹¹ Doric capitals with funerary inscriptions are also known from the Peloponnese.¹² The Perachora lion dates to 570–560 BC and is the earliest preserved funerary lion from the Peloponnese.



FIG. 2 (above). Unfluted column from Troizen. M. Giannopoulou, KST' EPKA.

FIG. 1 (left). Octagonal column from Troizen. M. Giannopoulou, KST' EPKA (Ephoreia Proistorikon kai Klassikon Archaïotiton).

Remarkably similar, but perhaps a little more recent, from 560–550 BC, is the lion (0.85 m high) which was seized in 2001 and handed over to the National Archaeological Museum in Athens with inventory number 15241 (B.E. 23/2001) (**FIG. 3**). Its obvious stylistic and typological similarity with the lion from Perachora, and its stance, which also recalls funerary sphinxes,

⁹ Homolle 1909, 41–54; Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 118 no. 87 with extensive bibliography.

¹⁰ Akurgal 1961, 279–80 fig. 249. Gabelmann 1965, 92; 119 no. 105. Ridgway 1977, 155, 179. Floren 1987, 333.

¹¹ This restoration was proposed by H. D. Niemeier in his paper at the International Symposium which was organized by the University of Athens, Department of Archaeology and the History of Art, and the German Archaeological Institute of Athens, Athens 2–3 of November 2007 (to be published).

¹² Jeffery 1990, 159, 169 no. 16 pl. 27. Hansen 1983, 74 no. 136.

make very probable its placing on top of a column rather than a pillar, as has been proposed, and most probably its use as a funerary monument. It makes, therefore, one more example of funerary sculpture from the Peloponnese, and, indeed, of Corinthian manufacture, as was convincingly proposed by E. Kourinou, who published it.¹³ Furthermore, its attribution to the same artist as the lion of Perachora not only confirms the artistic excellence of the artist, but also establishes his productivity. Indeed, had the lion turned its head to the left rather than to the right, we could have suggested that both these closely-related lions belonged to the same funerary monument, as for example has been proposed by V. Barlou in the case of the two sphinxes which were found at the Kerameikos in Athens, where they were mounted on Ionic columns forming not the standard crowning elements of Attic funerary stelai, but independent grave markers (*semata*).¹⁴ The turn of the head, however, of both lions in the same direction rules out any such hypothesis.

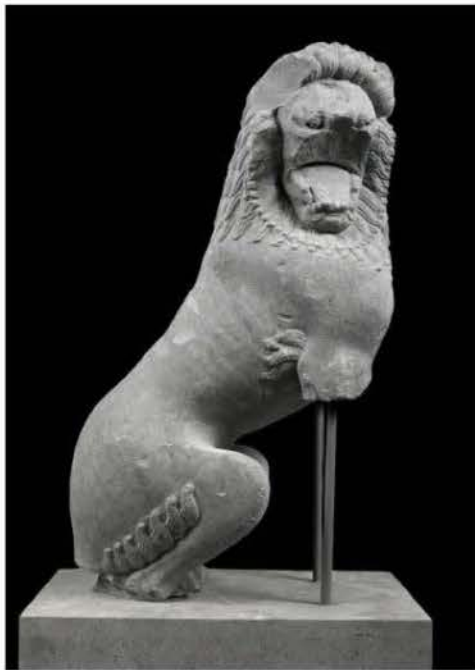


FIG. 3. Lion NMA (National Archaeological Museum of Athens) no. 15421.



FIG. 4. Sikyon lion:
LZ'EPKA.

The category of a seated animal is *further* represented by the lion which was found near Sikyon and which dates to the mid-6th century BC (FIG. 4).¹⁵ This example is also made of limestone, it is preserved to a height of approximately 1 m, and plainly it would have marked the grave of a

¹³ Kourinou 2002–03, 23–31.

¹⁴ I thank Dr. V. Barlou very much for providing me with her reconstruction of the double sphinx-column monument at Kerameikos.

¹⁵ Floren, 1979, 40–42 pl. 1, 2–4. Floren 1987, 211 with n. 4. Mertens-Horn 1988, 35.

Archaic funerary statuary

distinguished Sikyonian, as is confirmed by the site of its discovery. In all probability it was also set up in the same way, that is to say on top of a column.

Another, plainly funerary lion from Dimitsana¹⁶ (FIG. 5–6) in the Peloponnese with dimensions similar to the lions already mentioned, and this time made of marble, is represented seated but does not turn its head to one side. It was discovered close to an ancient tomb and so its funerary function is certain. Consequently, we can surmise that it too was mounted on a column, like the others; it has been dated to the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 5th century BC.



FIG. 5. Dimitsana lion. 39th EPKA.

FIG. 6. Dimitsana lion. 39th EPKA (as it was found, in two fragments, before restoration).

Also belonging to a seated lion is the headless body of a lion from Orchomenos in Arcadia (FIGS 7–8), which originally was thought to be a kouros or a strange sculpture.¹⁷

The lion from Kythera¹⁸ can also be included among the group of seated, funerary statues of lions, since its style looks to be Laconian and its pose and dimensions are comparable to all the other Peloponnesian lions.

¹⁶ First mention by Schroeder 1912, nos. 641–645, p. 8 n. 9. Duhn 1878, 80; Milchhöfer 1879, 129. Gabelmann 1969, 100 n. 415. Floren 1987, 229 with n. 10. For systematic publication see Kourinou 1990.

¹⁷ Hiller von Gärtringen, Lattermann, 1911, 29, fig. 5, pl. 8,2. Karapanagiotou 1996, 145 who is preparing a systematic publication of it.

¹⁸ Kythera Museum inv. no. 250. Gabelmann 1965, 77, 80 no. 92. Floren 1987, 218. Kokkorou-Alevras 1993, 93 with n. 17, 97–98 pl. 23,2. Sourlas (in press)



FIG. 7. Lion from Orchomenos in Arcadia. DAI Athen, neg. no. D-DAI-ATH-Arkadien 71.



FIG. 8. Lion from Orchomenos in Arcadia. DAI Athen, neg. no. D-DAI-ATH-Arkadien 72.



FIG. 9. Lion from Loutraki in Copenhagen no. 1297.

FIG. 10. Lion from Loutraki in Copenhagen no. 1296.



Archaic funerary statuary

The exact find-spot of a pair of facing lions, found near Loutraki (**FIGS 9–10**), and the manner in which they were set up, is unknown.¹⁹ These limestone lions would certainly have made up a pair as not only are they almost identical and symmetrical but exactly contemporary. The length of their bases, one metre, is due to the crouching stance in which they are depicted. Their mounting on columns – according to V. Barlou the pair of sphinxes from Kerameikos were placed on Ionic columns in a funerary context²⁰ – or even pillars is not impossible, given that the plinth of the Sphinx of the Naxians at Delphi, which was placed on a column measuring 9.90 m high, measures 1.38 m.²¹ All the same it is not impossible that they were placed with their bases set directly on top of a funerary enclosure wall²² or at the top of a funerary tumulus, or finally on a funerary building, as J. Floren has suggested.²³

STATUES OF SPHINXES

The next type of funerary monument which we shall examine is the sphinx. A limestone sphinx was found in the agora of ancient Corinth thrown into a channel used in the Byzantine period, whilst part of the back of its head was built into a wall, likewise of the Byzantine period. It has also been identified as a funerary monument.²⁴ It closely resembles the Attic sphinxes which crowned funerary stelai, like the sphinx, also of limestone, in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.²⁵ The seated pose of the beast, as well as the turn of its head at right angles towards the right of its body, shows that its use can only

¹⁹ Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek inv. nos 1296 and 1297. Gabelmann 1965, 115 no. 58a–b, pl. 8. Floren, 190. Bookidis 1995, 244. Kourinou 2002–03, 23–31. Niemeier 2002, 36–40 fig. 50. For a large scale, unpublished lion head in limestone from the area of the Theatre at Corinth (inv. no. S– 3539) see Bookidis 1995, 244.

²⁰ Paper of Dr. V. Barlou in Kokkorou, Alevras & Niemeier (in press).

²¹ Amandry 1953, 13.

²² The existence of funerary enclosures in the Peloponnese has been confirmed through excavations in various parts of the north-east Peloponnese, as my colleagues in the Archaeological Service who have excavated cemeteries there have kindly confirmed.

²³ Floren, 1987, 190. In any case, even if one were to accept the doubts over their style as Peloponnesian, which have been raised by Mertens-Horn (Mertens-Horn 1988, 34–36), an opinion which I would question, the important point, as far as concerns the issue which we are discussing, is the choice of this sort of funerary monument and of this type of lion.

²⁴ Richter 1961, 17 no. 15, figs 50–53. Floren 1987, 191. Bookidis 1995, 242 pl. II, 6.

²⁵ Richter 1961, 16 no. 14, figs 46–49. Indeed, it was for this reason that this work was included in the catalogue of Attic funerary stelai by G. M. A. Richter, as the author herself explains. For the very same reason J. Floren considers the New York sphinx Corinthian: Floren 1987, 191. Bookidis 1995, 242 with n. 38.

be funerary or architectural. But there are no indications to confirm either the one or the other use.

The head of a limestone sphinx in Amsterdam²⁶ has been interpreted as funerary. Likewise, the fragment of a head found in an Early Christian fill in the area of the ancient theatre at Corinth, probably also belonged to a similar limestone sphinx.²⁷ However, the identification as a sphinx and even more the function of the statue are in doubt.



FIG. 11. Marble sphinx of Corinth, front view: LZ'EPKA.



FIG. 12. Marble sphinx of Corinth, back view: LZ'EPKA.

The most impressive, however, and certainly funerary, sphinx from the area of Corinth is the marble example found in 1972 in the NW part of the city, in the area of an ancient cemetery by E. Protonotariou-Deilaki.²⁸ It is an important marble monument (**FIGS. 11 and 12**), of the type where the seated sphinx squats, resting the whole of its pelvis on its folded hind legs, just like the lions and the early Attic seated sphinxes. Happily, for this sphinx the head also survives, turned at right-angles to the right of the body. In all probability, this statue was also set on a column, like the other funerary seated lions which we have examined. Its date in the second quarter of the sixth century BC, probably in the decade 560–550 BC, shows that during this period statues of lions and sphinxes formed independent funerary monuments in the Peloponnese, and especially in Corinth.²⁹

²⁶ Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam inv. no. 9240. Brijder 1976, no. 1 pl. 1–2. Floren 1987, 191 with n. 31.

²⁷ Kaufmann & Williams 1982, 144 no. 85 pl. 46. Floren 1987, 191 with n. 30.

²⁸ Corinth Museum inv. no. MK 1633. Protonotariou-Deilaki 1973, 181–187, fig. 1–7. Jucker 1976, 186. Wright 1977, 250. Walter-Karydi 1987, 55–56. Croissant 1988, 91–166, esp. 132–39. Rolley 1994, 249. Bookidis 1995, 242–43, pl. V. Kreikenbom 2002, 141, 146, 149, 161, 185, 311, fig. 242.

²⁹ An important find is the fragment of a marble statue of a sphinx of the classical period which was also found in a context dating to Byzantine times. Once again we cannot claim with complete certainty that it was a funerary sculpture, even though it was found close to a cemetery. I am deeply grateful to Dr A. Papadimitriou who very kindly sent me a photograph of the sculpture, about which I was initially informed by my colleague Chr. Pitteros.

KOUROI, KORAI AND OTHER STATUARY TYPES

The statue of a siren³⁰ (FIG. 13) has been interpreted as a grave-marker; 0.31 m high and dating to the 2nd half of the sixth century BC, only its body is preserved today in the Archaeological Museum of Corinth. If it was indeed funerary, it would be a rare type of grave marker. More commonly they were employed for dedicatory monuments, as is borne out by the statue of a siren from the sanctuary at Delos.³¹ According to Agnes Newhall Stillwell who published it, the siren from Corinth was set on a pillar. At the same time she does not rule out an architectural use of the piece.



FIG. 13. Siren of Corinth S 1473. ASCSA neg. no. 3475.

A fragment of the muzzle/nose of a horse made of marble found in the Corinth region could perhaps have belonged to a funerary monument, but there is not enough relevant information.³²

Statues of kouroi from the Peloponnese³³ which could be considered as funerary are a lot fewer. Certainly funerary is an intact kouros from the village of Tenea, close to modern Athikia, in the Corinthia.³⁴ Smaller than life-size, this kouros is a typical product of a Corinthian workshop, probably showing Parian influence and dating to the decade 550–540 BC.

Furthermore the crude head from Lepreon in Arcadia probably belonged to a kouros, even if it does not have the standard characteristics of a kouros statue of its time, such as long hair. It is not at all sure, however, that it is another example of free-standing funerary sculpture from the Peloponnese.³⁵

³⁰ Corinth Museum inv. no. S-1473. Stillwell 1948, 70–71, pl. 26–27. Floren 1987, 191 with n. 33. The circumstances of the statue's discovery do not permit us to draw safe conclusions. For Archaic statues of sirens see Ridgway, 1977, 160–61.

³¹ Delos Museum A 3995. Buschor 1944, 42 fig. 30. Ridgway 1977, 160–61. Floren 1987, 170 with n. 83. Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 148.

³² Corinth Mus. Inv. no. S 2833. Wiseman 1967, 421 pl. 89b. Floren 1987, 191 with n. 34.

³³ For Peloponnesian, possibly funerary kouroi see Meyer-Brüggemann 2007, 208–09, nos. 333, 334 and 335 with bibliography.

³⁴ *Supra* no. 3.

³⁵ *Supra* no. 334. Moustaka (in press)

Equally uncertain is whether the head of a kouros, Athens National Museum inventory no. 63, belonged to a funerary statue, given that all we know about it is that it comes from the area in which the agora of ancient Epidauros is thought to be located. The same applies to the lower body of a kouros in the Museum at Epidauros (inv. no. 305 today) which does not, as was once believed, belong with the head, but which comes from approximately the same find-spot, and consequently whose use is equally uncertain.³⁶

Yet another lower torso of a kouros, which is held in the Museum at Epidauros (inv. no. 172) has also been considered as funerary. It was found built into a wall at Ligourio, but in the opinion of V. Lambrinoudakis, who published it, it probably originated from the shrine of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros.³⁷ Hence, the circumstances of its discovery are not sufficient to allow it to be counted as a grave monument. All other statues of kouroi from the Peloponnese are dedicatory or cult-statues, though also few in number.³⁸

More striking is the absence of korai from the Peloponnese. As far as I know, not a single kore which can be linked with a cemetery has been found, a noteworthy fact.³⁹ However, even among the statues of seated figures it is doubtful whether any can be linked with funerary use. Thus both the post-Dedalic male or female statue made of poros, from Haghiorghitika in Arcadia, as well as the marble statue of Hagemo also from Arcadia, were probably cult or votive statues, probably representing deities.⁴⁰ The same applies to the late Archaic statue of a female figure in the Museum of Tripolis,⁴¹ and also to three seated figures in the Museum at Sparta,⁴² which are generally believed to represent the mother of the gods, Kybele or Rhea, as is indicated by the traces of an animal held by them or beside them.

RELIEF STELAI

Funerary stelai with relief decoration are almost completely unknown in the Peloponnese, if we except the puzzling Laconian 'hero' reliefs, which are

³⁶ *Supra* no. 333. Lambrinoudakis 1980, 474–83. Floren 206,7. Kokkorou-Alevras (in press)

³⁷ Lambrinoudakis 1980, 483–86.

³⁸ For the Peloponnesian dedicatory kouros statues see: Meyer-Brüggemann 2007, nos 190–192 with bibliography and table 2. For the new discovery of two more funerary kouroi statues from the Corinthia, see above n. 3.

³⁹ Floren 1987, 188 with n. 10, 207 with n.12. Meyer-Brüggemann 2007, 68 nos 105–106 with n. 316 and 317 and table 1.

⁴⁰ Athens, NAM inv. no. 6 and 57. Floren 228 with n. 3 and 4. Kaltsas 2002, 7 no. 8, no. 9 (with further bibliography). Kourinou (in press).

⁴¹ Spyropoulos 1993, 257–58 Figs 1–2.

⁴² Floren 1987, 217 with n. 27 and 28. De la Genière 1993, 154–56 figs 1, 3. Förtsch 2001, 215 Figs 317–320. Kokkorou-Alevras 2006, 91 fig. 2.

Archaic funerary statuary

probably of votive character.⁴³ A limestone stele was found in a salvage excavation at Argos in 1968.⁴⁴ The stele has carved in relief the lower part of the legs and the feet of a standing male figure, in the manner of the Attic stelai. Furthermore, a marble stele with the engraved representation of a hoplite, as well as an undecorated but inscribed stele of the Archaic period have been found in the West Necropolis of Troizen.⁴⁵ Finally a very interesting recent discovery: a marble stele, likewise Attic in type and theme, was presented by Ch. Pitteros recently.⁴⁶ It was found in the vicinity of a cemetery, in secondary use, however, incorporated into a level of late Byzantine date. A naked man, standing in profile to the right is represented in relief. On the other hand, undecorated stelai were used as grave markers at Argos and elsewhere in the Peloponnese.⁴⁷

CONCLUSIONS

Summing up, therefore, we observe that the most common type of funerary sculpture in the Peloponnese is the lion, followed by the seated sphinx. However, so far the use of statues of sphinxes as funerary monuments is assured only in the case of the complete, marble sphinx from Corinth.⁴⁸

Unique, and anyway uncertain, is the raising of a statue either of a siren or of a kouros over a tomb. Even if the kouroi from Epidauros and Lepreon could be identified with certainty as funerary, and despite the new find of two more (certainly funerary) kouroi from the Corinthia,⁴⁹ the rarity of the kouros type as grave statue over so large a region as the Peloponnese, with so many important cities, would still be noteworthy. The lack of korai

⁴³ *Supra* n.3. The limestone stele from Arcadia with two figures reminiscent of the stele of Kityllos and Dermys (Athens NAM inv. no. 56) has long been known but it is most probably not Archaic: Blum & Plassart 1914, 85–87. Jost 1985, 116, 425–26. Roy 2007, 21 fig. 12.

⁴⁴ Papachristodoulou 1969, 108 pl. 87 b. Floren 207 with n. 13.

⁴⁵ Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2003, 130 fig. 13. Giannopoulou 2009, 256–27.

⁴⁶ Pitteros (in press).

⁴⁷ I am most grateful to A. Papadimitriou for supplying me with relevant information on her finds from an Archaic cemetery at Argos. For an inscribed very early Archaic stele from Corinthia see: Jeffery 1990, 127, 131, no. 6 pl. 18.6 (=Hansen 1983, 72 no. 132); for a late Archaic–early Classical one: 215 no. 15. To a stele or a sarcophagus belonged the inscribed fragment from Asprokambos, Perachora: Jeffery 1990, 440 C. To an Archaic stele belonged also a fragment from Malea south east of Megalopolis: Jeffery 1990, 447, F. Finally, other types of funerary monuments include the inscribed columns, and capitals from the north-east Peloponnese which have been mentioned above (*supra* n. 5), as well as some other types of inscribed gravestones: Jeffery 1990, 131 no. 23, 132 no. 29 pl. 21, 132 no. 30, 175–76, 181,1 pl. 32,1 (=Hansen 1983, 75 no. 137), 206 no. 6 pl. 39.

⁴⁸ *Supra* n. 28. A fragment of a marble example of Classical date has also been found: *supra* n. 29.

⁴⁹ Meyer-Brüggemann 2007, nos 333 and 334. For the new kouroi, see *supra* n. 3.

and seated figures for such a use is remarkable; as is the scarcity of relief stelai. Thus, even if this picture is the result of chance, it can still be understood as indicative of the attitude of the Peloponnesians towards the immortalisation of the memory of the dead. The costly funerary statues of *kouroi*, *korai*, seated figures and riders which commemorate the dead aristocrats of Attica, the islands of the Cyclades and eastern Ionia, are rare in the Peloponnese, an observation which fits in with the rarity of such types of votive character.⁵⁰ More common are the funerary statues of lions followed, as we have seen, by sphinxes. This frequency is probably not unconnected with the symbolism of such beasts and monsters. Already from Homer we know that valiant warriors are compared with lions, a comparison also met with in later inscriptions.⁵¹ It is therefore very likely that the statues of lions marked the graves of brave, distinguished warriors in whose honour their home cities erected spectacular grave monuments. Indeed the pair of antithetic lions from Loutraki, today in Copenhagen, implies, as we have seen, a grandiose tomb for an outstanding individual or, more probably, individuals, perhaps of warriors killed in battle. The fact that these two statues were carved at the same time and by the same artist, as indicated by their style, and that they were erected together as a pair, makes it difficult to link them with an ordinary citizen. Furthermore, this practice, of setting lions over the collective graves or cenotaphs of those who died in battle, is known to us from the Classical period, the best examples being the lion at Chaironeia and the lion at Amphipolis.⁵² It is not out of the question, therefore, that this practice had its origin in a Peloponnesian custom or in a 'Dorian ideal' of life and death. In an earlier study I attempted to interpret the rarity of Archaic statuary in the Peloponnese, this Peloponnesian peculiarity, as derived from the Spartan ideology of the 'homoioi' which was adopted by or influenced all the Peloponnesian centres as, one might say, a 'Peloponnesian ideal'.⁵³ As for the funerary monuments there is an informative passage in Plutarch⁵⁴ according to which in Sparta the inscription of the name of the deceased was allowed only for those fallen in battle and for women who had held priesthoods (or had died in childbirth, as the passage has been emended).⁵⁵ In Xenophon's

⁵⁰ *Supra* n. 2 and 3.

⁵¹ Hom. *Il.* 5, 554, 10, 297, 16, 752 (for a more complete list of Homeric passages see: Markoe 1989, 115). *Anth. Pal.* VII, 426 (Antipater of Sidon); *IG* sept. I 2540. Kaibel 1965, 242. Collignon 1911, 911–92. Müller 1978, 13; Crome 1938, 53; Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1981, 38–63. Markoe 1989, 86–115 esp. 109–15; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 273.

⁵² Schroeder 1912, 14 with n. 47 fig. 18 (Chaironeia lion). Broneer 1941, 1–70. Lazaridis 1993, 86–87 fig. 48. (Amphipolis lion). Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 234–238. Furthermore the statue of a lioness stood over the tomb of the hetaira Lais at Corinth: Boardman 1986, 93.

⁵³ Kokkorou-Alevras 2002, 136–38 with relevant bibliography. Kokkorou-Alevras 2006, 94.

⁵⁴ Plut. *Lyc.* 27.

⁵⁵ The passage has been emended where it refers to childbirth: Hodkinson 2000, 244–45, 260–62.

Archaic funerary statuary

*Lakedaimonion Politeia*⁵⁶ likewise it is stated that Lykourgos banned inscriptions on monuments except those recording the war dead. Furthermore, funerary inscriptions of Hellenistic and later date probably show that the Lacedaemonians allowed the inscription of the names of women who had died in childbirth.⁵⁷ Whilst this practice refers to periods later than the Archaic, it no doubt reflects attitudes and practices of earlier times which would have been codified in the 'Lykourgan' law code, the establishment of which is placed chronologically, by modern research, from the second half of the seventh century BC up to and including the second half of the sixth century BC.⁵⁸ In any case, from the above it can be concluded that in Laconia at least it was permitted to record the names of those who had lost their lives in deeds/actions which especially contributed to the common good. The dissemination of this attitude to the rest of the Peloponnese, the greater part of which Sparta dominated in the Archaic period, not only is unsurprising but is to be expected.

It is additionally interesting that such monuments have been found in the great majority of cases in the area of the Corinthia – the lions of Perachora and Loutraki, the sphinx and siren of Corinth, the kouros of Tenea and the two new kouroi of Klelia – whilst the funerary monuments in other centres, such as the Argolid, Arcadia and Sikyon, are isolated. More generally the funerary monuments are concentrated in the north-east Peloponnese. We could argue that the Corinthia above all with its widespread trade links dating back to the past, but also the Argolid too, cities with a significant economic and political power, were precisely the regions which at the same time were influenced to some extent by Attica, the islands and Ionia in their custom/practice of marking their graves with carved stone monuments. It is also known that they were subject to the influence of these areas both in the types and in the styles of archaic sculpture.⁵⁹ It seems, all the same, that, this notwithstanding, the feeling that moderation in the advertising of the dead and their relatives through lavish carved monuments was the prevailing characteristic in the Peloponnese.

⁵⁶ *Lac. Pol.* 18.

⁵⁷ IG 5, 1, 713. 714. With reference to these inscriptions, on the emendation of the passage in Plutarch and strongly sceptical Hodkinson 2000, 260–62.

⁵⁸ Bengtson 1960, 112–16; Hodkinson 2000, 3–4; Förtsch 2001, 24–25, 86–87, 225–228; Mossé 2001, 173–174; Mossé & Schnapp-Gourbeillon 2002, 213–214; Baltrusch 2004, 47–48.

⁵⁹ Ridgway 1977, 70; Floren 1987, 188–89, 191, 206; Kanta-Kitsou 1996, 101. Kokkorou-Alevras 1999, 258–61 with n. 39.

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Archaic funerary statuary

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List of illustrations

FIG. 1. Octagonal column from Troizen. M. Giannopoulou, KST' EPKA (Ephoreia Proistorikon kai Klassikon Archaiotiton).

FIG. 2. Unfluted column from Troizen. M. Giannopoulou, KST' EPKA.

FIG. 3. Lion NMA (National Archaeological Museum of Athens) no. 15421.

FIG. 4. Sikyon lion: LZ'EPKA.

FIG. 5. Dimitsana lion. 39th EPKA.

FIG. 6. Dimitsana lion. 39th EPKA (as it was found, in two fragments, before restoration).

FIG. 7. Lion from Orchomenos in Arcadia. DAI Athen, neg. no. D-DAI-ATH-Arkadien 71.

FIG. 8. Lion from Orchomenos in Arcadia. DAI Athen, neg. no. D-DAI-ATH-Arkadien 72.

FIG. 9. Lion from Loutraki in Copenhagen no. 1297.

FIG. 10. Lion from Loutraki in Copenhagen no. 1296.

FIG. 11. Marble sphinx of Corinth, front view: LZ'EPKA.

FIG. 12. Marble sphinx of Corinth, back view: LZ'EPKA.

FIG. 13. Siren of Corinth S 1473. ASCSA neg. no. 3475.

CHAPTER 17

HONOURING THE DEAD OFF- STAGE: A CASE OF TOMB CULT SOUTH OF GRAVE CIRCLE B, MYCENAE

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM)

WITH A CONTRIBUTION BY ARGYRO NAFPLIOTI¹

INTRODUCTION²

During the winter of 2007, the authors of this paper recorded a series of small finds of the early Mycenaean period, kept in the storeroom of the Prehistoric Collection of the National Archaeological Museum at Athens³. The artefacts had remained for years on the shelves along with unrecorded and unidentified finds, under the general label, 'Mycenae'. After a short investigation in the Museum's library, we managed to identify the group of the objects as deriving from the chamber tomb south of Grave Circle B at

¹ We would like to extend our warmest thanks to Professor Spyridon Iakovides and to Dr. Vassileios C. Petrakos, General Secretary of the Archaeological Society at Athens, for granting us permission to study and present the excavation diaries and photographic archive, as well as to Ms Ioanna Ninou, responsible for the archives of the Archaeological Society, who offered her invaluable help; to the Director of the 4th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Dr Anna Banaka and to the archaeologist and good friend Ms Eleni Palaiologou, responsible for the Mycenae Archaeological Museum, who granted us permission to study and publish the material located there; to the conservators of the Mycenae Museum Ms Maria Dimitrakopoulou and Mr Michalis Skourtis, for the conservation of pottery and frescoes, as well as to the archaeologist Mr Nikos Katsaraïos and the guard of antiquities Mr Nikos Keramidas, for facilitating our work in every way during our stay at Mycenae. Finally we wish to thank our colleague in the National Archaeological Museum, Dr Anastasia Gadolou and the archaeologist Ms Athanassia Psalti responsible for the Eretria Museum, for their valuable insights on Geometric pottery and literature, as well as Dr Colin F. Macdonald for correcting the English version of this text.

² Abbreviations in this chapter:

EG: Early Geometric

LG: Late Geometric

GR 2b, 2c: Late Geometric 2b, 2c (Géometrique Récente 2b, 2c)

KM: Kunisch motif.

MM: Mycenae Archaeological Museum.

³ Discussion and study of the rich Mycenaean finds are still in progress and will be published soon.

*Eleni Konstantinidi-Syroidi, Constantinos Paschalidis and
Argyro Nafplioti*

Mycenae (FIGS 1, 2).⁴ The tomb – also curiously known as tomb 222, due to its absolute height above sea level, which is 222 m – was found and investigated by Ioannis Papadimitriou, under the shadow of the major excavation of the Circle, during the summers of 1952 and 1953 and was announced briefly in the periodical of the Archaeological Society.⁵ The rich evidence for honouring the dead and ancestors in various periods, found both inside the grave and in the surrounding area, is presented here for the first time⁶.

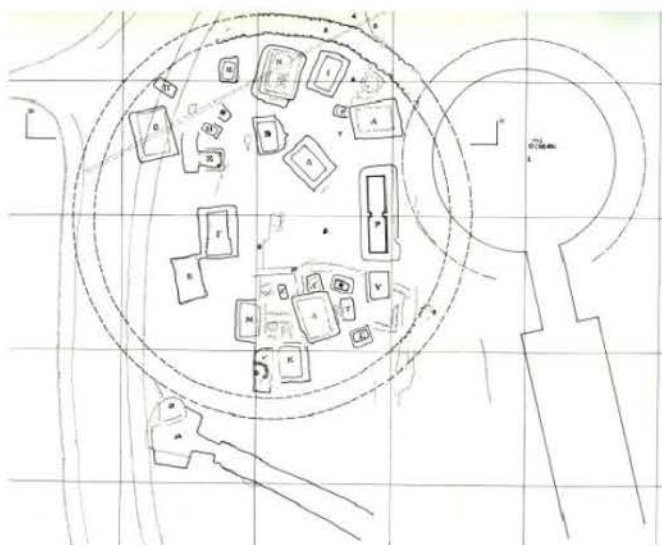


FIG. 1. Plan of Grave Circle B, the chamber tomb 222 and the tholos tomb of Clytemnestra. (After Mylonas 1973, table 1. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).



FIG. 2. Chamber tomb 222. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis, October 2008).

The various finds of the chamber tomb were divided between two museums: the pottery from the grave was transferred first to the Nauplion Archaeological Museum⁷ and then, in 2002, to the storerooms of the Mycenae Archaeological Museum, while the metal objects were sent for conservation to the National Archaeological Museum.⁸ The excavation diaries and photographs were kept in the Archive of the Archaeological Society. In the

⁴ Protonotartiou-Deilaki 1990, 89 and Antonaccio 1995, especially 47–8.

⁵ Papadimitriou 1952 and 1953. The chamber tomb is also mentioned in Mylonas 1972–73, 18, pls.1, 5 and discussed in Mylonas 1957, 171; also Whitley 1988, 178 n. 37 and Antonaccio 1995, 47–48, 250 as a case of Iron Age tomb cult in a Bronze Age tomb.

⁶ The matter of post-Mycenaean finds from Bronze Age tombs is open to discussion since Blegen's first treatment, Blegen 1937, 377–90; also Whitley 1988, 173–175 with references. Whitley presents the situation in Attica and in the Argolid and underlines the differences as a result of locally developed traditions and emerging ideologies; Whitley 1988, 176–182.

⁷ The excavator notes that he never completed the study of the sherds that were stored in cardboard boxes and which should join up into complete vases, Papadimitriou 1952, 472.

⁸ Papadimitriou 1952, 471.

Honouring the dead off-stage

following text, we present the conclusions of a preliminary study of the material located in both museums, as well as of the excavator's notes which were kindly put at our disposal. Dr Argyro Nafplioti has contributed a study of the animal bones from the grave, presented as an *appendix* at the end of this text.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMB

The tomb's dromos was 13 m long and 1.8–2.1 m wide, narrowing towards the entrance (FIGS 3, 4, 5). The earth floor of the dromos sloped down towards the entrance and its walls converged upwards. The tomb's *stomion* was found sealed with a dry-stone blocking up to half of its height, while the whole upper part was missing. The front and the sides of the *stomion* must have originally been coated with clay and decorated with painted plaster. The excavator collected a few fragments of coloured mortar from the walls of the *stomion*, while others were found scattered inside the chamber.⁹

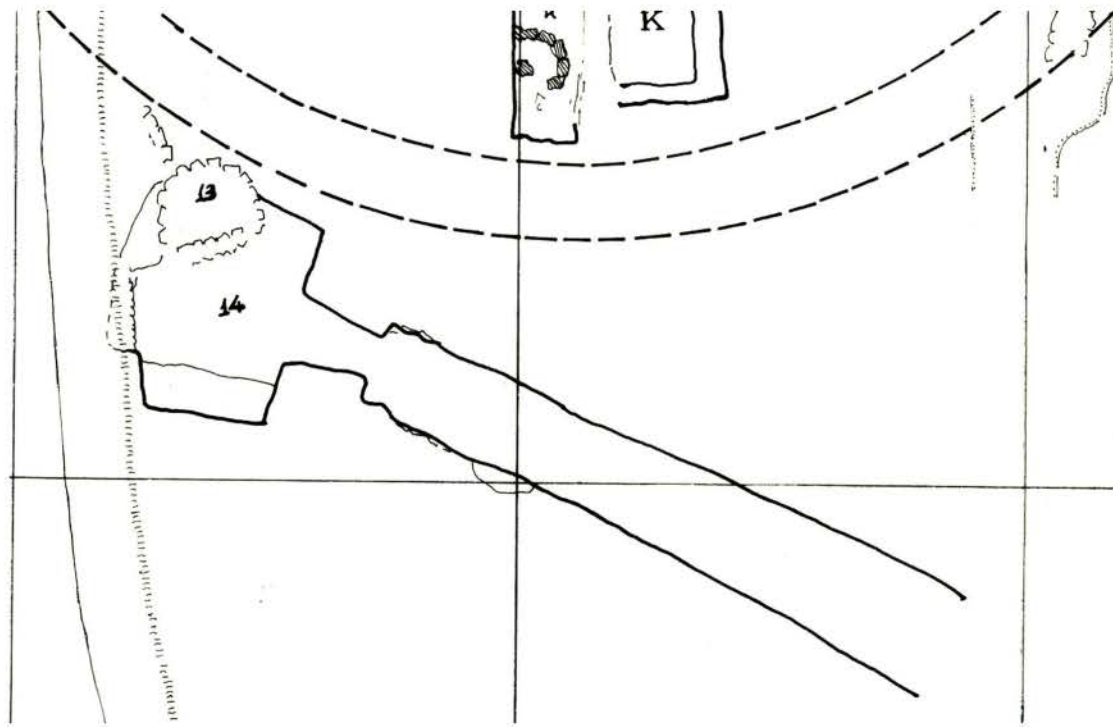


FIG. 3. Plan of the chamber tomb 222. (After Mylonas 1973, table 1. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

⁹ Papadimitriou 1952, 469. The few fresco fragments located at the Mycenae Museum, are currently under conservation.



FIG. 4. The chamber's *stomion* with a dry-stone blocking up to half of its height. (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, August 29, 1952. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

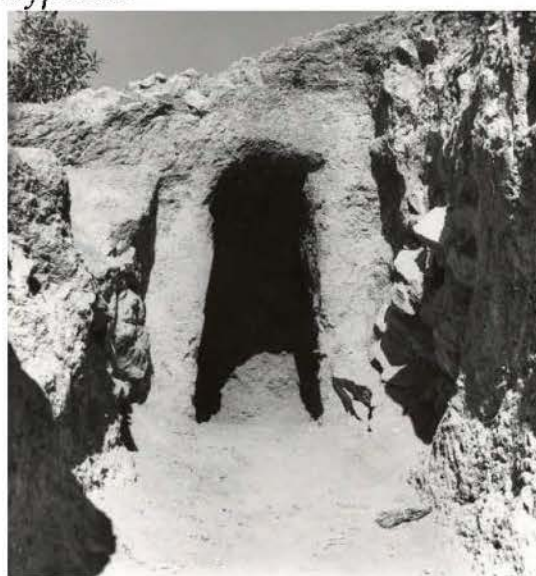


FIG. 5. The tomb's dromos. (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, August 29, 1952. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

The chamber had the shape of an irregular trapeze, measuring 4 x 2.5 m. It was filled with earth from the collapse of the rock-cut roof, and this is why it was excavated by means of a vertical trench from the roof to the floor, 2.40 m deep. The rock-cut walls were either not well preserved or entirely eroded, like the north and the west ones (see below). At the bottom of the south wall was revealed a low, bench-shaped construction of clay, 15–30 cm high, unfortunately without any finds *in situ*, which would aid its interpretation (FIG. 6).

The excavation of the chamber showed that the rock on the north and west sides of the chamber was completely eroded and had been almost entirely replaced by successive retaining walls.¹⁰ The better built of these, at the base of the west wall of the chamber, originally interpreted as a dry-stone blocking of a possible entrance to a side chamber or a niche, had subsequently included part of the foot of a Mycenaean lamp made of black steatite (FIG. 7).¹¹

The tomb was robbed and had been emptied of its original contents before the roof collapsed, as indicated by the absence of the upper part of the dry-stone walling at the entrance (FIG. 4). Of the surviving finds from the

¹⁰ Papadimitriou 1953, 209.

¹¹ The fragment of the stone lamp will be presented elsewhere, along with the rest of the Mycenaean finds of the grave.

Honouring the dead off-stage

tomb, none was found in its original position.¹² All finds date from the LH II–III A1 period.



FIG. 6. The low bench-shaped construction at the base of the chamber's south wall. (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, August 13, 1953. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).



FIG. 7. Successive retaining walls at the chamber's west side. (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, August 13, 1953. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).
Tombazi, August 29, 1952. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

The construction of this tomb, to the south of the MH cemetery, in a region where there are no other known chamber tombs, shows the importance of the deceased buried within and the special honours given by his relatives. Furthermore, the proximity of the chamber tomb to Circle B, where the one did not disturb the other, indicates the respect of the living for the ancestors buried in the MH and LH I graves, which should have still been visible, since Tomb Rho – the last of Circle B – had been built only a few decades earlier (in LH II).¹³ Finally, the chamber tomb was cut within the broader area of *Tumulus B*, namely the wide enclosure around Grave Circle B, defined by the Great Poros Wall. According to Protonotariou-Deilaki, a large part of *Tumulus B* remains unexcavated and probably contains both Mycenaean and MH graves. The choice of that spot for the chamber tomb follows a custom, common throughout Greece, of placing graves within a large tumulus, which was used over a period of centuries.¹⁴

¹² A selection of finds from the chamber is illustrated in Papadimitriou 1953, 210.

¹³ Mylonas 1972–73, 220.

¹⁴ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1990, 91.

*Eleni Konstantinidi-Syroidi, Constantinos Paschalidis and
Argyro Nafplioti*

More than a century after the last use of chamber tomb 222, the construction of the Clytemnestra Tholos tomb¹⁵ within the confines of *Tumulus B* destroyed part of Grave Circle B and the earth removed covered the whole area.¹⁶ Wace suggested that a mound of earth was piled over the tholos of the tomb of Clytemnestra, which also covered a good part of Circle B.¹⁷ Protonotariou-Deilaki argued against that theory, demonstrating that the Great Poros Wall excavated by the British School has a much larger perimeter than necessary, encompassing the Clytemnestra Tholos tomb, and that its calculated centre is not even near the centre of the tholos.¹⁸

Over the succeeding centuries the chamber tomb was robbed, as indicated by the missing upper half of the dry-stone blocking, and a little later the roof must have fallen. On the north side, next to the hollow formed in the ground by the collapse, a rough, circular construction of stones was built with earth in the interior.¹⁹ Its diameter was almost 2 m and the preserved height 40 cm. The excavator identified it as an altar for the worship of the "heroic dead"²⁰ (FIGS 8, 9, 10).

Furthermore, Papadimitriou recorded in at least three points of the chamber's fill (from the floor to the height of the roof), patches of black and grey earth. Within those layers were "many burnt animal bones and an abundance of Late Geometric pottery sherds, along with a few proto-Corinthian".²¹ Based on those observations, Papadimitriou suggested the continuous worship of ancestors with offerings of pottery and animal sacrifices over a long time span. However, the study of the sherds and animal bones from the fill, as well as the careful study of the excavation notes, support a different interpretation of the facts. What could indeed have happened there?

¹⁵ Pelon 1976, 403 ff., for a description on the Clytemnestra Tholos tomb.

¹⁶ Mylonas 1957, 171–172 and Mylonas 1972–73, 18. Wace 1954, 170.

¹⁷ Wace 1954, 170.

¹⁸ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1990, 89.

¹⁹ Papadimitriou 1952, 465–467, Mylonas 1972–73, pl. 5.

²⁰ Papadimitriou 1953, 208.

²¹ Papadimitriou 1952, 469–470 and Papadimitriou 1953, 208.

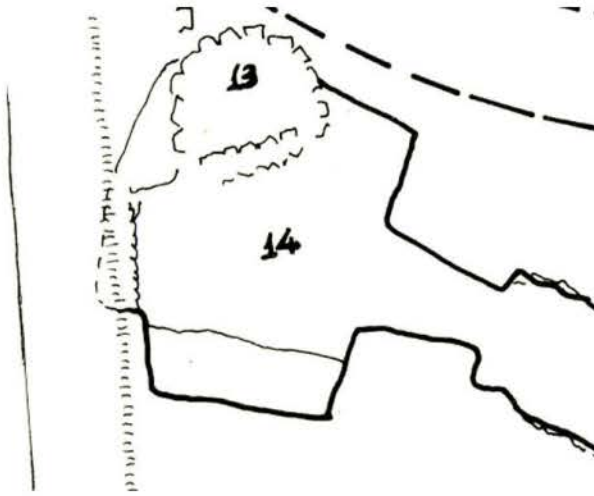


FIG. 8. Plan of the tomb's chamber with the stone-built circular altar on top of it. (After Mylonas 1973, table 1. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).



FIG. 9. The LG altar revealed during the early days of the excavation (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, July 24, 1952. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).



FIG. 10. The LG altar on top of the tomb's chamber. (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, August 4, 1953. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

FIG. 11. A selection of LH sherds from the chamber's fill. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).



*Eleni Konstantinidi-Syroidi, Constantinos Paschalidis and
Argyro Nafplioti*

THE CHARACTER OF POTTERY AND ANIMAL BONES FROM THE
CHAMBER'S FILL

The preliminary study of hundreds of sherds from the fill of the chamber produced fragments of various shapes of both decorated and plain pottery of the MH, LH, Middle and Late Geometric period, as well as a few of the 7th century BC (FIGS 11, 12, 13, 14). The large numbers of Geometric sherds were found throughout the whole fill of the chamber, from the floor to the roof. However, despite their large number, the sherds did not make up into whole vases and in only a few cases did they belong to the same vase in groups of two or three. Furthermore, the animal bones collected from the fill belong to a minimum of eight individuals, only one of which bears traces of knife cuts. Of all the animal bones, only one sheep/goat bears any evidence at all of having been burnt by fire (see *appendix* by Argyro Nafplioti). Thus, both the sherds and the animal bones, as well as the patches of burnt earth recorded by the excavator as evidence of successive sacrifices, may have come from rubbish debris derived from the LG and the 7th century settlement, which collected in the hollow.

FIG. 12. A selection of LH sherds from the chamber's fill. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).



FIG. 13. A selection of LG sherds from the chamber's fill. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).



FIG. 14. A selection of LG sherds from the chamber's fill. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 15. Vase 1. Krater fragments. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).



THE GEOMETRIC ALTAR

By contrast, at the top of the chamber, around the circular structure, a significant number of sherds, dated mostly to the LG period, was found. Most of them comprised parts of four kraters and a monochrome cup, which are presented and discussed below. Papadimitriou, who characterised that construction as an altar the very day of its discovery, did not make any mention of burnt earth in the surrounding area or of animal bones. However, the soil inside and outside the construction was black, as shown in the photographs, perhaps indicative of traces of fire/pyres – and organic remains from food consumption (FIGS 9, 10). The small number of burnt bones and the discovery *in situ* of four kraters and only one cup, indicate that the altar was used for a restricted period of time, confined to LG IIB–C (725–700 BC) and definitely not in succeeding periods. The altar and its offerings fall within the

*Eleni Konstantinidi-Syvridi, Constantinos Paschalidis and
Argyro Nafplioti*

first generation of such practices and appear to have been directed towards figures who, for us at least, remain anonymous.²²

Built altars that were intensively used over a long period of time are to be found covered with thick layers of burnt earth, fragmentary cooked or burnt animal bones, sherds of cooking pots and drinking vessels and of course a whole variety of offerings, such as figurines, metal objects and so forth. Such is the case of the altar unearthed at Likoleika in Achaia, which had been in intensive use during the second half of the 8th century BC.²³ In the Barbouna area at Asine, circular stone altar-like structures which were situated near the Geometric necropolis were found together with a late 8th century deposit of nearly 40 broken vases which had once served for libation and feasting.²⁴ The Barbouna circles offer another contemporary example of a short lived altar-like structure close to graves.²⁵

Catalogue of pottery from the altar

Vase 1. MM 5231, 5289 and 4907 (FIGS 15, 16).

Krater fragments. Three-quarters of plain, vertical rim preserved, parts of spherical body, the stub of only one monochrome painted, horizontal handle, circular in section, as well as about half the bottom of the vessel with the start of the missing conical base. Pinkish clay, yellowish slip, red to red-brown lustrous paint. Bands on interior of cylindrical rim, otherwise monochrome interior. On exterior, between bands on neck, zone of groups of vertical S-shaped motifs or *sigmas*. Densely packed bands all over body, with monochrome lower part. Unpainted under base. On shoulder, at level of handles, broad zone with wide metopes, each containing a large hatched lozenge between triglyphs of vertical straight lines or multiple zigzag.

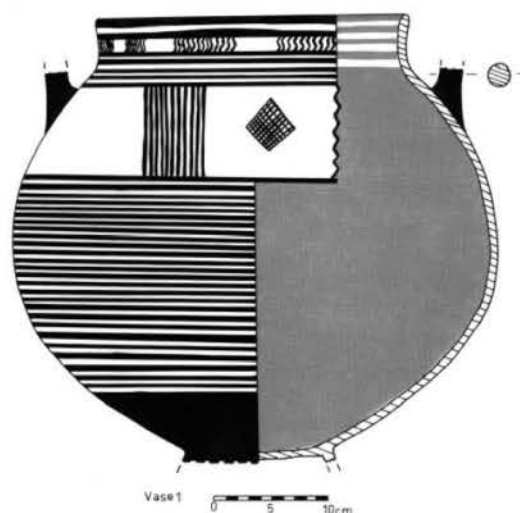


FIG. 16. Vase 1. Krater fragments. (Drawing by C. Paschalidis).

²² Whitley 1988, 174–175.

²³ Kolia & Gadoulou (forthcoming).

²⁴ Antonaccio 1995, 200 with references.

²⁵ Hägg 1983, 190 and fig.1

Honouring the dead off-stage

Pres. Ht. 43.2; rim diameter 27.0; max. diameter 41.8.

Decoration: The shoulder decoration is simple and avoids dense compositions, a feature which implies a rather late date within LG II. The vase's S-shaped lines on the rim zone do not exactly match any KM, although they are close to 66a. The straight lines of the triglyphs fit in Kunisch's *vertical bars* or motif 1d, while the multiple zigzag is KM 61g. The hatched lozenge corresponds to KM 39i.

Although vase 1 features groups of *sigmas* and a densely banded body, like most of the Corinthian LG kraters,²⁶ it is probably the product of an Argive workshop. Vase 1 belongs to a popular type of Argive krater, with numerous examples.²⁷ These kraters are collar-necked with two horizontal handles with vertical extensions. The globular-ovoid body of such vases is densely banded and monochrome in the lower part towards the base which is relatively narrow and conical. All of them fall into Courbin's GR 2c, namely between 710–700 BC, or according to Coldstream, at the end of LG II.²⁸

Vase 2. MM 5231, 5289 and 4907 (FIGS 17, 18).

Krater fragments. One third of flat rim preserved with the short cylindrical neck and about half the spherical body, together with the two stubs of one of two horizontal handles. Light orange-brown clay and slip, reddish black paint fugitive in places. Monochrome interior. Exterior decoration of bands and zones, and monochrome lower body. The neck zone has alternating groups of horizontal and vertical zigzag. On the shoulder, large pictorial metopes with horses and subsidiary water-birds in silhouette, alternating with hatched meander pattern. Triglyphs of dense vertical lines. At the same level, the broad strap handles are decorated on the outside with horizontal zigzag flanked by dense vertical lines. On lower part of the densely banded body, zones with rows of closely packed lozenges, with rows of dots and with vertical and horizontal zigzag.

Pres. Ht. 47.0; max. diameter 42.0.

Decoration: The vertical and horizontal zigzag on the neck zone, on the handles and on the belly zone fit in KM 66h and 67e respectively. The straight lines of the triglyphs fit in Kunisch's *vertical bars* or motif 1d, while the hatched meanders on the metope correspond to KM 23a and the water-bird to KM 96d. The zone of dense lozenge chains matches KM 35c and those with dots KM 69a.

Vase 2 belongs to the Argive group of voluminous kraters with depressed spherical bodies.²⁹ Their decoration is always dense and their metopes often illustrate antithetic horses alternating with hatched meander. Zones with dots and dense lozenge chains in between bands of the lower body are characteristic – among others – of Coldstream's *Painter of Athens*, whose horses are not too far from the ones depicted here.³⁰ Vase 2 fits in Courbin's GR 2, mainly 2b and 2c (720–700 BC), or in Coldstream's LG II.

Unfortunately a large part of the vase is currently lost. The sherds shown in FIG. 17 are the ones that we have located in the Mycenae Museum. However, a considerable part of the krater, mended from many fragments and illustrated in the excavator's preliminary note

²⁶ For the style and decoration of the Corinthian LG kraters see Coldstream 1968, 99–100.

²⁷ Courbin 1966, 563, pl. 36: cat. no. C.645, pl. 37: cat. no. C.169, pl. 38: cat. no. C.2428, pl. 46: cat. no. C.208/B, pl. 47: cat. nos. C.2509 and C.915, pl. 113: cat. nos. C.208 and C.2509.

²⁸ Coldstream 1968, 132 and 145–146, where he discusses the relative chronology of the Argive LG.

²⁹ Courbin 1966, pl. 35: cat. no. C.286 (LG 2), pl. 41: cat. no. C.210 (LG 2b), pl. 43: cat. no. C.201 (LG 2c) and pl. 48: cat. no. C.239 (LG 2b).

³⁰ Coldstream 1968, 138 and 144.

*Eleni Konstantinidi-Syroidi, Constantinos Paschalidis and
Argyro Nafplioti*

(FIG. 18) is still missing.³¹ This part together with the freshly identified fragments would form a significant proportion of this impressive krater.



FIG. 17. Vase 2. Krater fragments stored at the Mycenae Museum.
(Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

³¹ Papadimitriou 1952, 470 fig.35. It is possible that the part of the vase illustrated in the excavator's note, went to the National Archaeological Museum in pieces, together with the fragmentary vases of Grave Circle B, in order to be mended. If this is the case, then this part of the krater should be sought in the storerooms of the National Museum's Collection of Vases and Minor Arts. The authors of this text hope to get access, locate and reunite the krater soon.

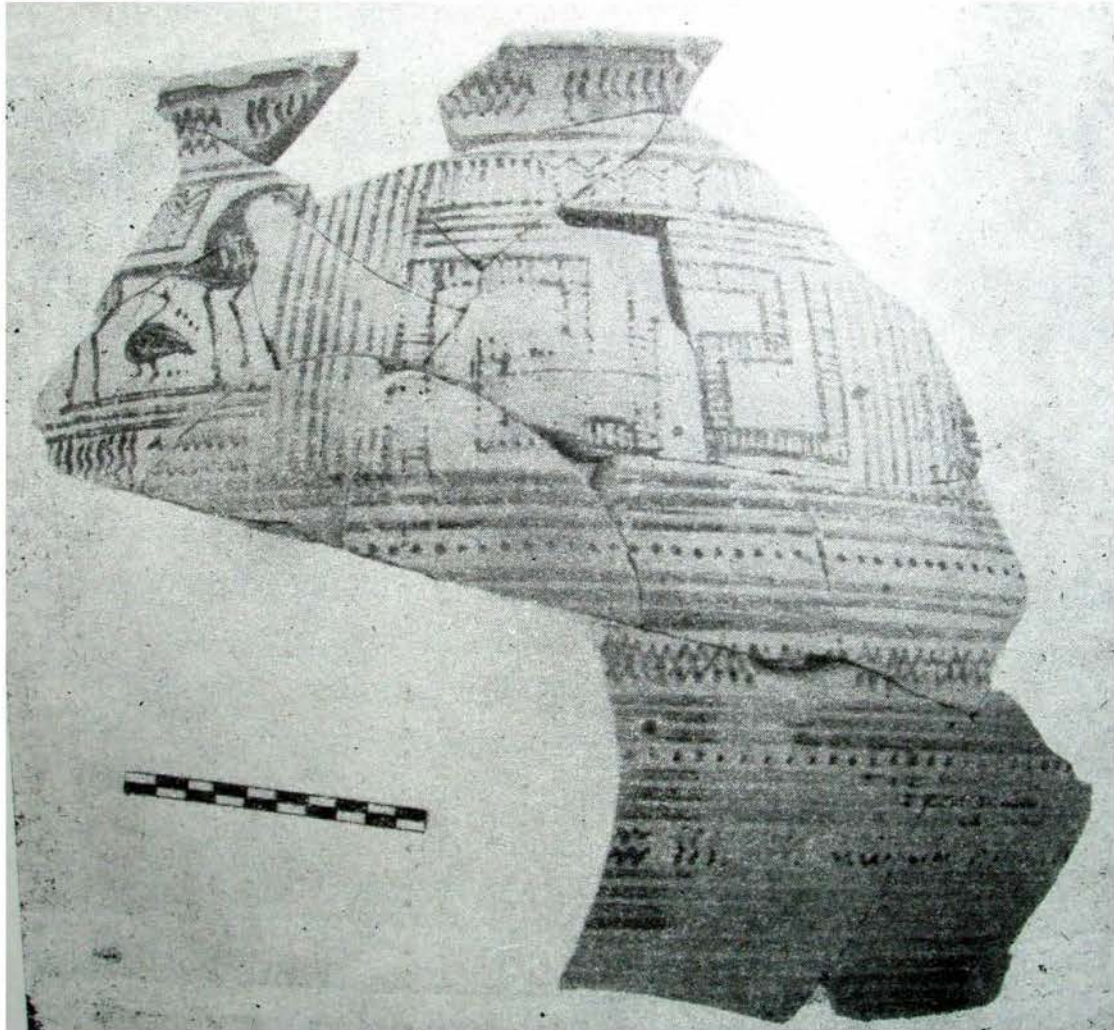


FIG. 18. Vase 2. Krater fragments mended and illustrated in Papadimitriou 1952, 470 fig.35. (Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

Vase 3. MM 4972 and 5088 (FIGS 19, 20).

Krater fragments. Small part of flat rim, triangular in section and of the short, cylindrical neck, as well as one sixth of the spherical body with parts of one of the two handles. Brownish yellow clay and slip, brown paint, very fugitive in places. Monochrome interior. On exterior, groups of small lines and zigzags on top of rim, zone with vertical little lines on neck, broad zone with hatched meander on shoulder, another with concentric circles and two more with successive dots lower down. At the maximum diameter, horizontal strap handles of the stirrup type.³² The back of the preserved handle has thin bands of successive dots on the margins and a triple zigzag in the main zone in the middle. Between the handles are triglyphs, depicted by groups of vertical lines, and metopes. On the fragments of the sole preserved metope, a horse is depicted with fringed tail and a subsidiary chain of lozenges behind and vertical zigzag before. Above the hind-quarters, a solid star and between the legs of the animal, a hatched quatrefoil motif with subsidiary star ornaments and framed.

Pres. Ht. 27.8; rim diameter 39.0; max. diameter 53.2.

³² As termed by Coldstream (1968, 142).

*Eleni Konstantinidi-Syroidi, Constantinos Paschalidis and
Argyro Nafplioti*

Decoration: The zones with little vertical lines fit in KM 1g, while the hatched meanders in KM 23a. Bands and zones with successive dots correspond to KM 69a and the zone with concentric circles to KM 75d. The triple zigzag in the main zone of the handle is close to KM 6a. The subsidiary vertical chain of lozenges fit in KM 35f, the hatched quatrefoil in KM 16a, 16e and the subsidiary solid star in KM 16h.

Vase 3, like the krater discussed above, belongs to the Argive group of voluminous kraters with depressed spherical bodies.³³ Although the handle's type of decoration appears earlier (LG 1, see Courbin 1966, pls. 40, 113: cat. no. C.240), the rest of the decoration fits in the popular horse-scene repertoire of Argive pottery that Courbin dates to GR 2b and 2c phases. Moreover, the subsidiary vertical chain of lozenges in horse metopes occurs on many vases from the Argolid of the same period,³⁴ while the animal's fringed tail also appears quite frequently.³⁵



FIG. 19. Vase 3. Krater fragments. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

³³ *supra* n.27 and also Courbin 1966, pl.39 cat.n.C.423 (LG 2) and pl.40 cat.n.C.240 (LG 1).

³⁴ Courbin 1966, pl.61: cat.n.C.4 (LG 2b), pl.84: cat.n.C.214 (LG 2b), pl.133: cat.n.C.3256 (LG 2).

³⁵ Courbin 1966, pl.133: cat.n.C.4097 (LG 2), pl.136: cat.n.C.4165 (LG 2c).

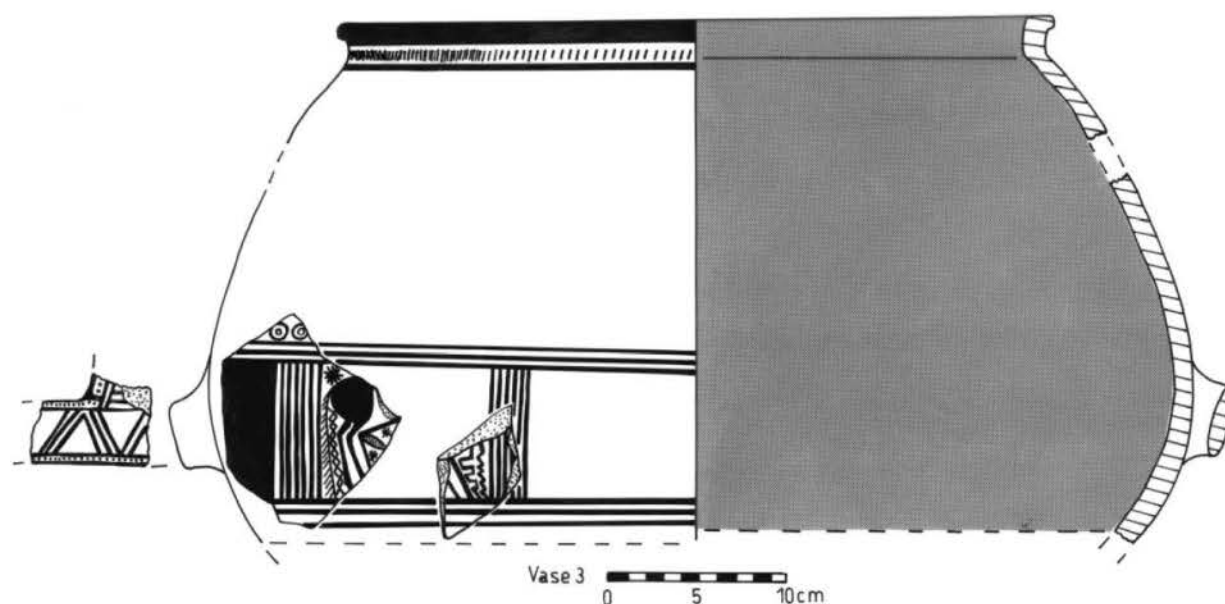


FIG. 20. Vase 3. Krater fragments. (Drawing by C. Paschalidis).

Vase 4. MM 4972, 5024 and 5088 (FIGS 21, 22).

Krater fragments. Small parts of the plain, everted rim, the shoulder and the spherical body. Light pinkish brown clay and slip, lustrous black paint, very fugitive in places. Monochrome interior. Exterior of neck decorated with zone of vertical zigzag alternating with X-shaped motifs. The start of one of the two horizontal handles is preserved at the maximum diameter; it is circular in section, possibly solid painted. Between the handles, triglyphs, comprising three vertical lines, and metopes with either hatched quatrefoil motifs and four subsidiary stars, or water-birds, alternating. The only preserved bird is depicted with head and legs in silhouette, and body in outline filled with cross-hatching. The vase has a lower zone of rows of dots and thick bands, perhaps becoming monochrome a little above the bottom.

Pres. Ht. (without foot) 16.2; rim diameter 30.0; max. diameter 32.9.

Decoration. The zone of vertical zigzag alternating with X-shaped motifs is close to Kunisch's *groups of sigmas turned to right* or KM 66d (with X-shaped motifs instead of stars), while the zone with successive dots correspond to KM 69a. The hatched quatrefoil motifs with four subsidiary stars each resemble with the one illustrated on vase 3's metope, i.e. KM 16a, 16c and KM 16h for the subsidiary solid star. The water-bird corresponds to KM 95e.

Vase 4 belongs to the group of LG depressed globular vessels, mainly open shapes (kraters, skyphoi and pyxides), that are collar-necked with a characteristic groove at the base.³⁶ Metopes with cross-hatched bodied birds or hatched quatrefoil motifs with star filling-ornament occur on many LG II vases of that group.³⁷ However, the metope system, where birds flank a central quatrefoil has been seen by Coldstream as an Atticism, occurring also on a krater from Asine.³⁸

³⁶ Courbin 1966, pl.121: cat.nos.C.4405, C.4303, pl.122: cat.n.C.1029, pl.126: cat.nos.C.1030, C.4599 and the Würzburg pyxis, pl.129: cat.nos.C.1028, C.1039, C.3304, C.4302 and C.759.

³⁷ Courbin 1966, pl.121: cat.nos. C.731, C.4654, C.4314, C.3334, C.4303, pl.128: cat.n.C.3316, pl.129: cat.n.C.4302. Stars as filling ornament are a rule in the Argolid, see Coldstream 1968, 133.

³⁸ Coldstream (1968, 132–3) presents in detail the 'Atticizing work of Asine'.



FIG. 21. Vase 4. Krater fragments. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

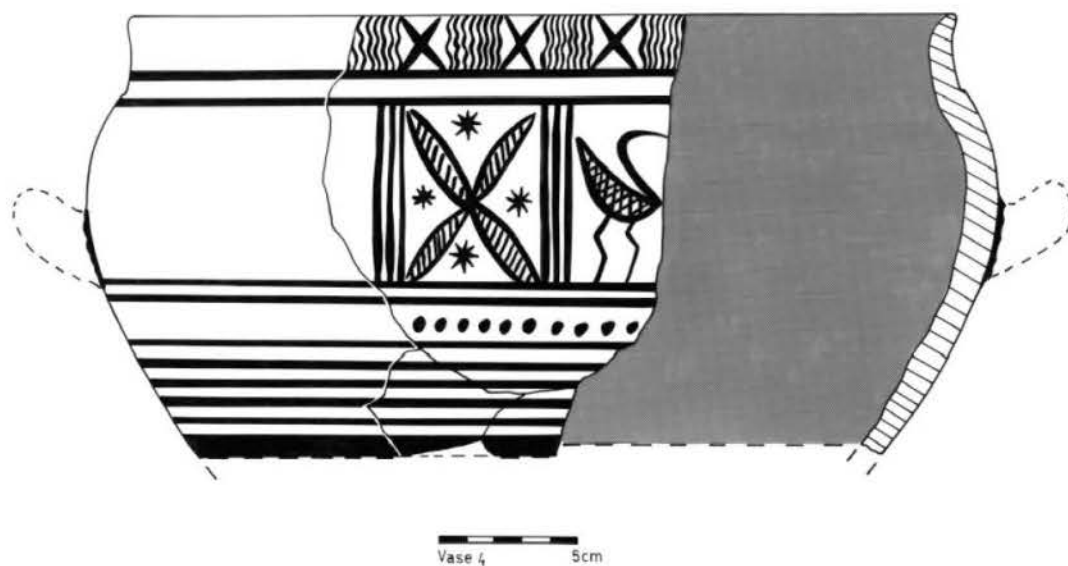


FIG. 22. Vase 4. Krater fragments. (Drawing by C. Paschalidis).

Honouring the dead off-stage

Vase 5. MM 5024, 5088 and 5022 (FIGS 23, 24, 25, 26). One-handled cup. Half preserved and mended from many sherds. Strap handle missing. Yellowish pink clay, purple-brown paint. Plain, vertical rim, deep hemispherical body, flat base. Monochrome inside and out, with interior preserved band below rim. Solid cross painted on underside of base.

Ht. 6.8; rim diameter 11.0; max. diameter 12.2.

Decoration. The solid cross on the base corresponds to Kunisch's 79c ornament.

This type of cup, termed by Courbin as *tasse haute*, is probably the most common drinking vessel of the whole Geometric period.³⁹ Created to be used and not to symbolize, this shape remained unchanged for many centuries. Monochrome cups of this type occur in the Argolid as early as the beginning of the EG period; certain LG II examples have a solid cross painted on the underside of the base, visible when lifted for drinking.⁴⁰



FIG. 23. Vase 5. One-handled cup. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).



FIG. 24. Vase 5. One-handled cup. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

³⁹ Courbin 1966, 220–223 and pls.70–75.

⁴⁰ Courbin 1966, 311 and n.2 where he lists all cups with painted cross on underside found in the Argolid and *ibid* pl.76: C.2728 and C.1082 where two examples from Tiryns are illustrated. A similar example from Perachora is illustrated in Payne 1940, pl.13:18.



FIG. 25. Vase 5. One-handed cup. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

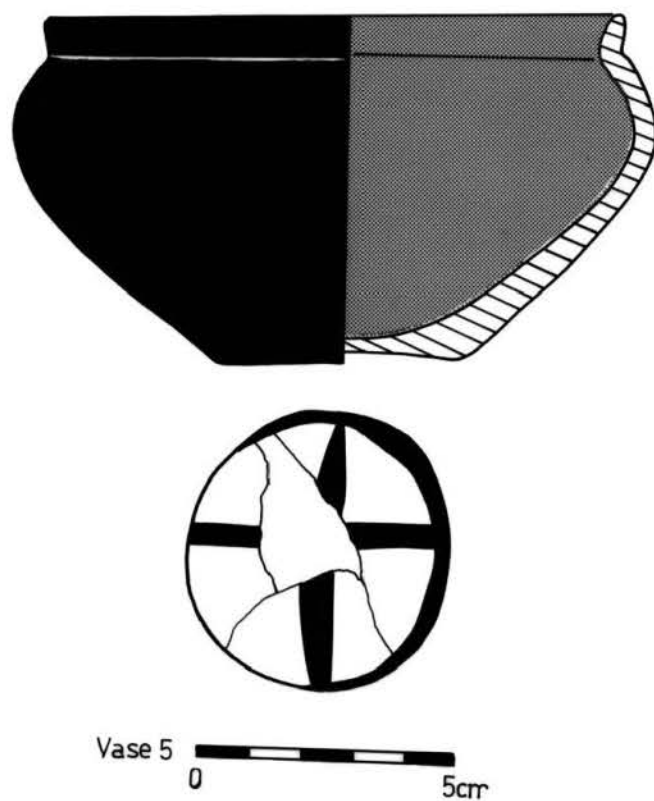


FIG. 26. Vase 5. One-handed cup. (Drawing by C. Paschalidis).

Honouring the dead off-stage

Architectural model. MM 5061 (FIGS 27, 28, 29, 30). Joined from three pieces. Brownish orange clay. Unpainted and unslipped. Part of the floor level of the building is preserved, with the start of the vertical walls on the long sides and a low parapet on the preserved narrow side. At the two preserved corners inside, one can make out the start of pilasters and in the middle of the narrow side, what appears to be a column base. There appears to be a lower course running the length of the narrow side, also indicated underneath the model.

Pres. Ht. 3.1; width 10.6; pres. length 4.3.

Judging from the curved outline of the model's long sides it is not impossible that it was a model of an apsidal building. If this is the case, then the model represents a rather small, one-roomed structure, since the fragment's outline starts curving immediately after the long sides join to the façade. Other apsidal building models include the well-known clay models from Aetos (Ithaca), Perachora and Samos⁴¹, all of which date to the second half of the 8th century B.C. The Mycenae model, being totally undecorated, is closer to that from Samos. However, the low parapet on the former's narrow side with the two pilasters and the middle column, instead of a plain entrance, sets it apart from all other examples.

FIG. 27.
Architectural
model.
(Photograph by C.
Paschalidis).



FIG. 28. Architectural
model. (Photograph
by C. Paschalidis).

⁴¹ See Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 44 and fig.496, 64 and fig.499a–f, 86 and fig.507 respectively.



FIG. 29. Architectural model.
(Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

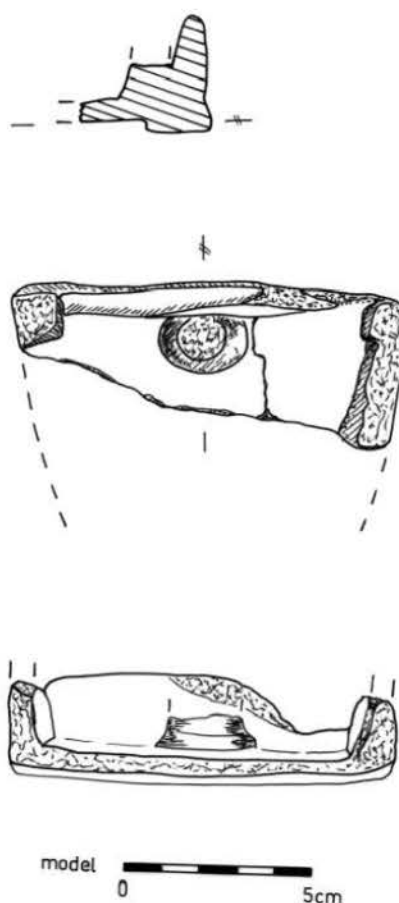


FIG. 30. Architectural model. (Drawing
by C. Paschalidis).

The discovery of a possible model within the fill of Chamber Tomb 222, by the altar is not a surprise. Such artefacts are characterized as offerings in tombs and in shrines of the Late Geometric and Early Archaic period and have been found in various sites of the Mainland and the Aegean.⁴² The apsidal models – if this is the case here – are thought to represent either temples or houses and their significance has been a subject of debate among scholars since they appeared.⁴³ In Crete a good number of cylindrical clay models, found in tholos tombs and in domestic contexts, date between LM III A2 and the LG period. Although they had generally been regarded as tomb models, Petrakis recently proposed a possible function of those models as the ‘material vehicles

⁴² For a complete list of such architectural models see Gadoulou 2008, 239 and n. 543. A new LG fragment that has been unearthed recently at Nikoleika, Aigion in the Peloponnese, has been presented by Kolia and Gadoulou (forthcoming).

⁴³ Mazarakis Ainian sees the Perachora models as representing the site’s late 8th century temple and the Samos clay model as depicting possibly the house of the dedicant (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 64 and 86). Gadoulou favours the idea of models representing houses rather than temples, since most of them come from various sanctuaries of Hera, the protectress of the *oikos* (Gadoulou 2008, 240).

Honouring the dead off-stage

for ancestor worship',⁴⁴ an idea that would also fit well with the Mycenae model. However, the case of the latter is particular, since it comes from an unusual context – that of an altar honouring an ancestor's grave – and therefore it cannot be interpreted with certainty.

CONCLUSIONS. THE GEOMETRIC CULT OF THE 'DEAD HERO' ON TOP OF THE MYCENAEAN TOMB 222

To summarize the above evidence, we would suggest that after the fall of the roof, the chamber was cleaned out and remained open and well looked after for some time. It is quite possible that the chamber was investigated for any remains of the *heroic ancestors* and of the burial gifts they had been given, which would explain why the only human bones found during excavation came from the tomb's entrance.⁴⁵ In order to prevent the side of the chamber from collapsing, the collapsed walls were reinforced with retaining walls. At the top, the rough, circular altar was constructed for the performance of rituals, possibly bloodless, accompanied by the deposition of three kraters and a cup – namely the remains of a drinking set – indicating feasts, which must have been held *in situ* during the Late Geometric II period. As often suggested, the pottery used in such offerings became part of them in some cases when the vessels were smashed after use.⁴⁶ It is also possible that some of the remnants of dedications were thrown inside the chamber, as perhaps indicated by the few burnt animal bones recovered. The limited number of vases and burnt bones imply an infrequent use of the altar, towards the late 8th century BC. LG altar-like structures on top of Mycenaean tombs is not a common phenomenon; the famous 'altar' over tomb IV, Grave Circle A, found by Schliemann is considered to have been contemporary with the burial beneath that was later covered by the mound erected in the 13th century B.C. and has been the subject of debate ever since.⁴⁷

However, the practice of honouring the dead with feasting sessions especially in the 8th century BC, is found all over the Aegean.⁴⁸ In Crete, post-Minoan finds in Bronze Age tombs are known mainly from tholos tombs, such as at Achladia near Siteia, Kamilari and Hagia Triada in Messara and

⁴⁴ Petrakis 2006, especially 211. Gadolou also sees in the Cretan models a religious, possibly chthonic significance, and distinguishes them from the mainland ones (Gadolou 2008, 240).

⁴⁵ For a thorough study of the 'bone cult' in Classical Greece see McCauley 1999.

⁴⁶ Antonaccio 1995, 205.

⁴⁷ Mylonas 1957, 111–112 and 121; see also Gallou 2005, 21–24 for a detailed history of the debate on Schliemann's 'altar'.

⁴⁸ Antonaccio 1995, 199 ff especially 205–207, where she connects the stone circles at Asine, Naxos, Mycenae, Nichoria and Lefkandi with food consumption or 'ritual meals'. For the tomb cult of the Geometric period see also Lefèvre-Novaro 184 with references.

*Eleni Konstantinidi-Syroidi, Constantinos Paschalidis and
Argyro Nafplioti*

from the LM III chamber tomb 27 at Mochlos.⁴⁹ The latter is the only known Aegean parallel for our case. An irregular platform of stones was erected over this tomb and two vases of the 7th century BC were placed nearby. This structure – which was interpreted by the excavators as an altar – together with another two contemporary vases found inside the chamber on top of an evacuated LM III A2 burial pithos, offer the best-documented evidence of a tomb cult in the Early Orientalizing Crete.⁵⁰ The excavator of the Mochlos tomb identified this as an example of removing a *hero's* skeleton and offering in return gifts, both inside and on an altar by the chamber's entrance. The Mochlos settlement was deserted at the time of this event, therefore such an unusual episode is not at all unlikely to have happened. By contrast, Mycenae was constantly inhabited and tomb cult (with or without the previous removal of the deceased bones and gifts) was a rather common practice for the living during the late 8th century BC onwards⁵¹.

Returning to Mycenae, it was no later than the 7th century BC, as indicated by the latest pottery found in the tomb's fill, that the chamber must have been filled to the top with rubbish from the settlement at Mycenae, the respect and the rituals to the dead must have ceased; the worship of the dead was forgotten and the area returned to the living. The place must have been used for the construction of a small house or a stoa, as the excavator interpreted the discovery over the tomb of a long wall and a layer of fallen roof tiles (**FIG. 31**).⁵² However, the evaluation of such a hypothesis would require the study of the tiles and the accompanying pottery, which has not yet been located in the Mycenae Museum.⁵³

⁴⁹ Although Whitley (1988, 174) excluded Crete from that practice, later excavation finds together with the re-evaluation of the existing material revealed numerous cases of the Geometric cult of the ancestors; Lefèvre-Novaro (2004, 185–191 with references) lists all the LM III tombs that contained offerings from the Geometric period.

⁵⁰ Lefèvre-Novaro 2004, 186. See also Soles 2001, 230–231 and Soles 2008, 177–179.

⁵¹ Antonaccio 1995, 30 ff. Panayiotopoulou (1990, 347–349 cat.nos. 329 and 330) illustrates sherds of LG vases from the tholos tomb of Clytemnestra.

⁵² Papadimitriou 1952, 467–8.

⁵³ Antonaccio (1995, 201 and n.8) following Papadimitriou, accepts those building remains as 8th century and wonders how they relate to the altar, named by her as 'stone circle'.

Honouring the dead off-stage

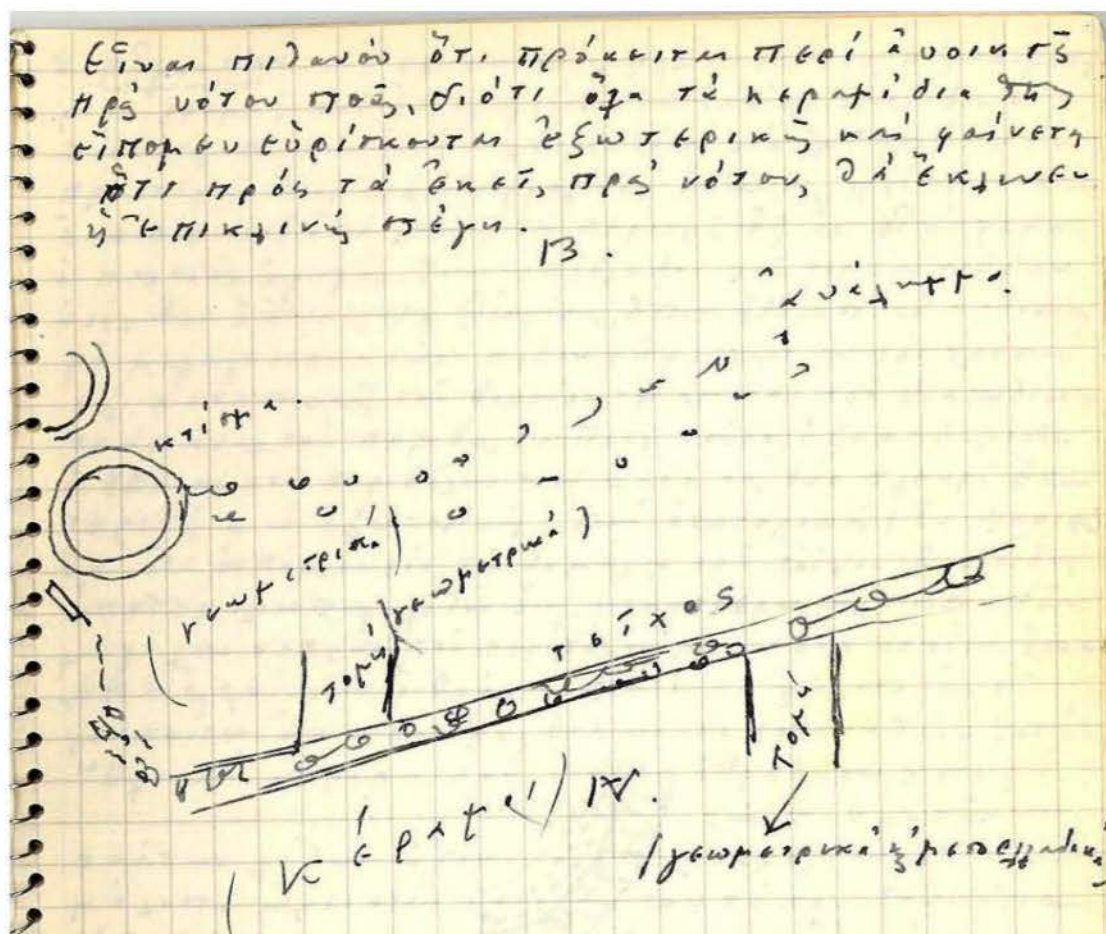


FIG. 31. Text and sketch from the excavator's diary of the circular altar and of the small house or stoa, over the tomb. (Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

A few centuries later, in the 3rd century BC, the Hellenistic theatre of the city of Mycenae was built at this spot. The chamber tomb and the area around Grave Circle B were filled anew. Stone seats were placed at the top of the built dromos of the Clytemnestra Tholos tomb, which was used as the suitable foundation, as well as a guide for the slope of the *koilon* (auditorium) (FIGS 32, 33). The tholos tomb, then still visible, was finally covered with earth. The choice of the theatre's position must have been dictated by the natural formation of the slope. However, the presence of the ancient tombs at the area must have been of some importance, judging from the case of Grave Circle A, which seems to have remained untouched and deeply respected until the end of antiquity.⁵⁴ In a place where memories were never absent, as noted by Pausanias, the teaching of drama would definitely have included an aspect that respected (honoured) the heroic ancestors. The performances of the

⁵⁴ Gallou 2005, 21.

*Eleni Konstantinidi-Syroidi, Constantinos Paschalidis and
Argyro Nafplioti*

“misfortunes of the House of Atreus” – the words of Elektra – a breath away from the royal tombs, must have especially electrified both actors and audience alike.



FIG. 32. Stone seats of the Hellenistic theatre of Mycenae placed at the top of the built dromos of the Clytemnestra tholos tomb. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis, October 2008).



FIG. 33. Stone seats of the Hellenistic theatre of Mycenae placed at the top of the built dromos of the Clytemnestra tholos tomb. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis, October 2008).

Handmaidens, orderers of the palace-halls,
Since at my side ye come, a suppliant train,
Companions of this offering, counsel me
As best befits the time: for I, who pour
Upon the grave these streams funereal...
...Or shall I pour this draught for Earth to drink,
Sans word or reverence, as my sire was slain,
And homeward pass with unevered eyes,
Casting the bowl away, as one who flings the household
cleansings to the common road? ⁵⁵

A similar symbolism and significance must have influenced the choice of location for the construction of Boeotian Orchomenos's theatre in the 4th century BC.⁵⁶ It was built on the slopes of the tumulus of the Tholos Tomb of Minyas,⁵⁷ a monument still visible – if not rediscovered – and especially

⁵⁵Aeschylus, *The Choephoroi*, verses 84–99. Translated by E. D. A. Morshead and published in 1998 by Orange Street Press (available at www.sparks.eserver.org/books/choephoroi.pdf).

⁵⁶For the discovery and a comment on the use of the theatre for musical contests, according to inscriptions found nearby, see Spyropoulos 1973, 392–393. Also, Papachatzis 1999, 237, n. 288 and Kountouri 1999, 50.

⁵⁷For a description of the Minyas Tholos tomb see Pelon 1976, 414–416.

*Eleni Konstantinidi-Syroidi, Constantinos Paschalidis and
Argyro Nafplioti*

respected in the Hellenistic period **FIG. 34**).⁵⁸ (In Pausanias's times, it was considered to be the Treasury of Minyas).⁵⁹



FIG. 34. The Boeotian Orchomenos's theatre built at the slopes of the tumulus of the Minyas Tholos tomb. (Photograph by G. Kouroupis. After Vlachopoulos 2008, 249 fig. 406. Courtesy of the volume's editor and of Melissa Publishing House).

IOANNIS PAPADIMITRIOU, THE EXCAVATOR

The study of the excavation of the chamber tomb south of Grave Circle B could not have been accomplished without the valuable manuscripts and well organized photographic archive of Ioannis Papadimitriou (**FIG. 35**). The excavator, who passed away, only a few years after the Mycenae project, left behind him much more than a mere diary, but a full excavation diary. Its pages are full of reports on the chief workers and their virtues, as well as detailed descriptions of the every minute of the day, with all kinds of

⁵⁸ Hughes 1999, 167 ff especially 174–175, interprets the revival of heroisation during Hellenistic and Roman times by individuals, social groups or cities, as an intention to claim territory and resources over the land of the putative ancestors.

⁵⁹ Pausanias 9.38. 2. Commentary by Papachatzis 1999, 232–233.

Honouring the dead off-stage

measurements, accurate terminology, comprehensive sketches of the trenches and phases and analytical descriptions of the finds (FIGS 31, 36, 37). At many points, the text betrays its writing at the actual time of the excavation, offering an interpretation here while rejecting or confirming it a few lines later.⁶⁰



FIG. 35. Portrait of Ioannis Papadimitriou by N. Tombazi, taken on September 11, 1953. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).



FIG. 36. Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi of some golden artefacts as found in situ during the excavation. (Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

The excavation diaries of Papadimitriou attest to the electric atmosphere of the days of the excavation with the stream of journalists and the great and good. On August 2, 1952, he records for example: «At 10 o'clock a.m. Minister Rentes⁶¹ arrived, at 12 Mrs Venizelou⁶² with Levidis⁶³, in the afternoon Papagos⁶⁴ and Markezinis⁶⁵». Elsewhere he does not hide the sensitive relationship between himself and archaeologist Spyridon Marinatos, then Professor of Archaeology at the University of Athens and one of the three-member committee of the

⁶⁰ For the life-work of Ioannis Papadimitriou, see Petrakos 1997.

⁶¹ Constantinos Rentis, Minister of Alexandros Papagos Government. (1952–1955).

⁶² Elena Skylitsi-Venizelou, widow of Eleutherios Venizelos, late Greek Prime Minister.

⁶³ Dimitris Levidis, Lord Chamberlain of King Pavlos I of Greece (1947–1964).

⁶⁴ Alexandros Papagos, Greek Prime Minister (1952–1955).

⁶⁵ Spyros Markezinis, Minister of Alexandros Papagos Government.

*Eleni Konstantinidi-Syvridi, Constantinos Paschalidis and
Argyro Nafplioti*

Mycenae excavations.⁶⁶ Furthermore, he preserves testimonies to the recent history of the excavation area, such as the robbing of tomb Theta by an inhabitant of Charvati⁶⁷ during *“the rebellion period...”* *“... who in 1945 was self-nominated guardian of antiquities and president of the community and conducted excavations”*. Finally, he records the well known incident at Nauplion Archaeological Museum, when he faced *“inside the cases, inscriptions on every vase found by the British with large letters: BRITISH EXCAVATIONS, without Greek translation. Mr Wace who meets me every day did not mention anything on the matter. Are we in a British Museum founded in Nauplion?”*⁶⁸

Much more than all this, the pages of the excavation diaries illustrate the special personality of the excavator. Along with his entirely professional position, Papadimitriou developed a very personal and emotional participation in the investigation, as seen in expressions, often overwhelmed with instant despair: *“I cannot figure it out”*, *“I was so tired these last few days that we did not work at all today”*, or expressions of wonder: *“I was so impressed by the ornament that I had to descend immediately into the grave to a depth of 3m.”*, or even of gratitude: *“May God always reserve for me such surprises and may he retain my good luck, I have but to thank my guardian Angel”*.⁶⁹ The excavation of the sacred place of Mycenae by Ioannis Papadimitriou was itself an act of respect and homage to the dead of antiquity.

⁶⁶ The committee or advisory board that supervised the excavation of the Grave Circle B consisted of

A. Keramopoulos, S. Marinatos and G. Mylonas, see Petrakos 1997, 16–19.

⁶⁷ The former name of the homonymous modern village, by ancient Mycenae.

⁶⁸ Petrakos 1997, 30–31.

⁶⁹ Petrakos 1997, 18.

Honouring the dead off-stage

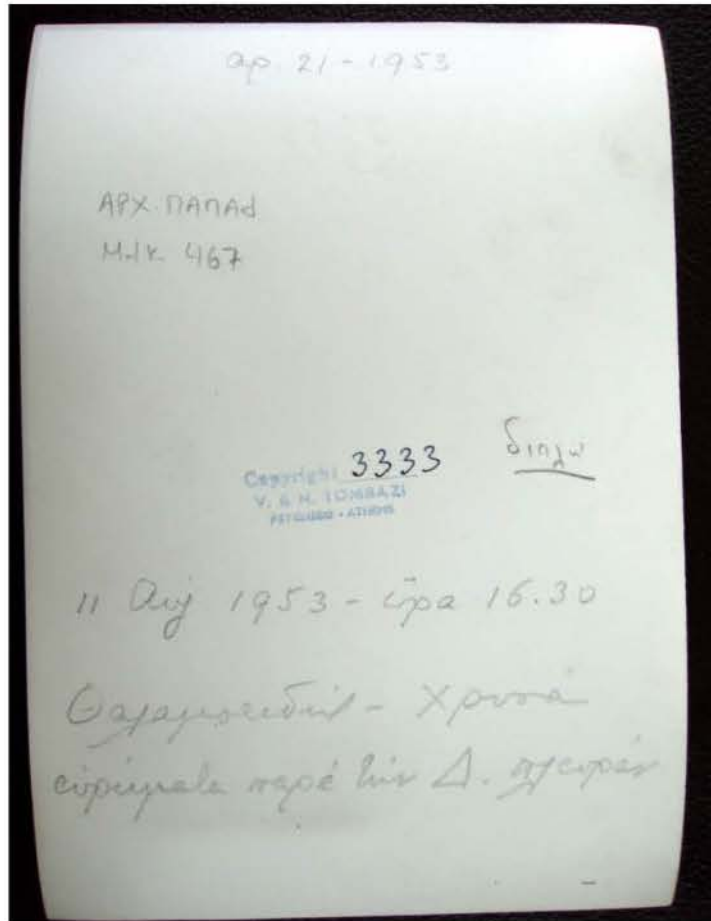


FIG. 37. The back of the photograph illustrated in FIG. 36, where the excavator notes the exact date, time and subject depicted. (Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

SYNOPSIS

In conclusion, the case of the chamber tomb 222 south of Grave Circle B clearly preserves the successive episodes in the history of the sacred place. On one piece of land, first people paid homage to the deceased in the chamber tomb; then they built a Late Geometric altar for worshipping the memory of their ancestors, followed by a period of oblivion during which an Archaic house was built; and finally, the Hellenistic theatre was erected to recall the words and deeds of the House of Atreus. Finally, during the last century, Ioannis Papadimitriou dedicated all his attention and care to the discovery of the remains of human activity and the important monuments of the site.

APPENDIX: ANIMAL SKELETAL REMAINS (BY ARGYRO NAFPLIOTI)

Introduction

*Eleni Konstantinidi-Syvridi, Constantinos Paschalidis and
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This appendix briefly presents and discusses preliminary results of the analysis of the animal skeletal remains from the interior of the chamber tomb that Papadimitriou excavated at Mycenae in 1952 and 1953, with particular emphasis on the history of the use of the tomb during the Geometric period. The author identified and examined this material as part of her study of the skeletal remains from the tomb, which focused on the human rather than the animal component of the collection. The human skeletal remains are not included in this appendix because they reflect the Late Bronze Age period when the tomb was used for burials. Regarding the animal bones on the other hand, there is adequate evidence from the archaeological context to infer that these, particularly the remains from the upper levels, probably largely represent the period following the collapse of the roof of the tomb and its use for interments. Also, because much of this material was found to have been collected together with pottery from the tomb and since, to date, not all the pottery boxes have been assessed, one cannot exclude the possibility that there is yet more skeletal material from the tomb to be studied. This study is currently ongoing: the author herself will carry out the study for publication of the human skeletal material from the tomb, and it is expected that the animal bones will be studied and published in the future by a specialist in zooarchaeological studies.

Materials and Methods

The animal bones were recorded for species, skeletal element, specific portion of it represented and, where possible, side, degree of epiphyseal fusion and the presence of post-mortem modifications. Undiagnostic limb-bone and other small fragments were recorded to broad size categories, namely cow or sheep/goat size. Following Silver⁷⁰, epiphyseal fusion data were used to estimate the age at death of the individuals examined. More precise age-estimates using data on dental eruption and wear were not possible due to the paucity of teeth in the material examined. The four teeth present were found loose, i.e. with no associated alveolar bone.

Concerning quantification of the recorded animal skeletal material from the tomb, acknowledging evidence for the mixing of the finds and the disturbance of the deposits in the interior of the tomb⁷¹, the paucity of stratigraphic data, and the generally poor skeletal completeness, the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) was not calculated for each context separately. Instead, the deposits from the interior of the tomb (of approximately 2.4 m total height) were arbitrarily divided into two levels at

⁷⁰ Silver 1969, 282–302.

⁷¹ Papadimitriou 1952 *op.cit.*, 1953 *op.cit.*

Honouring the dead off-stage

about 1m height; a lower one, from the floor level up to 1 m, and an upper one from 1 m in height to the level of the roof of the chamber. The skeletal material from the two levels was treated as commingled and the MNI was calculated for each level separately from the most frequent skeletal element. Right and left sides were separately counted. Further, calculation of the MNI took into account the estimated age at death.

Results

Minimum Number of Individuals, Species and Skeletal Completeness

A total number of 48 teeth and bone fragments from the upper level of the tomb deposits represent a minimum of one young (less than 1 year) and one adult pig (older than 2 years), one cow, and at least one sheep/goat (older than 10 months). An incomplete tibia of a sheep/goat, which was also collected with animal bones from the upper level of the tomb deposits, was identified as a bone tool (**FIGS 38, 39**). From the lower level, 44 teeth and bone fragments represent a minimum of one young pig (aged approximately 1 year), one sheep/goat, one calf (less than 12–18 months) and at least one cow.

Teeth are underrepresented in the material examined, i.e. 4 teeth to 88 bone fragments. Out of the above-mentioned eight individuals identified from the examined animal skeletal remains (not counting in the left tibia – bone tool), the two young pigs, that from the upper (context 5265) and mainly the other from the lower level (context 4871) of the deposits are better represented (**TABLE 1**). Based on anatomical representation and skeletal completeness, one can infer that the two young pigs probably entered the tomb as (fairly) complete carcasses when enough soft tissue was still present on the skeleton to hold together unfused parts of skeletal elements. Skeletal representation for the other six individuals ranges from one to eight identified specimens, either bones or teeth.



FIG. 38. Incomplete tibia of a sheep/goat worked to form a tool.
(Photograph by A. Nafplioti).



FIG. 39. Detail of the bone tool (FIG. 38). (Photograph by A. Nafplioti).

Post-mortem skeletal modifications

Cut-marks from a sharp tool were recorded on the proximal shaft of the left humerus of the young pig from the upper level⁷².

Based on the colour and texture of the eight bone (sheep/goat-sized) fragments from context 5264 in the upper level of the tomb deposits, it may be suggested that they were burnt (FIG. 40). According to experimental studies

⁷² See Binford 1981 for the processing of animal carcasses and associated marks on the skeleton.

Honouring the dead off-stage

on the burning of bone⁷³ although the environment surrounding bone during burning impacts on the relationship between the change of bone colour and firing temperature⁷⁴ bone colour and texture can be used to reconstruct firing conditions. Thus based on the latter bone properties, the eight bone fragments were burnt unequally. For five of these that show black cortical bone at the shaft cross-section and white to grey-blue subperiosteal surface, burning at high temperatures up to 600–900° C may be suggested. Burning for the remaining three bone fragments probably occurred at lower temperatures based on the black colour of the inner part of the trabecular bone and the light to dark brown external surface of these fragments.

No signs of burning were observed on any of the other bone fragments examined.



FIG. 40. Burnt bone fragments from the upper level of the tomb deposits, context 5264. (Photograph by A. Nafplioti).

⁷³ Shipman *et al.* 1984, 307–325; Correia 1997, 275–293.

⁷⁴ Walker *et al.* 2008, 129–136.

*Eleni Konstantinidi-Syvridi, Constantinos Paschalidis and
Argyro Nafplioti*

Discussion and Conclusions

Owing to the fact that the animal skeletal remains as yet examined probably represent a portion only of the material originally recovered by Papadimitriou, the recovery practices, and mainly the disturbance of the tomb deposits, it is very difficult to interpret the nature of this skeletal assemblage by reconstructing the practices and/or processes that led to its formation.

Based on the skeletal completeness and anatomical representation data available, the two young pigs probably entered the tomb as (fairly) complete carcasses. At that time, the unfused joining components of bones from the two individuals, such as the femoral distal epiphysis and the joining distal shaft, or the vertebral body and its unfused endplate, respectively, were still coated with soft tissue. Principally due to the disturbance of the deposits from the interior of the tomb, on present data one cannot reject a similar mode for the disposal, that is as articulated or semi-articulated bodies, of the other animals also recovered from the tomb. Finally, signs of burning were recorded for eight bone fragments only from the material examined (92 teeth or bone fragments in total), and these were recovered from the upper level of the tomb deposits, context 5264. Also, cut-marks were observed on the proximal shaft of an incomplete humerus.

To sum up, this appendix presents the preliminary study of a portion of the animal skeletal remains from the tomb. A thorough study of the entire animal skeletal material in conjunction with the excavation data available and the study of other finds from the tomb will help shed more light onto the history of its use.

TABLE 1. Skeletal completeness for the two young pigs from the tomb: number of bone fragments per skeletal element or group of skeletal elements represented.

Indi- vidual	Skull	Front Limbs	Hind Limbs	Pelvis	Verte- brae	Ribs	Carpals/ Tarsals	Metacarpals/ Metatarsals	Phalanges
Pig, context 5265	5	2	4	0	1?	0	0	2	0
Pig, context 4871	6	2	1?	1	6	2	3	2	2

Honouring the dead off-stage

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*Eleni Konstantinidi-Syvridi, Constantinos Paschalidis and
Argyro Nafplioti*

List of illustrations

FIG. 1. Plan of Grave Circle B, the chamber tomb 222 and the tholos tomb of Clytemnestra. (After Mylonas 1973, table 1. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

FIG. 2. Chamber tomb 222. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis, October 2008).

FIG. 3. Plan of the chamber tomb 222. (After Mylonas 1973, table 1. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

FIG. 4. The chamber's *stomion* with a dry-stone blocking up to half of its height. (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, August 29, 1952. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

FIG. 5. The tomb's dromos. (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, August 29, 1952. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

FIG. 6. The low bench-shaped construction at the base of the chamber's south wall. (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, August 13, 1953. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

FIG. 7. Successive retaining walls at the chamber's west side. (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, August 13, 1953. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

FIG. 8. Plan of the tomb's chamber with the stone-built circular altar on top of it. (After Mylonas 1973, table 1. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

FIG. 9. The LG altar revealed during the early days of the excavation (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, July 24, 1952. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

FIG. 10. The LG altar on top of the tomb's chamber. (Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi, August 4, 1953. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

FIG. 11. A selection of LH sherds from the chamber's fill. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

Honouring the dead off-stage

FIG. 12. A selection of LH sherds from the chamber's fill. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 13. A selection of LG sherds from the chamber's fill. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 14. A selection of LG sherds from the chamber's fill. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 15. Vase 1. Krater fragments. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 16. Vase 1. Krater fragments. (Drawing by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 17. Vase 2. Krater fragments stored at the Mycenae Museum. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 18. Vase 2. Krater fragments mended and illustrated in Papadimitriou 1952, 470 fig.35. (Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

FIG. 19. Vase 3. Krater fragments. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 20. Vase 3. Krater fragments. (Drawing by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 21. Vase 4. Krater fragments. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 22. Vase 4. Krater fragments. (Drawing by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 23. Vase 5. One-handled cup. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 24. Vase 5. One-handled cup. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 25. Vase 5. One-handled cup. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 26. Vase 5. One-handled cup. (Drawing by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 27. Architectural model. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 28. Architectural model. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 29. Architectural model. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 30. Architectural model. (Drawing by C. Paschalidis).

FIG. 31. Text and sketch from the excavator's diary of the circular altar and of the small house or stoa, over the tomb. (Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

*Eleni Konstantinidi-Syvridi, Constantinos Paschalidis and
Argyro Nafplioti*

FIG. 32. Stone seats of the Hellenistic theatre of Mycenae placed at the top of the built dromos of the Clytemnestra tholos tomb. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis, October 2008).

FIG. 33. Stone seats of the Hellenistic theatre of Mycenae placed at the top of the built dromos of the Clytemnestra tholos tomb. (Photograph by C. Paschalidis, October 2008).

FIG. 34. The Boeotian Orchomenos's theatre built at the slopes of the tumulus of the Minyas Tholos tomb. (Photograph by G. Kouroupis. After Vlachopoulos 2008, 249 fig. 406. Courtesy of the volume's editor and of Melissa Publishing House).

FIG. 35. Portrait of Ioannis Papadimitriou by N. Tombazi, taken on September 11, 1953. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

FIG. 36. Photograph by Y. & N. Tombazi of some golden artefacts as found in situ during the excavation. (Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

FIG. 37. The back of the photograph illustrated in FIG. 36, where the excavator notes the exact date, time and subject depicted. (Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens).

FIG. 38. Incomplete tibia of a sheep/goat worked to form a tool. (Photograph by A. Nafplioti).

FIG. 39. Detail of the bone tool (FIG. 38). (Photograph by A. Nafplioti).

FIG. 40. Burnt bone fragments from the upper level of the tomb deposits, context 5264. (Photograph by A. Nafplioti).

TABLE 1. Skeletal completeness for the two young pigs from the tomb: number of bone fragments per skeletal element or group of skeletal elements represented.

CHAPTER 18

THE INVISIBLE DEAD OF DELPRIZA, KRANIDI

ANGELIKI KOSSYVA

INTRODUCTION

During a rescue excavation conducted by the 4th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities¹ in the area of Delpriza Kranidi (FIG. 1) east of the village of Koilada, part of a cemetery was revealed. The cemetery extends on the eastern slope of a low hill, 700 m south of Koilada Bay and about 2500 m SSE of the Franchthi cave (FIG. 2).

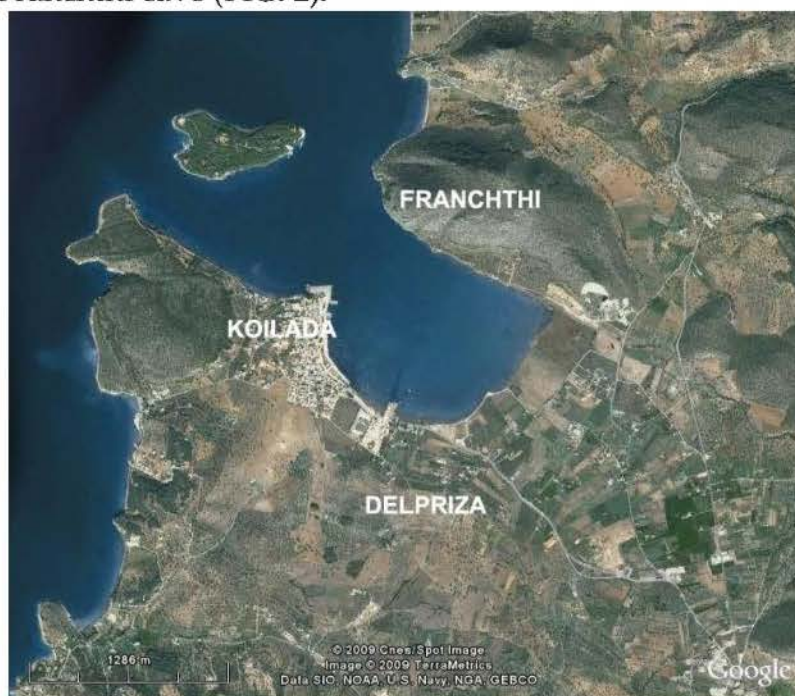


FIG. 1. Satellite image of the Koilada region in the southern Argolid, on which the position of Delpriza is marked in relation to the fishing village of Koilada and the Franchthi cave (After Google, 2009).

¹ I would like to thank the Director of the 4th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities Mrs. Anna Banaka and the archaeologist Dr. Olga Psychogyiou who entrusted me with the excavation of the site and the study of the finds. Also, I express my warm thanks to the organizers of this conference for the opportunity to present this material.

Excavation began in November 2006 and it continues to this day with the author as supervisor archaeologist, Mrs Kalliopi Nikolakopoulou as draughtswoman and with the assistance of four craftsmen, George Argyris, Harilaos Argyris, Markos Kaplatzis and Elias Kostopoulos.

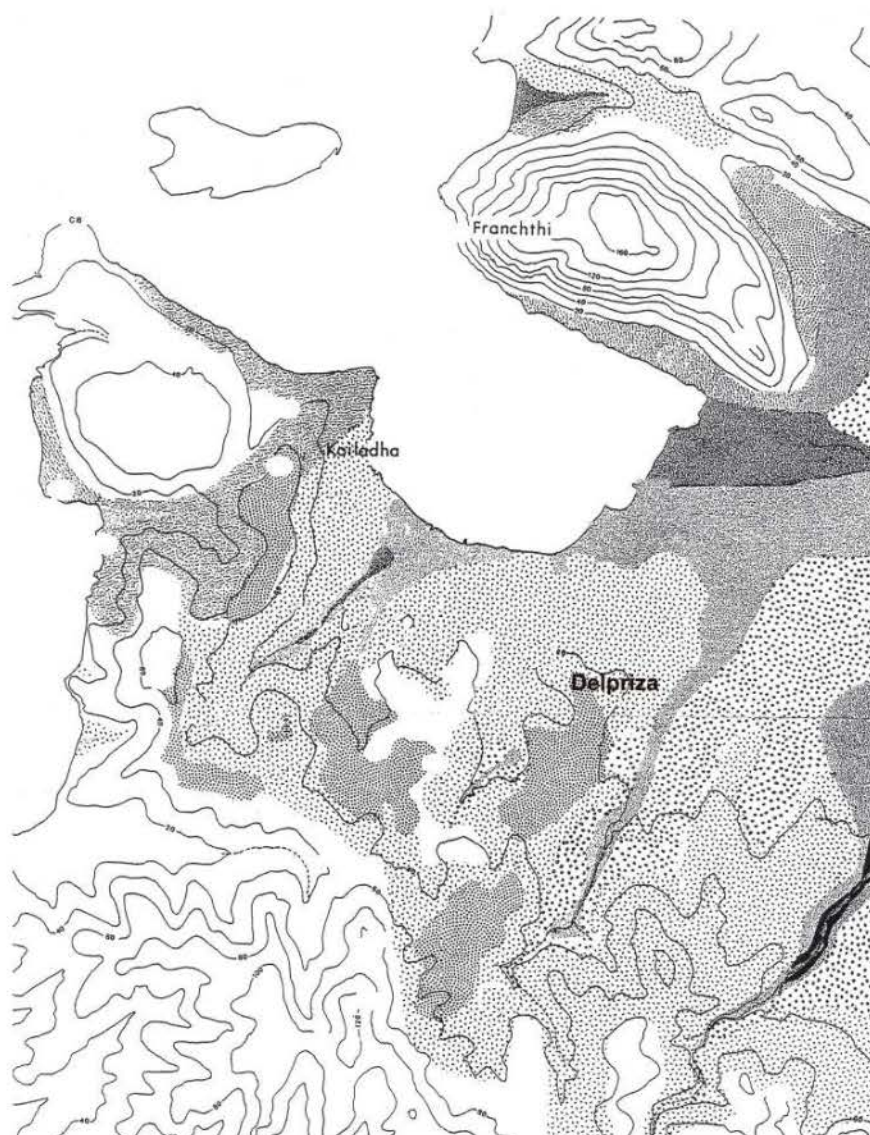


FIG. 2. Topographical map of the Koilada area in the southern Argolid.

During the same excavation a rural building of industrial character was revealed situated further north on the same hill. The use of the building is indicated by the presence of a stone oil press. It is dated, according to the preliminary study of the finds, to the 4th–3rd century BC (FIG. 3a, b).

In fact, the area had been surveyed by the American School of Classical Studies,² but no evidence of either of the above sites had been found at the time. The hill had been cultivated for garden produce in recent years until the excavation began, and this is why the site is known as '*Bostani*'.

² Jameson, Runnels, & van Andel 1994, 466–7, pocket map 2.



FIG. 3. a. View of the excavated farmstead at the top of the hill.



3. b. The location of the cemetery in relation to the farmstead.

THE CEMETERY

Types of graves

So far 43 graves have been excavated, most of which (25 graves) belonged to the type of the simple elliptical pit (FIG. 4); 23 of those were covered with soil and 2 with rough stones (FIG. 5). The largest pit had dimensions 2.10 m x 0.85 m and the smallest 0.85 m x 0.40 m (a child's grave). Their depths ranged from 0.10 m to 0.50 m below the current ground surface.



FIG. 4 (left). Pit grave 20.

FIG. 5. (above) Pit grave 29 covered with rough stones.

Also quite common were graves with roof tiles (11 graves) (FIGS 6a, b, 7a, b). They were elliptical pits in which the body was surrounded by and covered with tiles of Laconian type. Moreover, in the child's grave 4 (FIG. 8) tiles formed the floor of the pit. The dimensions of the graves with tiles ranged from 2.16 x 0.70 m to 0.65 x 0.20 m (children's graves) (FIG. 9) and depths from 0.30–0.66 m below the current ground surface.

In the N part of the excavated area four cist graves were located, the only cist graves discovered so far in this cemetery (FIG. 10 a, b). Three of them were lined with worked or rough local limestone along their four sides (FIG. 11a, b) while the fourth was lined with tiles (FIG. 12) placed vertically along its long sides and with worked limestone along its narrow sides. The cist graves were also covered with soil except for grave 1, which was covered with stone slabs. Their size ranged from 2 x 0.55 to 1.75 x 0.40 m and their depth from 0.43 m to 0.55 m below the current ground surface.

Two simple burials (FIG. 13) were also found, in which the dead person was deposited on the natural ground (without digging a pit) and covered by a thin layer of soil.



FIG. 6. a. Grave 14 covered with tiles.



FIG. 6. b. The interior of grave 14 after the removal of the human skeleton.



FIG. 7. a. Grave 22 covered with tiles.



FIG. 7. b. The interior of the grave 22 after the removal of the human skeleton.



FIG. 8. Child's grave 4 paved with tiles.



FIG. 9. Child's grave 17 with roof tiles.



FIG. 10. a. Built tomb 1 covered with rough stones.



FIG. 10. b. The interior of tomb 1 after the removal of the skeleton.



FIG. 11. a. The interior of tomb 38 after the removal of the skeleton.



FIG. 11. b. The interior of tomb 39 after the removal of the skeleton.



FIG. 12. The interior of tomb 42 after the removal of the skeleton.

FIG. 13. Simple burial 21.



Finally, in the s part of the cemetery an elliptical pit had been dug in the bedrock and its side walls lined with rough limestone. This tomb contained multiple burials and had maximum dimensions of 2 m x 1.85 m and a depth of 0.60 m.

The invisible dead

Layout of the cemetery

The graves in the section of the cemetery excavated so far (FIG. 14) extended in at least three rows over two artificial terraces in the soft clay bedrock with a general N-S orientation.



FIG. 14. Arrangement of the graves.

Most of the graves (30) were oriented north-south, regardless of their type. Only six graves had a NW-SE orientation, while five faced east-west.

It was further established that while the pits, the tiled graves and the cist graves formed a whole, the grave in the S part of the cemetery was an individual find, with which we will deal separately later.

In general, the pits, the tiled graves and the cist graves contained one burial, apart from two tile graves containing two (FIG. 15a, b) and cist grave 39 containing two superimposed burials and the bones of a third at the feet of the other two (FIG. 16a, b, c).



FIG. 15. a. The two bodies *in situ* in grave 30.

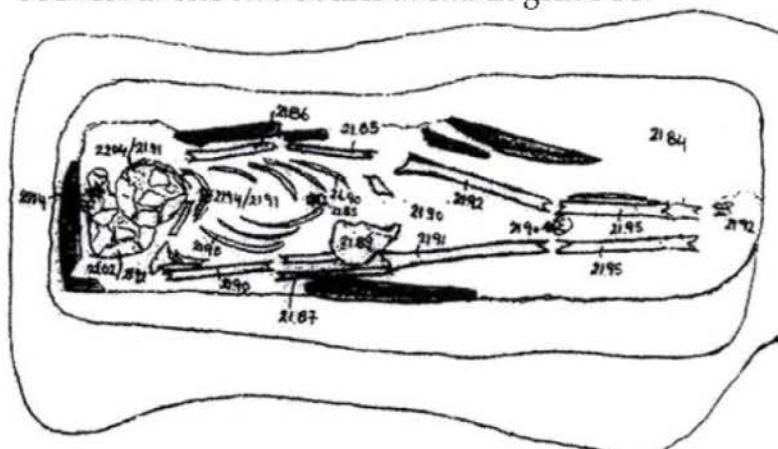


FIG. 15. b. Drawing of the bodies in the interior of grave 30.



FIG. 16. a. Body 1 and the removed bones of a third in tomb 39.



FIG. 16. b. Body 2 and the removed bones of a third in tomb 39.

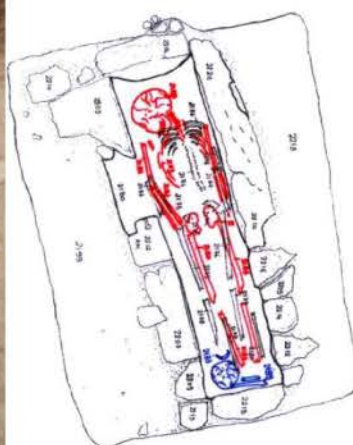


FIG. 16. c. Drawing of the bodies in the interior of tomb 39.

Skeletal remains had not survived in four of the graves, although in one of them the grave goods did. Three of these graves were identified as infant graves due to their small dimensions; here nothing was preserved from the skeletal material except for parts of the skulls.



FIG. 17. a. Parts of a human skeleton in grave 11.



FIG. 17. b. Human skeleton in grave 6.

The invisible dead

In order to determine the gender, age and pathology of the dead an osteological study³ has begun, although the state of preservation of the bones is often very fragmentary (**FIG. 17 a, b**). For the time being we can identify at least 38 adults and four infants buried in the graves.



FIG. 18. Supine extended position of the body of the deceased in grave 15.



FIG. 19. Supine extended position of the body of the deceased in grave 35.



FIG. 20. Supine contracted position of the deceased in grave 22.



FIG. 21. Supine position with squatting legs of the deceased

³ The study of the osteological material is carried out by Professor Terry Brown at the University of Manchester, Faculty of Life Sciences.

All the dead were deposited directly on top of the earthen floor of the grave. Sixteen were in a supine, usually extended posture with the arms parallel to the body (FIG. 18). Four of the dead were buried in an extended supine position with one or both hands on the abdomen (FIG. 19). One body was lying in a supine position with slightly contracted legs (FIG. 20) with one hand on the abdomen, while another was lying in a supine position with squatting legs (FIG. 21).

One exception was the body in grave 12, as it had been laid on its left side, in a contracted position. This may not be its original burial place, since it appears that it had been moved to the edge of the pit so that a smaller tile grave with an infant burial could be included in the same pit. This is possibly a successive or contemporaneous burial of a child and his/her mother (FIG. 22a, b).



FIG. 22. a. The position of the deceased in tomb 12.



FIG. 22. b. Grave 12A after the removal of the skeleton in grave 12.

The invisible dead

We also realized that in 22 cases the head of the deceased was located at the S narrow end of the grave, whereas six bodies were deposited with their heads at the N end, two on the E side, one on the W side and one at the NW narrow end of the grave (FIG. 23).

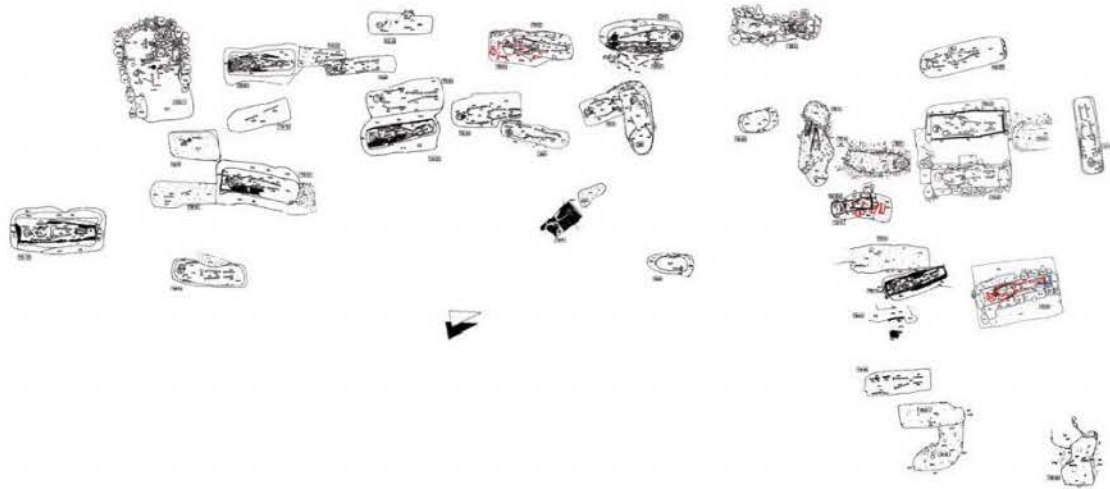


FIG. 23. Ground plan of the cemetery with human skeletons *in situ*.

Grave goods

Only 8 out of 42 graves were found to contain grave goods. Built grave 1 contained two iron pins at the level of the right shoulder of the deceased and a bronze ring at the height of the abdomen, where one of the hands probably rested (FIG. 24a, b).

Built grave 39 also included an iron pin, which cannot be attributed with precision to any one of the three dead.

Tiled grave 9 contained a silver Aeginetan obol⁴ positioned below the head of the deceased (FIG. 25a, b).

The child's tile grave 17 contained a small black-glazed skyphos of Corinthian type, dated to the second half of the 5th century BC. The skyphos was located west of the skull and was an import from Attica (FIG. 26a, b).⁵

Grave 8 contained two inverted kylikes at the feet of the body together with a lekythos, dating to 480–470 BC. The first kylix is a local imitation of the Attic Droop-type kylix,⁶ while the second is an import from Attica⁷ (FIG. 27a,

⁴ Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum vol. VII, no.1008.

⁵ See Parlama & Stampolidis, 2000, 301, no. 296 and Sparkes & Talcott, 1970, 81–3, pl. 14.

⁶ See Sparkes & Talcott, 1970, 91, pl. 19 No. 397 & pl. 20 no. 440.

b, c). The lekythos (FIG. 28 a, b), which bears a Dionysiac scene, is also Attic and belongs to group 581, I of Athens.⁸

FIG. 24. a. Bronze ring of tomb 1.



FIG. 24. b. Detail of the bronze ring in tomb 1.



FIG. 25. a. Obverse of the silver obol of grave 9.



FIG. 25. b. Reverse of the silver obol of grave 9.

⁷ Moore & Philippides, 1986, 58–61, pl. 103.

⁸ See Parlama & Stampolidis, 2000, 293; also Moore & Philippides, 1986, 46–7.



FIG. 26. a. The skyphos of grave 17 *in situ*.



FIG. 26. b. The skyphos of grave 17.



FIG. 27. a. Two inverted kylikes of grave 8 *in situ*.



FIG. 27. b. Local kylix which is an Attic imitation.



FIG. 27. c. Attic kylix.

FIG. 28. b. Attic lekythos.

FIG. 28. a. The lekythos of grave 8 *in situ*.



In grave 26 a fragmentary iron fibula was found near the left arm of the deceased. Also in pit 23 (which possibly included an infant burial, although no skeletal remains survived), two miniature Corinthian kotylai⁹ of the 5th century BC and a spoon were discovered (FIG. 29 a , b). Burial 10 included a small Corinthian jug of the 5th–4th century BC (FIG. 30) and an iron pin beside one of the legs of the deceased.

⁹ Payne, 1962, 295–6, pl. 119.



FIG. 29. a. The spoon and kotylai of pit 23 *in situ*.



FIG. 29. b. Two miniature kotylai and a spoon.



FIG. 31. The small skyphos of grave 17 or 18.

FIG. 30. The oenochoe of grave 10.

Finally, a small, locally produced skyphos of the 5th century BC (FIG. 31) was connected with the child's tile grave 17 or grave 18; because of recent cultivation activity the skyphos cannot be attributed more precisely to either of the two graves.

From the study of the archaeological data we concluded that these 42 graves form a homogeneous group dating to the Classical period, on the basis of their organization, method of burial and paucity of types of offerings. In particular, the finds date the graves to the 5th and 4th centuries BC. The tiles that covered the graves are dated to the late 5th–4th centuries BC¹⁰ (FIG. 32 a, b, c, d, e). They are of Laconian type, unpainted or painted in red, brown or

¹⁰ The dating of the graves' tiles was carried out by Dr. M.-F. Billiot, whom I thank for my initiation into the unexplored world of these generally neglected objects.

black colour (FIG. 33 a, b). Several have grooves made by the fingers of the potters, while two tiles have impressed the mark of the workshop which produced them (FIG. 34 a, b).

The arrangement of the graves and the position of the dead in them show the organization of groups within the cemetery: namely, some pits were very close to each other (FIG. 35 a, b) and one pit contained two graves or depositions which partially overlapped (FIG. 36 a, b), although there was no shortage of space to open up new pits. There were even graves in which the heads of the dead were turned to face each other (FIG. 37 a, b). We possibly, therefore, have members of the same family buried in adjacent graves. This is an issue which we hope to clarify through osteological study.

FIG. 32. a. The convex side of a tile from grave 30.



FIG. 32. b. The hollow side of the above tile from grave 30.

FIG. 32. c. The hollow side of a tile from grave 30.





FIG. 32. d. The hollow side of a tile from grave 30.

FIG. 32. e. The hollow side of a tile from grave 30.



FIG. 33. a. The convex side of a tile from grave 30.

FIG. 33. b. The hollow side of the above tile from grave 30.





FIG. 34. a. The hollow side of a tile with ceramic sign from grave 30.



FIG. 34. b. The hollow side of a tile with ceramic sign from grave 30.

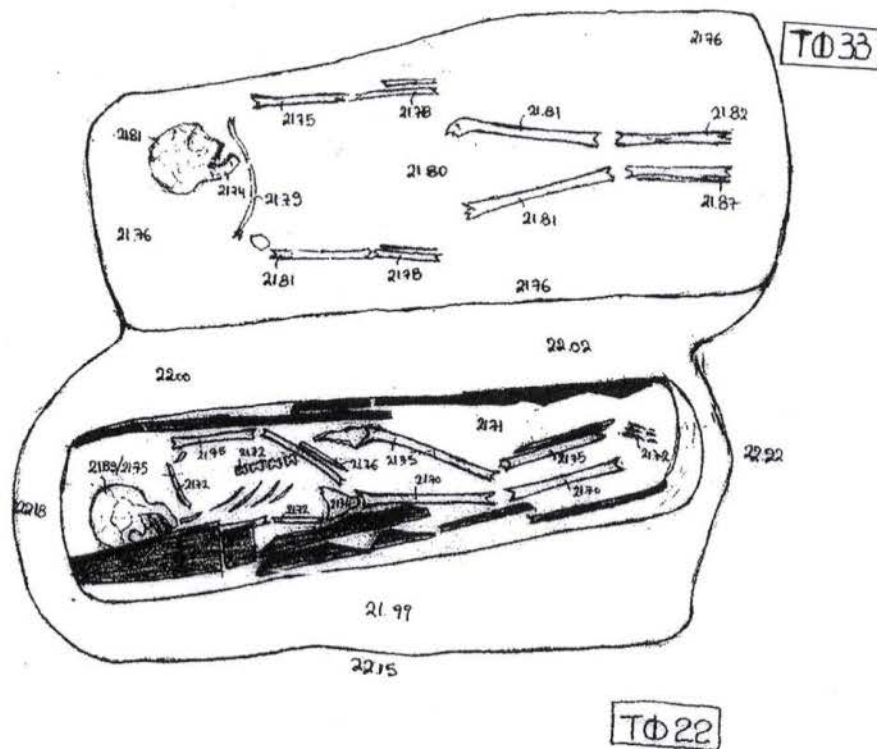


FIG. 35. a. Drawing of graves 22 and 33.

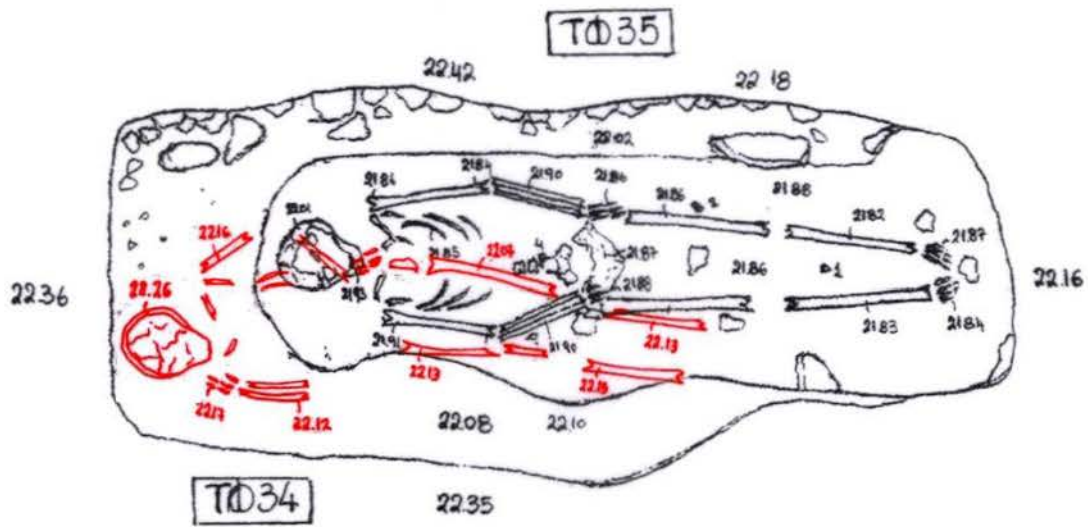


FIG. 36. b. Drawing of graves 34 and 35.

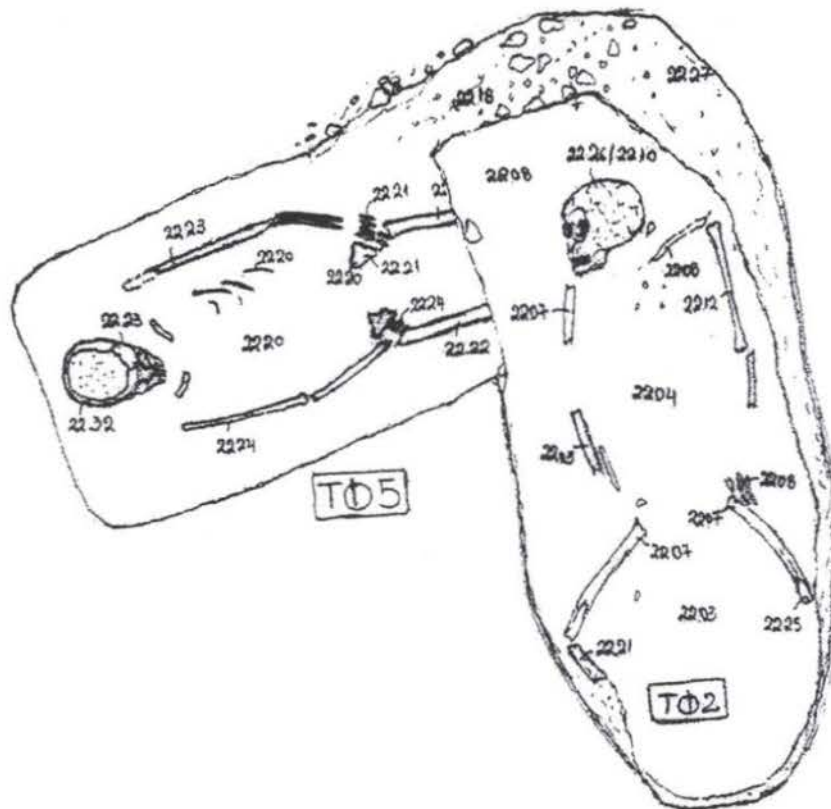


FIG. 37. a. Drawing of graves 2 and 5.

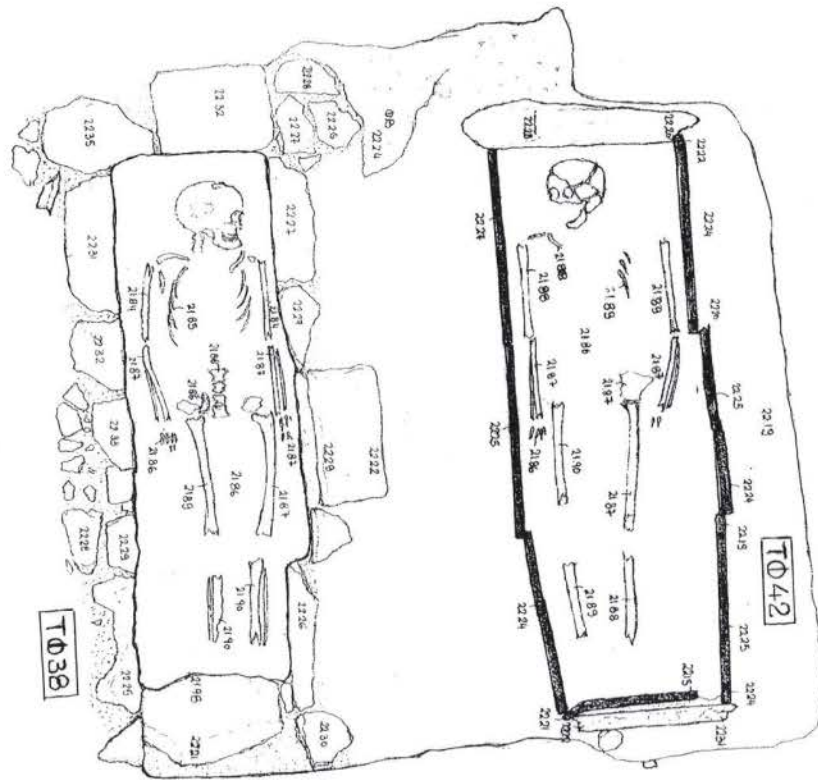


FIG. 37. b. Drawing of graves 38 and 42.

Although the graves with goods were very few (only 8 out of 42, i.e. 19%), the offerings were not related to just one type of grave, but appeared in simple pits, tile and cist graves, of both adults and infants. Therefore, it is not easy to distinguish the social class of the dead from the type of grave and its burial offerings. On the other hand, the difference in the types of graves (most of them were pits compared with 11 tile and only 3 built cist graves) suggests differences in the social stratification of the community members who are buried in Delpriza.

Grave goods (pottery, a little jewellery, a single coin) were more or less everyday utilitarian objects, whereas offerings like weapons, figurines, objects characteristic of craftsmen or athletes, were lacking. In particular luxury items were absent, which might indicate a high social standing or a marked economic diversification among the dead.

But in terms of work and the investment of time required for the construction of the graves, the most 'expensive' may be regarded the built cist graves and the tile graves. Therefore, economic distinction was based on whether or not the relatives of the dead were able to finance the construction of a simple pit, a tile grave or a built cist grave (FIG. 38) and whether or not they could afford to possess imported vases from Attica or Corinth.



FIG. 38. View of the northern part of the cemetery with built- cist tombs.

Finally, we noted that special care had been taken over the graves of infants, which had grave goods, and at least were not simple pits. Child grave 4 (FIG. 39) was unique in the cemetery for its construction, its floor being paved with tiles, as well as pit 23 (FIG. 29a) with offerings of miniature vases.

On the other hand, there was no evidence of any markings over the graves or of ceremonial rituals during and after the burial. Of course, we cannot exclude the possibility that these kinds of data have perished, due to soil erosion and the cultivation of recent years, as the graves were buried only 30–60 cm below the modern surface.



FIG. 39. Child's grave 4.

THE OCCUPATION OF THE REGION OF DELPRIZA

In general, those buried in these graves plainly represent a rural community of the Classical period in a very fertile area near the town of Mases (FIG. 40), which lies near the coast and flourished during the Classical era.¹¹ Thanks to the region's abundant produce, the more prosperous community members had the wherewithal to distinguish themselves from the rest of the population through the type of grave they built or the objects which would accompany them in their graves.

Moreover, as we surmise from the (admittedly very few) imports from Attica and Corinth, the Delpriza community was not a closed and isolated village but had contacts with large, rich cities, perhaps through trade in its agricultural products, although its purchasing capacity may have been limited. The main product of the region was probably olive oil, as suggested by the close proximity to the cemetery of a workshop for oil production.

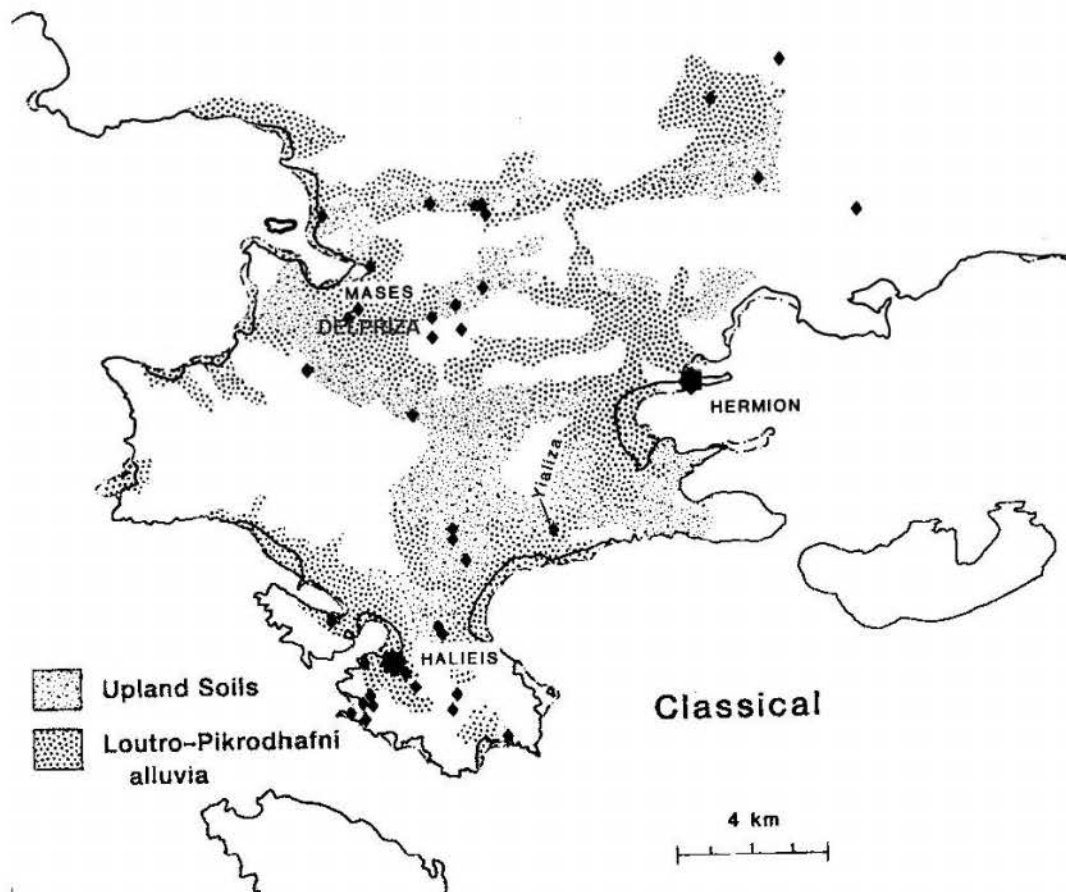


FIG. 40. Topographical map of the Delpriza area in relation to the Classical sites in the region (based on the survey of Jameson, Runnels & van Andel).

¹¹ Jameson, Runnels & van Andel, 1994, 375–8, fig. 6.16.

THE EARLY HELLADIC GRAVE

The curvilinear quadrangular grave (FIG. 41 a, b, c, d), which was discovered in the s part of the cemetery, differed immediately from all the other excavated graves because of its construction. It consisted of an elliptical pit dug in the bedrock, its three sides lined with at least three courses of medium-sized unworked limestone boulders. The grave's entrance is on the east side and had a large stone, as a kind of jamb, at its s end. Clearly, an equivalent stone would have been placed at its N end too. The external dimensions of the grave were 2 m (E–W) x 1.85 m (N–S) and internally 1.60 x 1.40 m respectively. Immediately to the east of the door opening, which had a width of 0.90 m, a kind of *prothyron*, or porch, was indicated by a shallow formation in the bedrock (its dimensions being 1.10 x 0.65 m); this was located approximately 0.09 m above the lowest point of the grave's floor.¹² We have no evidence for the grave's superstructure because it was found only 0.30 m below the present surface, in an intensively cultivated area.



FIG. 41. a. View from the east of the Early Helladic tomb.



FIG. 41. b. View from the south of the Early Helladic tomb.

¹² The floor plan of the grave shows a general similarity with graves of Chalandriani in Syros (see Doulas, 1977, 47–9, pl. XIII, XXIV f & a, b, f) and the built grave 14 of Agios Kosmas in Attica (see Mylonas, 1959, 93–4, fig. 81, drawing 32)



FIG. 41. c. Detail of the construction of the west side of the tomb.



FIG. 41. d. Detail of the construction of the south-west corner of the tomb.

Moreover, this grave was distinguished from the rest of the cemetery because of its contents. Piles of human bones and skulls in successive layers (FIG. 42 a, b, c, d) were discovered inside the tomb. The upper layers of bones covered the whole grave while the lower ones were confined to its w part, opposite the entrance. The preserved bones showed the dead in a contracted position, whom we can estimate to have been at least 30 people, to judge from the number of skulls. We noted that the skulls were placed around the periphery of the tomb and the remaining bones piled in the centre. The dead were accompanied by obsidian blades, stone beads of various shapes, 10 clay vases and a marble figurine¹³ of Cycladic type (FIG. 43 a, b, c, d).



FIG. 42. a. Layer B of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.

¹³ The figurine was restored in the laboratories of the 1st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Athens by the conservator Konstantinos Vassiliadis.



FIG. 42. b. Layer C of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.



FIG. 42. c. Layer D of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.



FIG. 42. d. Layer F of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.



FIG. 43. a. Clay pyxis.



FIG. 43. b. Clay pyxis.



FIG. 43. c. Stone beads of various shapes.

The vases (some of which survived intact while others were in a fragmentary state) consisted mainly of spherical pyxides with a cylindrical neck, small lugs or cylindrical, pierced handles and incised decoration. Most of them were hand-made and had dark burnish or red paint. Also found were a pyxis lid and a fragmentary double vase with red paint (FIG. 44a, b, c, d). The vases date to the Early Helladic I period and have many similarities with Early Cycladic I pottery, mainly with vases of the so-called



FIG. 43. d. Obsidian blades.

Kampos group.¹⁴ Their clay is characterized by many quartz inclusions, indicating that they did not originate from the Argolid.



FIG. 44. a. Clay pyxis with incised decoration.



FIG. 44. b. Clay pyxis with incised decoration.



FIG. 44. c. Lid of pyxis.



FIG. 44. d. Part of a double vase.

The Early Cycladic I period (3200–2700 BC) is also the date of the marble figurine (FIG. 45 a, b, c). It has affinities with figurines of the Plastiras group¹⁵ and it conveys the human form with some anatomical details: on the vertical head at the end of a long neck, the mouth and eyes are indicated by

¹⁴ Rambach 2000, 143–6, 153–61. I thank Professor J. Maran for his comments as well as Dr. R. Barber and Dr. Olga Filaniotou for their generous response to my invitation to them to see the finds in the stores of Nafplion museum and for their comments.

¹⁵ Although the figurine does not have exact similarities with other published Cycladic figurines, it roughly matches a figurine from grave D at Capros, Amorgos. See Sherratt 2000, 31, 33–4, pls. 5–7.

incision. The nose is in low relief, as are the forearms which rest on the abdomen. The legs are separated but feet are not indicated. The whole figure is very flat in appearance.



FIG. 45. a. Front view of the marble figurine.

FIG. 45. b. Back view of the marble figurine.

FIG. 45. c. Details of the facial features of the marble figurine.

This tomb contained multiple burials. The skulls seem to have received particular care and respect, while the remaining bones did not show similar attention¹⁶ (FIG. 46 a, b). The offerings were few and poor compared to the number of those buried, a phenomenon which is common in Early Cycladic burials, where there is no correlation between the number of the deceased and the quantity of offerings.¹⁷ Also the kinds of offering in the grave (pottery, marble figurine, obsidian blades and stone beads) are those commonly found in Early Cycladic graves.¹⁸ A pyxis lid was found without the vase it covered, and this suggests that the objects were used by the graves' occupants during their daily lives before being placed in the graves.¹⁹ Furthermore the small number of objects and the poor quality of most vessels indicate the financial position of their owners. The blades of obsidian are of Cycladic origin, and the pottery and marble figurine are of Cycladic type.

¹⁶ The situation is similar in Cycladic graves with multiple burials. See Doumas, 1977, 56–7.

¹⁷ Doumas, 1977, 58–60.

¹⁸ Doumas, 1977, 60.

¹⁹ Doumas, 1977, 62.

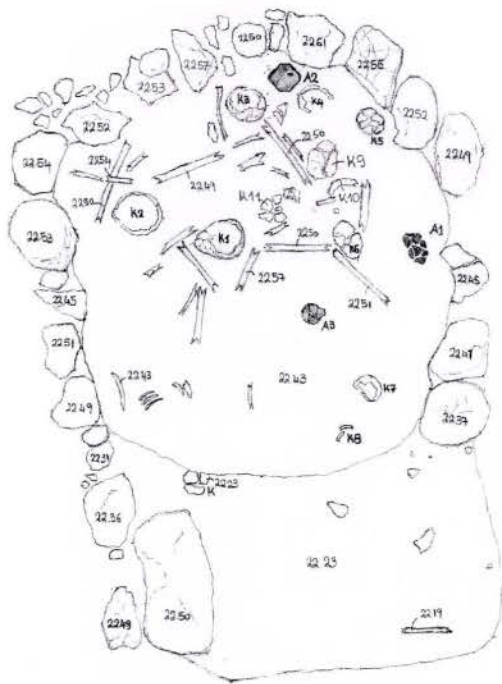


FIG. 46. a. Drawing of layer A of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.

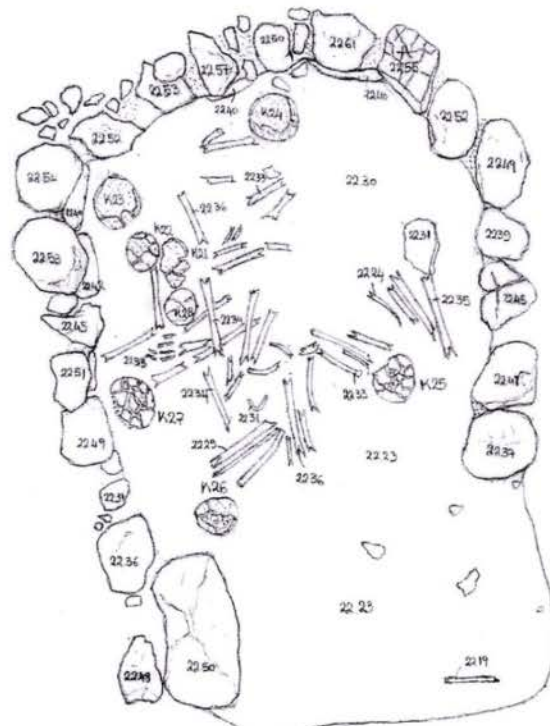


FIG. 46. b. Drawing of layer D of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.

Of course, the typological classification of the finds without any relevant laboratory studies (such as clay and marble analyses or osteological study) forms insufficient evidence for concluding that this tomb contained people of Cycladic origin. However, it is not unlikely that a small community of islanders settled in the region of the Franchthi cave during the Early Helladic period, as it had been a region familiar to travellers of the Aegean for a long time.²⁰ Similar communities are known on the coasts of Attica and Euboea from the same period.²¹ It is also reasonable to wonder why a local community would chose to have only objects of another culture, perhaps products of trade, as grave goods, and not wish its dead to have any local object with familiar symbolisms in their last residence.²²

This tomb provides the only excavated evidence from the s Argolid of how a group of people buried its dead during the Early Helladic I period,²³ despite the extensive evidence of early human habitation in the region.²⁴ Its

²⁰ Renfrew & Aspinall, 1990, 257–270.

²¹ Pantelidou-Gofa 2005, Sampson 1988, 115–117, Theodoraki 1980, 82–3 and Doumas 1977, 65–69.

²² Unlike the cemeteries in Attica and Euboea (as for example at Marathon and Manika respectively), where the objects of Cycladic type are found in graves together with local Early Helladic pottery. Pantelidou-Gofa, 2005, 338–339 & Sampson, 1988, 44.

²³ The only known Early Helladic burials from the Argolid are at Argos, Lerna, Tiryns, Asine and Epidaurus. General presentation of these finds in Alram-Stern, 2004, 586–633

²⁴ Jameson, Runnels & van Andel, 1994, 348–60, fig. 6.10

The invisible dead

existence raises further questions as to whether this is an isolated find or part of an organized Early Helladic cemetery. Moreover, the discovery of 30 people buried in the tomb gives rise to the question, where did these people live and how close was this to their burial place?

Continuing excavation in the immediate area of the tomb has provided strong evidence of human presence in this early period over an area measuring 30 x 23 m (690 m²). Unfortunately we have not yet been able to confirm whether it was only a burial site or also had residential use. However, the hill's location at a short distance from the protected Koilada Bay and the availability of enough land for cultivation are important preconditions for the permanent habitation and multiple activities of its inhabitants: agriculture, fishing and trade, which also benefitted from the proximity of Franchthi cave.

Another remarkable element was the respect shown by the people of the Classical period for a much earlier tomb (FIG. 47). The location of this tomb near the – often deeper – Classical graves (e.g. grave 30, which was located only 1 m away from the Early Helladic tomb) indicates that the people of the 5th century BC were aware of the Helladic tomb's existence but did not destroy it – they did not even disturb it. On the other hand, there was no evidence for honours being paid by posterity to the earlier dead buried here. However, this lack of evidence may be accidental and due to the fact that no superstructure of the tomb, where ceremonies could have taken place, survives.



FIG. 47. Location of the Early Helladic tomb in relation to the Classical graves.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EXCAVATION AND URGENT MEASURES
TAKEN FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE AREA OF THE CEMETERY

During the excavation it became clear that aspects of the daily life of ordinary people had been revealed, which usually remain invisible forever, because of the poor quality of materials used during their life and in death; in this case, also because of the continuous cultivation of the area.

For these reasons, the information gathered about the social organisation, economic potential and external contacts of this population is very important, as are the data to be collected during the ongoing excavation and the further study of the finds.

As part of the overall protection of the antiquities (FIG. 48), which includes this rescue excavation, and after detailed photographic documentation and planning, we took immediate steps to protect the graves from the weather and disturbance by animals. In particular, the interiors of the graves were covered with geotextile and pumice stones in order to protect them against collapse, while their contours remain visible on site and can be linked to the topography and the graves to be excavated in future. Furthermore, the graves' finds have now been transferred to the stores²⁵ of the 4th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Nafplio and some of them have been conserved²⁶ in the laboratories of the Ephorate.



FIG. 48. General view of the cemetery and its protective measures from the north.

²⁵ Appropriate storage of the excavation finds on a daily basis is conducted by Maria Palaiodimou, who is responsible for the inventory of the finds.

²⁶ Conservation was carried out by the conservators of the 4th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Margarita Sofou, Maria Spyropoulou and Penelope Taratori.

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Angeliki Kossyva

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List of illustrations

FIG. 1. Satellite image of the Koilada region in the southern Argolid, on which the position of Delpriza is marked in relation to the fishing village of Koilada and the Franchthi cave (After Google, 2009).

FIG. 2. Topographical map of the Koilada area in the southern Argolid.

FIG. 3. a. View of the excavated farmstead at the top of the hill.

FIG. 3. b. The location of the cemetery in relation to the farmstead.

FIG. 4. Pit grave 20.

FIG. 5. Pit grave 29 covered with rough stones.

FIG. 6. a. Grave 14 covered with tiles.

FIG. 6. b. The interior of grave 14 after the removal of the human skeleton.

FIG. 7. a. Grave 22 covered with tiles.

FIG. 7. b. The interior of the grave 22 after the removal of the human skeleton.

FIG. 8. Child's grave 4 paved with tiles.

FIG. 9. Child's grave 17 with roof tiles.

FIG. 10. a. Built tomb 1 covered with rough stones.

FIG. 10. b. The interior of tomb 1 after the removal of the skeleton.

FIG. 11. a. The interior of tomb 38 after the removal of the skeleton.

FIG. 11. b. The interior of tomb 39 after the removal of the skeleton.

FIG. 12. The interior of tomb 42 after the removal of the skeleton.

FIG. 13. Simple burial 21.

FIG. 14. Arrangement of the graves.

FIG. 15. a. The two bodies *in situ* in grave 30.

FIG. 15. b. Drawing of the bodies in the interior of grave 30.

FIG. 16. a. Body 1 and the removed bones of a third in tomb 39.

FIG. 16. b. Body 2 and the removed bones of a third in tomb 39.

FIG. 16. c. Drawing of the bodies in the interior of tomb 39.

FIG. 17. a. Parts of a human skeleton in grave 11.

- FIG. 17. b. Human skeleton in grave 6.
- FIG. 18. Supine extended position of the body of the deceased in grave 15.
- FIG. 19. Supine extended position of the body of the deceased in grave 35.
- FIG. 20. Supine contracted position of the deceased in grave 22.
- FIG. 21. Supine position with squatting legs of the deceased in grave 2.
- FIG. 22. a. The position of the deceased in tomb 12.
- FIG. 22. b. Grave 12A after the removal of the skeleton in grave 12.
- FIG. 23. Ground plan of the cemetery with human skeletons *in situ*.
- FIG. 24. a. Bronze ring of tomb 1.
- FIG. 24. b. Detail of the bronze ring in tomb 1.
- FIG. 25. a. Obverse of the silver obol of grave 9.
- FIG. 25. b. Reverse of the silver obol of grave 9.
- FIG. 26. a. The skyphos of grave 17 *in situ*.
- FIG. 26. b. The skyphos of grave 17.
- FIG. 27. a. Two inverted kylikes of grave 8 *in situ*.
- FIG. 27. b. Local kylix which is an Attic imitation.
- FIG. 27. c. Attic kylix.
- FIG. 28. a. The lekythos of grave 8 *in situ*.
- FIG. 28. b. Attic lekythos.
- FIG. 29. a. The spoon and kotylai of pit 23 *in situ*.
- FIG. 29. b. Two miniature kotylai and a spoon.
- FIG. 30. The oenochoe of grave 10.
- FIG. 31. The small skyphos of grave 17 or 18.
- FIG. 32. a. The convex side of a tile from grave 30.
- FIG. 32. b. The hollow side of the above tile from grave 30.
- FIG. 32. c. The hollow side of a tile from grave 30.
- FIG. 32. d. The hollow side of a tile from grave 30.
- FIG. 32. e. The hollow side of a tile from grave 30.

The invisible dead

- FIG. 33. a. The convex side of a tile from grave 30.
- FIG. 33. b. The hollow side of the above tile from grave 30.
- FIG. 34. a. The hollow side of a tile with ceramic sign from grave 30.
- FIG. 34. b. The hollow side of a tile with ceramic sign from grave 30.
- FIG. 35. a. Drawing of graves 22 and 33.
- FIG. 35. b. Drawing of graves 16, 17 and 19.
- FIG. 36. a. Drawing of graves 12 and 12A.
- FIG. 36. b. Drawing of graves 34 and 35.
- FIG. 37. a. Drawing of graves 2 and 5.
- FIG. 37. b. Drawing of graves 38 and 42.
- FIG. 38. View of the northern part of the cemetery with built- cist tombs.
- FIG. 39. Child's grave 4.
- FIG. 40. Topographical map of the Delpriza area in relation to the Classical sites in the region (based on the survey of Jameson, Runnels & van Andel).
- FIG. 41. a. View from the east of the Early Helladic tomb.
- FIG. 41. b. View from the south of the Early Helladic tomb.
- FIG. 41. c. Detail of the construction of the west side of the tomb.
- FIG. 41. d. Detail of the construction of the south-west corner of the tomb.
- FIG. 42. a. Layer B of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.
- FIG. 42. b. Layer C of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.
- FIG. 42. c. Layer D of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.
- FIG. 42. d. Layer F of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.
- FIG. 43. a. Clay pyxis.
- FIG. 43. b. Clay pyxis.
- FIG. 43. c. Stone beads of various shapes.
- FIG. 43. d. Obsidian blades.
- FIG. 44. a. Clay pyxis with incised decoration.
- FIG. 44. b. Clay pyxis with incised decoration.

FIG. 44. c. Lid of pyxis.

FIG. 44. d. Part of a double vase.

FIG. 45. a. Front view of the marble figurine.

FIG. 45. b. Back view of the marble figurine.

FIG. 45. c. Details of the facial features of the marble figurine.

FIG. 46. a. Drawing of layer A of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.

FIG. 46. b. Drawing of layer D of bones and skulls in the tomb's interior.

FIG. 47. Location of the Early Helladic tomb in relation to the Classical graves.

FIG. 48. General view of the cemetery and its protective measures from the north.

CHAPTER 19

ANTHROPOMORPHIC STELE FROM LEVIDI, ARCADIA: A TYPOLOGICAL AND INTERPRETATIVE STUDY*

SOKRATES S. KOURSOUMIS AND
ANNA-VASSILIKI KARAPANAGIOTOU

During the construction of a road in north-east Arcadia in 1922, digging brought to light what was known in earlier literature as *'the menhir of Levidi'*. A few years later Dorothy Burr-Thompson published the find, stating the following: "It was discovered about five years ago by some workmen during their excavations for the bed of a new road between Levidhi and Kandyla in Arcadia, near the ancient Orchomenos. By them it was set up near the road where it was finally noticed by a party from the American School at Athens and reported to the authorities..." Moreover, she provided the information that the sculpture was transported to what was then called *'the Levidi Museum'* on the initiative of Konstantinos Romaïos.¹ In view of the fact that it proved impossible to locate the sculpture, its present study will be based exclusively on photographic material in the archive of the American School of Classical Studies (FIGS 1 – 4).

The sculpture has been hewn out of white local limestone with an abundance of veins and cracks, chipped at certain points. It depicts a head of enormous proportions, 37 cm high and 25 cm thick, attached to a slab 92.5 cm high (max.), 53 cm wide (max.) and of 30 cm maximum thickness at shoulder height. Its total surviving height is 1.305 m.

The face is 31 cm wide and appears elongated, with little depth.² Its features have been carved clearly in a bold manner. The eyes are round and protruding, as is the stylised nose, which joins the hairline on the forehead. The mouth is rendered by an uneven, deep cut, off-centre to the nose, while the long hair, in the stylised shape of a *φενάκη*, covers most of the forehead and falls over the shoulders. The image has basically one main façade, since the sides have no depth and the back is unworked.

* We would like to thank the American School of Classical Studies for making the photographic material available to us, Bill and Lena Cavanagh for their help in translating the article, as well as Georgia Kokkorou-Alevra and Elleanna Raftopoulou for their useful comments.

¹ Burr 1927, 169–76. There is no indication that at the time there was any kind of archaeological collection at Levidi. In fact, the Museum of Tegea was already in existence since 1910, functioning as an archaeological museum for the whole of Arcadia, and one would have expected the sculpture (which K. Romaïos was aware of) to have been moved to that Museum, as was a significant number of antiquities found in the region of Mantinea.

² Burr 1927, 169.

The slab has the shape of an inverted pyramid, is hacked roughly in the frontal and right-hand side of the viewer, while the left-hand side has been cut diagonally so that it matches the right. Its point, although broken at the end, made it easy for the sculpture to be sunk direct into the ground.



1



2



3



4

FIGS. 1-4 The anthropomorphic stele from Levidi.

Stele from Levidi, Arcadia

COMPARISONS – DATE

The stele of Levidi appears often in the international bibliography³. It has been described as ‘primitive’⁴ and dated by the majority of scholars to the period 750–650 BC;⁵ however some have dated it as late as the medieval era.⁶ The absence of excavation data and, crucially, the loss of the stele itself, mean that the authors have been unable to examine its essential characteristics and its typology. The stylised features are encountered in monumental works of Daedalic sculpture, which could point to the 7th century as the lower limit of its date. Its connection to Orchomenos, in whose region it was found, and its comparison with Arcadian large works of sculpture, are quite enlightening.

The head of a male statue from Lepreon in ancient Arcadia (today in Elis), merely 18 cm high and noted for its careful workmanship, its stylised hair and round eyes, is dated to the end of the 7th century BC (FIG. 5).⁷ The relief picture of a Gorgon which was part of the topmost, marble akroterion of the temple of Artemis Knakeatis in Tegea, is dated a little later, to the beginning of the 6th century.⁸ The wide, shallow face, round eyes and long hair resting on the shoulders are strongly reminiscent of the lost sculpture.



FIG. 5 The archaic head from Lepreon

Another piece containing similarities with the Levidi figure is the face of a standing female figure from Corinth, which was part of the support of a *perirrhanterion* and probably comes from eastern Greece.⁹ It is interesting to note the Arcadian stele’s similarity to the so-called ‘Thera figures’, two Cycladic sculptures from the Archaic cemetery of Sellada, of a total height of 19 cm, dated to the second

³ Lullies 1931, 39; Müller 1934, 167, fig. 11; Kaschnitz 1943, 186; Homann-Wedeking 1950, 124, 127, Abb. 62; Carpenter 1960, 3–4; Cook 1967, 27 n. 32; Brookes 1978, 52–3; Karakatsanis 1986, 49 (K1), 109–11, 126, 137; Felten 1987, 23, fig. 39; Fuchs & Floren 1987, 228, Anm. 1; Alevra 1993, 18, n. 34; Morgan 1999, 39; Donohue 2005, 120–30.

⁴ Burr 1927, 170–1, 175–6; Fuchs & Floren 1987, 228.

⁵ Burr 1927, 175–6; Lullies 1931, 39; Kaschnitz 1943, 186; Felten 1987, 23; Karakatsanis 1986, 49; Alevra 1993, 24 n. 34; Morgan 1999, 39.

⁶ Carpenter 1960, 4.

⁷ Kourouniotis 1908, 165 ff, Taf. 6; Fuchs & Floren 1987, 228; Rautopoulou 1990, 6–8 figs 6–7.

⁸ Romaios 1952, 19 fig. 16; Felten 1987, 1–76 (24).

⁹ Fuchs & Floren 1987, 187–8 Anm. 7 Taf. 14, 1. According to G. Kokkorou-Alevra its provenance is probably oriental.

half of the 7th century BC (FIG. 6 a–b).¹⁰ The Arcadian sculpture also clearly resembles the head of a clay figurine from the sanctuary of Hera Akraia in Perachora, 3.3 cm in height, which has been dated to the years between the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th century BC,¹¹ a chronology which cannot form a definite *terminus ante quem* for our sculpture.¹²



FIG. 6 The “Theran figures”

Summing up, and taking into account mainly the close similarities with the head from Lepreon and that of the Gorgon, we would suggest a date for the Levidi piece of around the end of the 7th to the beginning of the 6th century BC, placing it among the first attempts at monumental sculpture in Arcadia, an area which belongs to the periphery and receives the creative influence of the great artistic centres of the Peloponnese, such as neighbouring Corinth,¹³ after a delay.

The early-Archaic sculpture of the Peloponnese boasts a wealth of significant works, starting from the products of the larger workshops at Sparta and Corinth as well as the neighbouring Argolid. Arcadia is generally excluded due to its geographical isolation, which meant that it received important influences from the large Peloponnesian workshops only after a notable interval.¹⁴ The most important

¹⁰ Dragendorff 1903, 306 Abb. 492 a–b; Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 179 fig. 34; Kourou & Grammatikaki 1999, 246 Taf. 20.

¹¹ Payne 1940, 197 pl. 87a–b; Brookes 1978, 52 (first quarter of the 7th c. BC).

¹² On the relationship between kouros statues and large-scale sculpture, see Jenkins 1936, 5 ff; Cook 1967, 28–9; Brookes 1978, 54 ff; Felten 1987, 10–2, 17, 21, 36–7 fig. 29; Martini 1990, 95–6.

¹³ Morgan 1999, 426. On the crystallisation of the ‘Daedalic’ style, see Martini 1990, 90–9.

¹⁴ Fuchs & Floren 1987, 228; Kokkorou-Alevra 1993, 18.

Stele from Levidi, Arcadia

examples of Archaic sculpture from Arcadia, such as the late-Daedalic statue of an enthroned 'goddess' from Agiorgitika near Tegea,¹⁵ the seated statue of Agemo from Assea,¹⁶ together with a similar one from the same area, housed in the Archaeological Museum of Tripolis,¹⁷ as well as the Archaic head from Mantinea,¹⁸ all date after 700 BC and are connected with the growth of urban centres and the establishment of the first temples.¹⁹ After all, even the earliest large-scale works from neighbouring Corinth, which archaeology proves had strong ties with Orchomenos and which, as a pioneer, influenced Arcadian sculpture, are not older than the end of the 7th century BC.²⁰

Orchomenos itself was one of the most important ancient city-states of east Arcadia.²¹ The excavation of Archaic temples in the territory of Orchomenos – even if incomplete – such as the hecatombedon Doric temple of the late 6th century BC,²² and the temple of Artemis Mesopolitis,²³ indicates the creation of a community which led to the birth of the institution of the polis, the city proper. Among the works of monumental sculpture of the Archaic polis are included a lion *couchant*²⁴ and a limestone relief depicting two 'Dionysiac' figures,²⁵ as well as the late-Archaic chimera attributed to a Corinthian workshop.²⁶

The above parallels reinforce the dating of the anthropomorphic stele of Levidi to around the end of the 7th to the beginning of the 6th century BC, that is, to a period during which Orchomenos became a city-state.²⁷

THE FIGURE DEPICTED ON THE STELE

The unusual figure appearing on the stele of Levidi became the object of numerous interpretations, particularly by earlier scholars who studied it: it has been called a

¹⁵ Kranz 1972, 24 Taf. 13; Jung 1982, 264 Anm. 368 (7th c. BC); Felten 1987, 24 (3rd quarter of 6th c. BC).

¹⁶ Häfner 1965, 63, 113; Kranz 1972, 24, pl. 14; Alford 1983, 40–5, 174–7 No. 7; Jung 1982, 39; Fuchs & Floren 1987, 228 Anm. 4; Felten 1987, 24 (late 6th c. BC).

¹⁷ Pikoulas 1988, 253 n. 158; Spyropoulos 1993, 257–8 fig. 1.

¹⁸ Steinhauer 1973, 300 fig. 192 γ–δ; Felten 1987, 23 Anm. 47; Kokkorou-Alevra 1999, 254–61 figs 3–6.

¹⁹ Voyatzis 1999, 153–9; Nielsen 2002, 176, 227.

²⁰ Fuchs & Floren 1987, 187, 190.

²¹ Homer *Il.* 2.605; *RE* 17 (1939) s.v. *Orchomenos* 4 (E. Meyer), 887–905. Jost 1985, 113–22; Voyatzis 1999, 135; Morgan 1999, 392; Nielsen 2002, 165.

²² Pausanias 8.13.4; Blum & Plassart 1914, 81–4 Fig. 11–2; Jost 1985, 114–6; Felten 1987, 29 fig. 49. E; Østby 1990, 327–38; Morgan 1999, 392; Voyatzis 1999, 166 n. 23; Nielsen 2002, 165.

²³ Blum & Plassart 1914, 74–9, figs 2 & 7; Jost 114–6, 119–20; Felten 1987, 31; Morgan 1999, 392; Voyatzis 1999, 166 n. 23; Nielsen 2002, 165.

²⁴ Hiller von Gaertringen & Lattierman 1911, 29 Abb. 5; Fuchs & Floren 1987, 228. On its correct interpretation as a *couchant* animal (lion), see Karapanagiotou 1996, 145 and the contribution of G. Kokkorou-Alevras to the present conference.

²⁵ Blum & Plassart 1914, 85–7 fig. 13; Jost 1985, 116, 425–6; Morgan 1999, 393, n. 61; Roy 2007, 21 fig. 12.

²⁶ Neugebauer 1939, 26–30 fig. 1–3. *AA* 57 (1942), 465 Abb. 1; Fuchs & Floren 1987, 204, 230.

²⁷ Nielsen 2002, 165–6.

'menhir', 'hermes', 'statue', but also a 'huge stele'.²⁸ The partly figurative character of the work, as well as the possibility that it had been sunk into the ground, make the term 'stele' more easily applicable, if accompanied by the descriptive 'anthropomorphic',²⁹ as opposed to terminology which restricts the choice of potential interpretations. Its early date does not, for the time being, allow it to be included in the large category of hermaic stelai, although it could be seen as their 'precursor'.³⁰

The anthropomorphic stelai of hermaic type are found widely in Arcadia. Their form was a particular favourite with the Arcadians and was therefore chosen for the fashioning of dedications to the gods (especially in the area of Tegea),³¹ but also of cult statues.³² Many figures of Arcadian mythology are hybrids, such as goat-like Pan, the bear Kallisto, horse-like Arion, the *xoanon* of Demetra Eurynome;³³ at the same time, *lykanthropia* was the central element of myths which related to rites performed at the sanctuary of Zeus Lycaeus.³⁴

The tradition of hybrid representations is met in areas adjacent to Arcadia, such as Corinthia³⁵ and Laconia,³⁶ whilst anthropomorphic stelai of the so-called 'daimones' type are known from Messenia, dating to the Hellenistic period and coming from the funerary monuments of Messene.³⁷

LOCATING THE STELE'S FIND-SPOT

The relationship of our anthropomorphic stele with the antiquities of Orchomenos is not clear, whilst the location of the precise find-spot of the sculpture is still a mystery. With the aid of D. Burr's photographs an attempt was undertaken to locate its find-spot, bearing in mind that it had plainly been moved a small distance to one side from the position of its original discovery, with the aim of continuing the roadworks, and it was rediscovered by a team of American researchers.³⁸

²⁸ Burr 1927, 169–70, 176; Lullies 1931, 39; Kaschnitz 1943, 186; Homann-Wedeking 1950, 124; Carpenter 1960, 3–4; Cook 1967, 27 n. 32; Brookes 1978, 52; Karakatsanis 1986, 126; Felten 1987, 23; Donohue 2005, 120–1.

²⁹ Andronikos 1961, 175; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2005, 93–4.

³⁰ Romaios 1907, 397.

³¹ Arvanitopoulos 1906, 36 no. 8 fig. I,2; IG V 2, 69–70; Romaios 1912, 377–9 figs 8–10 and 1952, 1–2; Jost 1985, 149, 159, 415 n. 2; Palagia & Coulson 1993, 276 figs 2–3; Jost 1985, 149; Palagia & Coulson 1993, 272 figs 2–3; Stavridi 1996, 90–1 fig. 49.

³² Pausanias 8.32.1–2; 8.32.4; 8.39.6; 8.48.6.

³³ Pausanias 8.41.5–6. See Jost 1985, 89, 412–3.

³⁴ Nielsen 2002, 78–9.

³⁵ Robinson 1969, 7–8, 26–7, 31 pl. 9.53, 56, 57, 70.

³⁶ Schröder 1904, 24–31 Abb. 2. On the statue of Amyklaïos Apollon see Thucydides 5.23.5; Pausanias 3.19.2. Also Tsountas 1892, 16–8; Imhoof Blummer & Gardner 1964, pls 16–7; Karakatsanis 1986, 110–1.

³⁷ Themelis 2000, 158–65 figs 146–52.

³⁸ Burr 1927, 169.

Stele from Levidi, Arcadia

Particularly helpful was the investigation carried out on site in the region of Orchomenos.³⁹ On the basis of contemporary photographs the stele's emplacement was located in the second (northerly) plain of Orchomenos, northeast of the ancient acropolis and immediately north of the narrow gully (FIG. 7). The Levidi – Kandila road which was constructed in 1922 and is depicted in the photographic record of the American School, is the modern asphalt-surfaced road which still connects the two villages. The main section of it to the north of the gully was transformed by the levelling of imported fills, while the removal of material was on a relatively small scale. This information agrees completely with Carpenter's testimony that the stele was located at a small depth.⁴⁰



FIG. 7 The north Orchomenos plain

The testimony of the traveller Pausanias is especially helpful, as he visited the area in the 2nd century AD, heading from Orchomenos towards Kaphyes via the gully. He mentions the following:⁴¹

“Opposite the town stands a mountain called Trachy.⁴² The rain water which runs through a stream between the town and mount Trachy flows into another, large plain of Orchomenos, whose greater part forms a lake. If

³⁹ Special thanks are due to Nikolaos Koutsourakis (retired member of staff of the 5th Archaeological Ephorate, which was formerly responsible for the county of Arcadia) and Panayotis Triantafyllos (guard of antiquities of the region) for their valuable contribution in identifying the site where the sculpture had been found, as well as for pointing out the destroyed grave mound north of the gully.

⁴⁰ Carpenter 1960, 3.

⁴¹ Pausanias 8.13.4–5 (translated by N. Papachatzis).

⁴² According to Pausanias' description, the ancient Mount Trachy can be identified today with the mountain bearing the same name, situated on the east side of the gully. On the identification of the ancient mountain with a ridge slightly further south, see Papachatzis 1979b, 227 n. 4.

one walks about three stadia away from Orchomenos on the straight road, one reaches the town of Kaphyai, which is located beside this stream and extends to the left of the waters that feed into the lake. The other road is over the lower part of mount Trachy, after one crosses the stream.⁴³ On this road one comes across first the grave of Aristokrates, who violated the virgin priestess of the goddess Hymnia ...”

So the Periegete sites the grave of the mythical king Aristokrates at a short distance from the entrance to the narrow gully, on the road which leads towards Amilos over the foothills of mount Trachy. At the beginning of the 20th century, F. Hiller von Gaertringen and H. Lattermann located a mound of earth, which they marked on their map and identified as the grave of the king of Orchomenos (**FIG. 8**).⁴⁴ During our own survey of the area we located immediately north of the gully and west-northwest of the road leading to Kandila the remains of stone steps belonging to a grave-like mound, the material from which (according to local information) had been taken away to be used in building or other works in the area (**FIG. 9**). Such kinds of earth mounds, which are surrounded by rough stones, are identified with the so-called ‘heaps’ (*soroi*) mentioned by Pausanias; these are grave monuments set up in honour of men who fell in battle.⁴⁵ One such large construction was excavated in the first (southern) plain of Orchomenos and was considered to be a grave monument of early-Helladic times.⁴⁶ A second earth-mound has been excavated further north, in the second plain of Orchomenos and in the western part of the Orchomenos – Kandila road.⁴⁷ Consequently, it appears that the wider area around the gorge is connected with grave monuments, probably of illustrious dead from Orchomenos.⁴⁸ Therefore the site of the mound (now destroyed), which was associated with king Aristokrates, coincides in many respects with the possible find-site of the anthropomorphic stele. The site can be identified as lying west-northwest of the modern highway which leads from Levidi to Kandila via the Orchomenos gully. While this road was being constructed in 1922 at the foothills of mount Trachy, some small-scale digging was necessary. Burr’s photographs show the stele on a heap of earth, from the top of which one can see the new road at a short distance

⁴³ The road mentioned by Pausanias must be part of the ancient road network linking Orchomenos with Pheneos, as marked on their map by Hiller von Gaertringen and Lattermann (1911, Situationsplan, Taf. I). Traces of this ancient road have been found in modern Korinthia (ancient Pheneatike): Pikoulas 1999, 265–6 no. 11.

⁴⁴ Hiller von Gaertringen & Lattermann 1911, Situationsplan, Taf. I; Papachatzis 1979b, 227–8 n. 4.

⁴⁵ Pausanias 8.13.3. See Salavoura 2007, 353–62. We wish to thank warmly Mrs Salavoura for giving us a copy of her work.

⁴⁶ Spyropoulos 1982, 115; Salavoura 2007, 353–5.

⁴⁷ Spyropoulos 1997, 12; Salavoura 2007, 356–7.

⁴⁸ Salavoura 2007, 358–9. The earth-mounds are interpreted as roadside graves of criminals, on which passersby threw ‘the stone of anathema’ (Pritchett 1980, 128–9; Faklaris 1990, 195; Papachatzis 1979, 305 n. 1; Papachatzis 1979b, 227 n. 3).

Stele from Levidi, Arcadia

(FIG. 1). Although it is possible that the stele was moved to that spot so that it could be photographed, it is equally possible that this is its original find-site, the earth mound recorded by Hiller von Gaertringen and Lattermann, with the stone steps still visible today. It seems that this mound was later leveled by the locals, who used its material for various purposes, including the construction of the road. The great weight of the stele makes it difficult to move it far from the spot where it was found. Therefore the sculpture was either found when the mound was dug up for its soil, which was used for the road, or it was spotted near the road during its construction (FIG. 10).

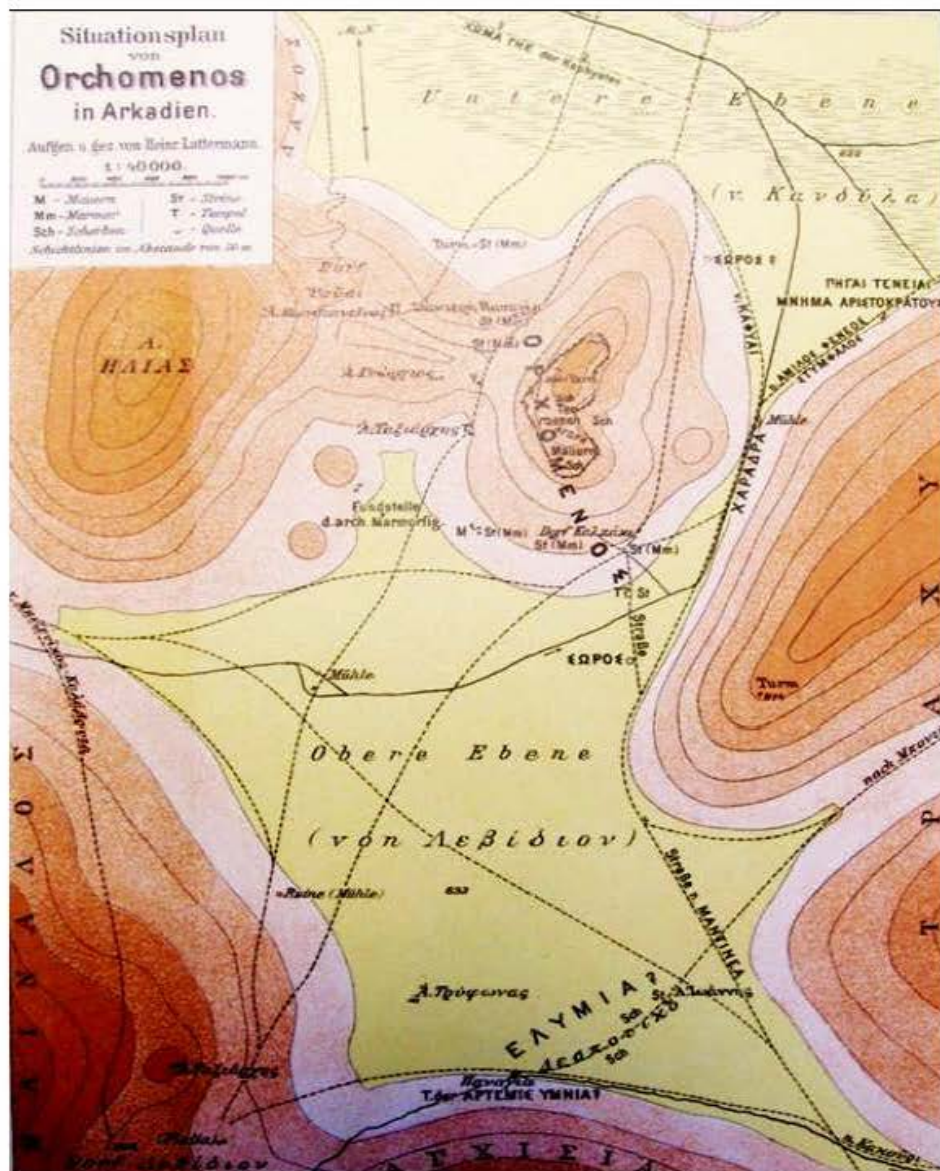


FIG. 8 Map of the area of ancient Orchomenos



FIG. 9 The tomb in the northern part of the Orchomenos gully

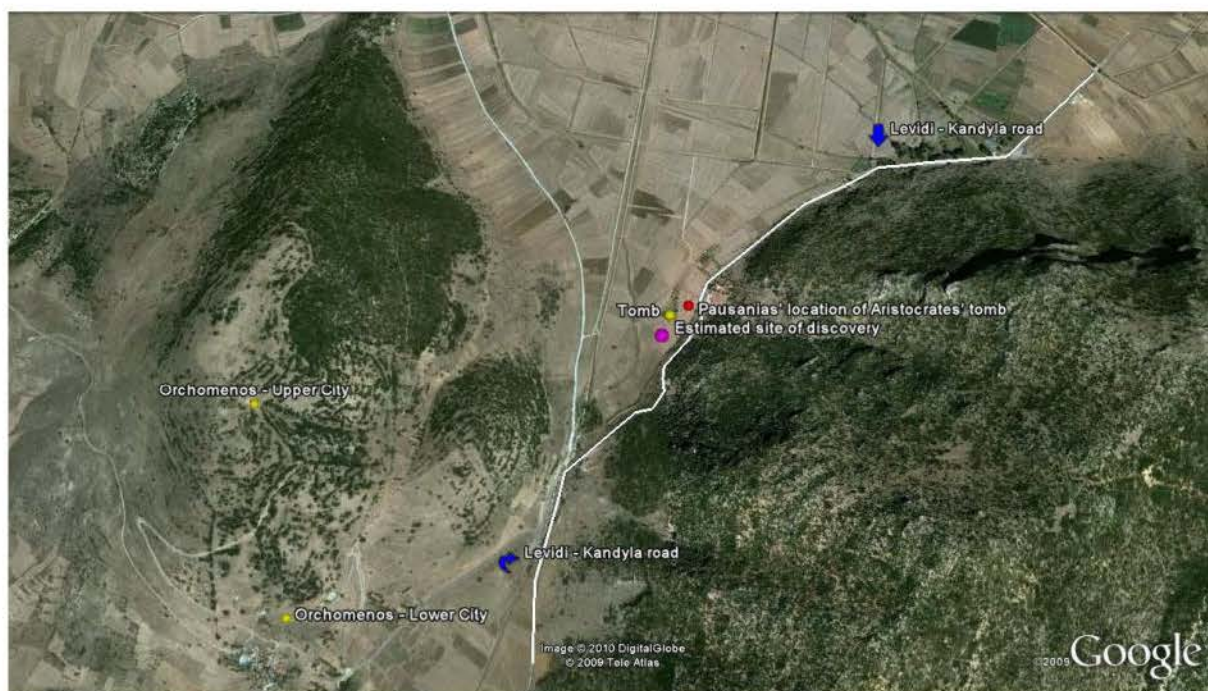


FIG. 10 Modern map of the area

Stele from Levidi, Arcadia

The association of the stele with the grave mound⁴⁹ belongs to the age-old tradition of erecting anthropomorphic stelai over tombs as well as over simple graves during both Mycenaean and historical times.⁵⁰ The absence of a base or any indication of some other kind of support allows us to conjecture that it was sunk direct into the ground. It also favours the view that the stele was following a wooden model, something which has in turn led to its interpretation as a *xoanon*⁵¹ or *menhir*, which stood on top of the grave mound.⁵²

INTERPRETATION OF THE ANTHROPOMORPHIC STELE

Aristokrates is mentioned by Apollodorus as the king of Arcadian Orchomenos,⁵³ and by Diogenes Laertius as the king of all Arcadia.⁵⁴ Strabo mentions him as king of Orchomenos and general of the Arcadians who fought on the side of the Messenians during the Second Messenian War.⁵⁵ According to Pausanias, king Aristokrates (who fought beside the Messenians in the First Messenian War as king of the Arcadians) was son of the Kypselid Aichmis and he insulted his countrymen by raping the virgin priestess of Artemis Hymnia inside her sanctuary, next to her statue. For this dishonourable act he was stoned to death by the people of Orchomenos.⁵⁶ However the Periegete mentions yet another Aristokrates from Trapezous, son of Iketas and grandson of Aristokrates I from Orchomenos, who was head of the Arcadian army during the Second Messenian War, as an ally of the Messenians. Aristokrates II made a secret pact with the Spartans and betrayed the Messenian army during the 'battle of the Great Moat', for which act he was stoned to death by the Arcadians. His body was carried outside the boundaries of Arcadia and left unburied and the Kypselids lost permanently the title of king,⁵⁷ while a stele was erected on Mount Lykaion in memory of his betrayal.⁵⁸ It must be noted that,

⁴⁹ The stone-mounds of Orchomenos show similarities with the stone-mounds on the location called 'Phonemenoi' ('Murdered Ones') of Kynouria, which are in turn identified with the roughly hewn 'Hermai' (Pausanias 2.38.7. See Romaios 1907, 383–402; Faklaris 1990, 193–5 fig. 113; Salavoura 2007, 359–60). Perhaps the term 'Hermai' means the hermaic-type stelai which had been erected on top of the stone-mounds at 'Phonemenoi', reflecting the stele of Orchomenos (Faklaris 1990, 194–5).

⁵⁰ Andronikos 1961, 159–205; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2005, 116–9.

⁵¹ Burr 1927, 176; Müller 1934, 167; Koukouli-Chrisanthaki 2005, 119.

⁵² Karakatsanis 1986, 126.

⁵³ Jacoby 1926, 244. Apollodorus Athenaeus F334 and Strabo 8.10.11–2.

⁵⁴ Diogenes Laertius 1.94.

⁵⁵ Strabo 8.10.11–2.

⁵⁶ Pausanias 8.5.10–13; 8.13.4–5. See Hiller von Gaertringen & Lattermann 1911, *Situationsplan*, Taf.I; Jost 1985, 60, 108, 134, 135–6, 141, 394, 396, 416–7, 555; Voyatzis 1999, 156 site 24; Papachatzis 1979b, 222 n. 1.

⁵⁷ Pausanias 4.17.2–8; 4.22.1–7; 8.5.13. Pausanias gives Aristokrates the attribute 'of Trapezous', because at the time of his kingship Trapezous was the capital of Arcadia (Papachatzis 1979b, 228 n. 4).

⁵⁸ Jacoby 1926, 124. Kallisthenes F23; Polybius 4.33. Papachatzis 1979a, 77 n. 2.

according to Pausanias, the betrayal was discovered eleven whole years after the battle,⁵⁹ while Plutarch calculates that this interval was more than twenty years.⁶⁰

In view of the above, the king of Orchomenos (and perhaps of the whole of Arcadia), who bore the name Aristokrates, can be associated with two extremely serious crimes, which were harshly punished and recorded in the collective memory of the Arcadians for many generations. Therefore it is certain that the grave which Pausanias saw and described inside the Orchomenos gully, whether it is connected with Aristokrates I or with his grandson Aristokrates II, somehow preserved this memory. The identification of the anthropomorphic stele with one of those two mythical figures is also supported largely by its date, namely around the end of the 7th – beginning of the 6th century BC, a period which may coincide with the time of the Second Messenian War.⁶¹ The ‘premature’ death of both kings, the figure depicted on the stele and its association with the grave mound testified by Pausanias, all these elements allow us to seek an interpretation within the Doric tradition of *kolossoi*.⁶²

THE KOLOSSOI

Ancient writers describe the *kolossoi* as large-scale standing statues,⁶³ but also as anthropomorphic representations of the missing bodies of those who died prematurely. Aeschylus makes reference to the ‘beautiful kolossoi’ which had taken the place of the missing Helen inside the palace of Menelaus;⁶⁴ Euripides mentions that Admitus slept each night with an effigy of his lost wife,⁶⁵ while the story of Laodameia relates how, unable to bear the loss of Protesilaus, she slept with an effigy of his, which she herself had made.⁶⁶

After emphasizing the erect stance and immobility of kolossoi, J.-P. Vernant widens the enquiry by concluding that they are works of lay craftsmen, made from a variety of materials (wood, stone, clay etc.) which were erected over graves in order to ‘tie down’ the *daemon* of some notorious dead person who was tormenting the living. In this way they served as ‘copies’, objects visible to humans, which represented the souls of the dead in Hades, making tangible and at the same time

⁵⁹ Pausanias 4.17.10. Papachatzis 1979a, 77 n. 1.

⁶⁰ Plutarch, *Moralia*. Περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βραδέως τιμωρουμένων, 2F. See Papachatzis 1979a, 77 n. 1.

⁶¹ Beloch 1913, 268; Kiechle 1959, 22. Papachatzis 1979a, 3-7; Parker 1991, 25-7; Richer 1998, 76-83, 538-41; Luraghi 2003, 96-9; Casevitz & Auburger 2005, XXII – XXVI; Luraghi 2008, 96-9.

⁶² Chantraine 1930, 449-55; Benveniste 1932, 122-4; Van Hall 1942, 191-3; Roux 1960, 34-40; Karakatsanis 1986, 9-31; Rolley 1994, 22; Ridgway 1993, 22; Dickie 1996, 237-57.

⁶³ Herodotus 2.130, 143, 153, 175-6; Theocritus 12.46-7.

⁶⁴ Aeschylus, *Ag.* 423-8. See Picard 1933, 351-2.

⁶⁵ Euripides, *Alkestis*, 342 ff.

⁶⁶ Apollodorus, *Epitome* 3.30. Heginus *Fabulae* 104.

tying down their substance.⁶⁷ The ancient sources confirm the existence of such stelai at Phlious over the graves of Aras and his children, where those present invoked the illustrious dead while gazing towards those stelai.⁶⁸ A similar stele had been erected over the grave of Agamedes, who had been left unburied and whose 'daemon' appeared at the stele, following certain rituals of invocation.⁶⁹ In the story of Aktaion, whose corpse had disappeared, the oracle at Delphi told the inhabitants of Boeotian Orchomenos to chain a bronze effigy of the hero onto a rock, so that his spirit could be tied down and not wander amongst them.⁷⁰

The evidence regarding kolossoi is completed with two inscriptions from Kyrene: in the first, which refers to the colonisation from Thera, kolossoi of those who breach mutual oaths are made from wax and thrown into the fire to the accompaniment of curses.⁷¹ In the second, which relates to the offer of sanctuary to suppliants, the new protector, in order to send away the deceased old protector and his wife, stands their clay or wooden kolossoi on his table and offers them food; then he carries them to an uninhabited, wild wood where they are sunk into the ground and left there.⁷²

The function of a kolossos as a replacement of dead persons has been attributed to many, in most instances boldly or roughly hewn, anthropomorphic stelai from Doric regions of the Greek world, which are connected to graves or deities of the Underworld. As examples, one can mention the Archaic figures of the cemetery of Archaic Sellas,⁷³ the stele of the north cemetery at Knossos (**FIG. 11**),⁷⁴ the Classical/Hellenistic stelai from the homonymous plain of Selinous beside the temple of Zeus Meilichios (**FIG. 12**),⁷⁵ as well as the Hellenistic stelai of 'daemons' from Messene.⁷⁶ Common features of the above figures include their hybrid character, the comparatively pliable material they are made of, the rough carving and certainly their connection with Hades.

The above data reinforces the conjecture that the anthropomorphic stele of Orchomenos, erected on the grave mound of a king who was punished with violent death for his hubris, functioned as a replacement of his unburied corpse, tying down his 'daemon', which according to popular superstitions of the time, was threatening his executioners.

⁶⁷ Vernant 1985, 96–100.

⁶⁸ Pausanias 2.12.4.

⁶⁹ Pausanias 9.37.6–7. See Guillon 1936, 233–5.

⁷⁰ Pausanias 9.38.5.

⁷¹ Chamoux 1954, 105 ff. *SEG* IX, 3.

⁷² Servais 1960, 112–47. *SEG* IX, 72.

⁷³ Dragendorff 1903, 306 Abb.492a–b. Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 179 fig. 34.

⁷⁴ Kourou & Grammatikaki 1998, 237–49. Koursoumis (in press).

⁷⁵ Gabrici 1927; Picard 1943, 106–14; Di Vita 1961, 235–50; Tusa & Pecoraino 1976; Vernant 1985, 94; Burkert 1993, 419; Famà & Tusa 2000.

⁷⁶ Themelis 2000, 158–65 figs 146–52.



FIG. 11 The anthropomorphic stele
from the North Cemetery at
Knossos



FIG. 12 Anthropomorphic stele from
Selinous

Stele from Levidi, Arcadia

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Stele from Levidi, Arcadia

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List of illustrations

FIGS. 1 – 4. The anthropomorphic stele of Levidi (Dorothy Burr Thompson Papers. American School of Classical Studies at Athens).

FIG. 5. The archaic head from Lepreon (National Archaeological Museum at Athens).

FIG. 6. The “Theran figures” (Archaeological Museum of Thera. Kourou & Grammatikaki 1999, pl. 20).

FIG. 7. The north Orchomenos plain (Archive of 39th Ephorate of Prehistorical and Classical Antiquities).

FIG. 8. Map of the area of ancient Orchomenos (Hiller von Gaertringen - Lattermann 1911, Situationsplan, Taf.I).

FIG. 9. The tomb in the northern part of the Orchomenos gully (photo S. Koursoumis)

FIG. 10. Modern map of the area (Google Earth. 2010 Digital Globe. 2009 Tele Atlas).

FIG. 11. The anthropomorphic stele from the Northern Cemetery of Knossos (Archaeological Museum of Herakleion. Kourou & Grammatikaki 1999, fig. 18)

FIG. 12. Anthropomorphic stele from Selinous (Fama & Tusa 2000, tav.7)

CHAPTER 20

HYBRID BURIAL MONUMENTS OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE IN TWO RECENTLY EXCAVATED SITES IN ELIS (STREPHI AND ARVANITI)

SOTIRIS LAMBROPOULOS
PANAGIOTIS MOUTZOURIDIS AND
KOSTAS NIKOLENTZOS

This paper is a short and preliminary presentation of the findings of two sites, in the northern territory of Olympia.

TOPOGRAPHY – LOCATION

Strephi, a site on the western slope of a hill approximately 7 km north of Olympia, was known to N. Yalouris,¹ who excavated a chamber tomb there in the early '60s. It has now produced 7 chamber tombs, 3 pit graves and 3 hybrids/unfinished chamber tombs.² At the centre of the cemetery 3 chamber tombs were constructed and around them were the 6 pit and hybrid graves; at the edges of the cemetery there are four more chamber tombs (two on each side).

Arvaniti, a new site 9 km north of Olympia, gave us 1 half-destroyed chamber tomb and 4 pit graves, divided by a stone wall. The chamber tomb had been dug into the W slope of a circular hill and into the adjacent area to the north, where the soil was suitable (on the S and E slopes of the hill bedrock was found at just 10 cm from the surface).

PIT GRAVES

The three pit graves³ at Strephi, no more than 2 m in length and width, had no clear outline and were divided by small dry-stone walls into three sections

¹ Yalouris 1961–2, 105–107.

² Dickinson 1983, 62.

³ This specific type of grave belongs to the category/ architectural group that Lewartowski calls 'pit grave' (Lewartowski 2000, 9).

*Sotiris Lambropoulos, Panagiotis Moutzouridis and Kostas
Nikolentzos*

creating three separate 'chambers'.⁴ In one of these pits a niche was dug to receive a secondary burial. The dimensions of these sections are 1.30–1.70 m long and 0.25–0.55 m wide.

At Arvaniti⁵ there was a more elaborate pit grave construction. Four pit graves were excavated, three of rectangular and one of oval shape, all divided by dry-stone walling into two parts.⁶ What differentiates these pit graves is the fact that only one-half of the grave was used for burial, the other half remaining empty. In one of these pits alone we came across a large stone slab, which may have served as a gravestone.⁷ The dimensions of the rectangular pits were c. 2.90 m long and 2.00 m wide, and the oval pit was 1.32 m long and 1 m wide.

At both Strephi and Arvaniti the inhumations took place from above and no traces of any type of roof were found, as the pits were filled in with earth. The floor of the grave was left in its natural state, namely the undisturbed sediment.⁸

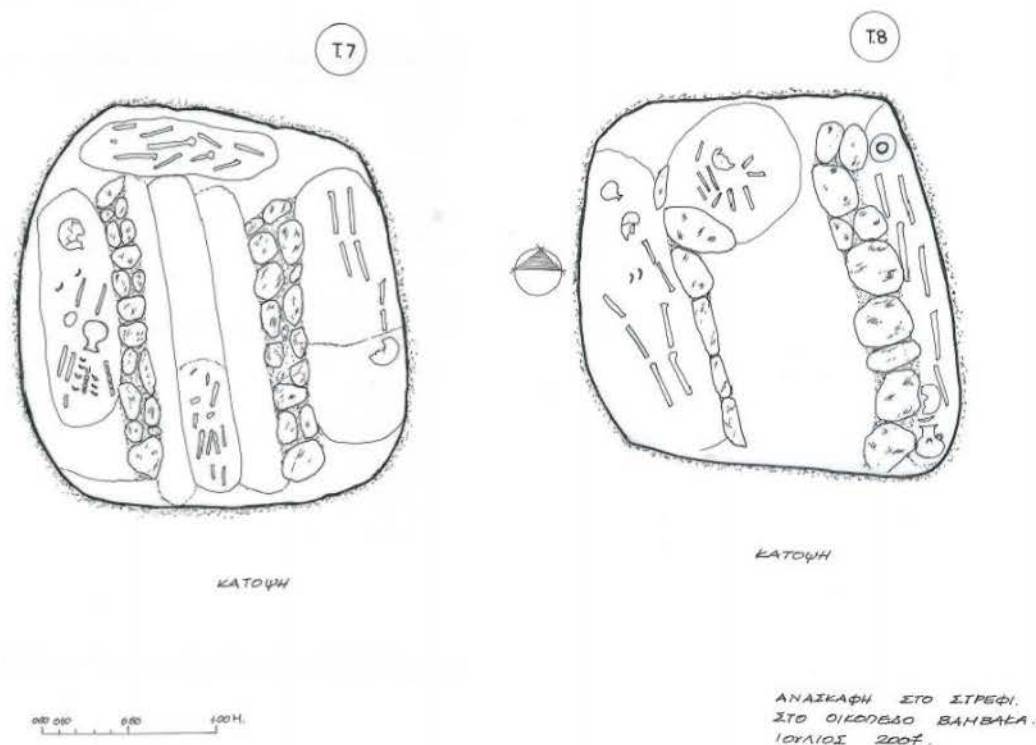


FIG. 1. Strephi. Ground plan of the pit graves 7 and 8.

⁴ Iakovidis 1970, 24–26; Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 91.

⁵ Moutzouridis 2008, 98.

⁶ Kakavoyannis 2001, 64.

⁷ Fourteen markers made of upright stone slabs are known (Elis, Argolis, Attica). Lewartowski 2000, 12.

⁸ The same applies to the vast majority of these burial monuments (Lewartowski 2000, 10).

LBA burial monuments at Strephi and Arvaniti, Elis

HYBRID/UNFINISHED CHAMBER TOMBS

Among the different burial types in the cemetery of Strephi were built three hybrid/unfinished chamber tombs (Lewartowski calls this type 'unfinished dromoi').⁹ These tombs have the same architectural structure as the chamber tombs, that is, they have dromoi and chambers (of very small dimensions, which had not been used for burials). By contrast, burial niches were cut along the sides of the two dromoi and used for initial burials. In the case of tomb IX a large pit/trench was cut into the floor of the dromos and one burial was found *in situ*, bearing a close resemblance to the internal pits of the chamber tombs.

BURIAL CUSTOMS

All the pit graves of these two cemeteries (with the exception of Pit A at Strephi) were used for just one single inhumation,¹⁰ although in some cases (e.g. tomb VII) a niche to the side of the pit was used for a secondary burial. The dead man lay on his back,¹¹ in two cases the hands crossed over the chest, with most funeral gifts near the head.

Generally, the grave goods in the pit and hybrid/unfinished graves at Strephi were poor (sometimes totally lacking) in contrast to the finds from the chamber tombs of the cemetery. The most abundant grave goods were pottery, specifically alabastra, piriform jars and false-necked amphorae (storage vessels),¹² but cups (drinking or pouring vessels) were also found. Some burials were accompanied by stone buttons, beads (made of semi-precious stones) and in the case of pit grave VII by a clay zoomorphic figurine (the occurrence of figurines in pit graves is infrequent but not rare).¹³ By contrast, the artefacts that accompanied the deceased of the pit graves at Arvaniti were far more elaborate and valuable (e.g. beads, razors, seals) than the simple ceramic finds of the nearby chamber tomb.

⁹According to Lewartowski these graves were mostly niches bearing some resemblance to chamber tombs (Lewartowski 2000, 11). For other cases see also Iakovidis 1970, 21; Salavoura 2006, 308; Dakoronia 1993, 35–7; Dickinson 2006, 181–2.

¹⁰ Lewartowski 2000, 104.

¹¹ Lewartowski 2000, 105.

¹² Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 74; Lewartowski 2000, 108.

¹³ The same pattern occurs also in Attica (in a pit grave at Glyka Nera; see Sgouritsa 2001b, 141). See also Gallou 2005, 52.

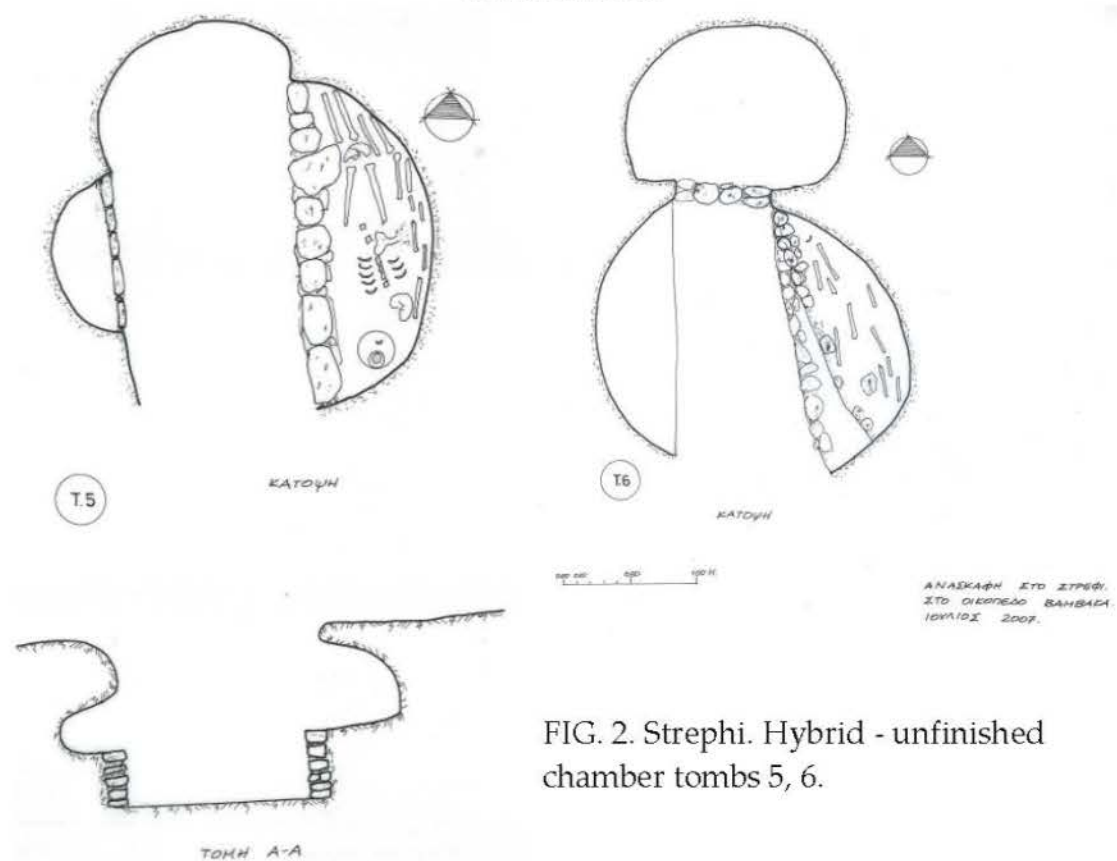


FIG. 2. Strephi. Hybrid - unfinished chamber tombs 5, 6.



FIG. 3. Strephi. Hybrid or unfinished chamber tomb VI

LBA burial monuments at Strephi and Arvaniti, Elis

CONCLUSIONS

The variety of burial practices in Mycenaean Greece is remarkable. The differences may be of social or local nature and the individuals were represented at death in many ways.

The use of pit graves is a common feature during the whole LBA period in Elis, in the area both north and south of the river Alpheios.¹⁴ We find them in the interior of tholos and chamber tombs (probably as a surviving element of the MH tradition¹⁵ symbolizing the individuality of the dead), but – as we observe in the cemeteries of Strephi and Arvaniti – pits occur as independent burial monuments. They can also be organized as a separate cemetery (such as Kaukania, excavated by Liana Parlama).¹⁶ The period of use of these cemeteries is LHIIIA2–LHIIIB.¹⁷ From our preliminary study of the artefacts, the significant point that emerges is that all the grave types (chamber tombs, pits and unfinished chamber tombs) are used at the same time.

Simple graves located near the chamber tombs¹⁸ may be interpreted as cheaper substitutes for chamber tombs. The reasons¹⁹ that led the inhabitants of LH Elis to build pit graves can be traced primarily in the low cost, the shorter construction time and less space that a pit grave required, compared with a chamber or tholos tomb. Of course, we can assume that they served the need to individualize burials²⁰ and to maintain the tradition of digging pit graves, which went back for centuries.

Both the artefacts that came to light from the cemeteries of Strephi and Arvaniti and the burial customs give us a clear impression of the civilization network to which the area of our study belonged. Especially the pottery shapes and decoration and the seal motifs lead us to believe that Strephi and Arvaniti are part of a trade network that stretched from Messenia in the south to Phthiotis in the north. Further study of the material and more publications of excavated sites will add to our knowledge of Mycenaean Elis.

¹⁴ The use of this kind of grave is confined to the Peloponnese and Attica (Lewartowski 2000, 9).

¹⁵ It continues also during the sub-Mycenaean period (Lewartowski 2000, 9).

¹⁶ Parlama 1974, 33; Parlama 1973–4, 339.

¹⁷ Lewartowski 2000, 11. Probably the pit graves at Arvaniti had already been constructed during the LHIIIA1 period.

¹⁸ Lewartowski 2000, 16. They appear either in extramural or intramural contexts and they formed separated cemeteries or they are located among tholos and chamber tombs.

¹⁹ Lewartowski, 2000, 104, 110.

²⁰ Korres 1984:12, Cavanagh – Mee 1984, 46, 47, Wilkie 1987, 131; Kontorli – Papadopoulou 1995, 116.

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*Sotiris Lambropoulos, Panagiotis Moutzouridis and Kostas
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List of illustrations

FIG. 1. Strephi. Ground plan of the pit graves 7 and 8.

FIG. 2. Strephi. Hybrid - unfinished chamber tombs 5, 6.

FIG. 3. Strephi. Hybrid or unfinished chamber tomb VI

CHAPTER 21

THE SOCIAL DIMENSION OF FUNERARY AND VOTIVE JEWELLERY IN THE ARCHAIC PELOPONNESE*

MARIOANNA LOUKA

Within the wide field of research on ancient jewellery, the attraction naturally exerted by jewels as precious and luxurious objects often monopolizes attention and thus hinders a scientific approach – a point often reflected in the choices made in presenting catalogues or displays in exhibitions. As a result, emphasis is given to the beauty of the object and the skill of the artist, rather than examining the jewel as a utilitarian object and adornment for the body as an expression of the socio-economic standing and a reflection of the personality of the person wearing it. In other words, we often tend to forget that jewellery constitutes an excellent means for studying the position attributed to individuals during different periods and within different socio-economic contexts.

Through presenting representative finds from the Peloponnese (mainly the prefectures of Corinthia, the Argolid and Elis) dated to the Archaic period, that is the 7th–6th centuries BC, but also based on earlier traditions, we shall attempt to interpret jewellery as something much more than a means for adornment: they are objects closely linked with the female world, as this is formed not only by the everyday occupations of Peloponnesian woman,

* I would like to thank the Centre of Spartan and Peloponnesian Studies for the organization of this Conference and for their warm hospitality, and especially Prof. William Cavanagh for his interest in my research and the opportunity to present parts of it. Moreover, I would like to thank the supervising professors of my PhD, Prof. Roland Etienne from the University of Paris I–Panthéon-Sorbonne and Prof. Eva Simantoni-Bournia from the University of Athens, for their continuous support and inspiring contribution to my efforts.

within her *oikos*, but also outside those limits, such as participation in public activities and notably during her last moment, her adornment by relatives on her deathbed. Such a consideration acquires particular interest for a region as important and variable as the Peloponnese, which is often interpreted (whether correctly or not) in the light of the austerity and restrictions imposed by the Spartan regime.

PELOPONNESIAN JEWELLERY IN THE ARCHAIC PERIOD: SOME GENERAL REMARKS

A first general remark to be made is that the Peloponnese of the late Geometric and Archaic period lacks the large-scale organized cemeteries found in other areas of the Greek world of the same period, namely Macedonia or the East Aegean islands (Cos, Rhodes).¹ Is this the result of a conscious choice for limited burial plots or is it merely a provisional impression, to be overturned by future excavation?

The Peloponnesian finds manifest a predilection for bronze, but specimens of silver and gold are also present – some of them have actually been turning-points for the evolution of certain jewellery types. One should also mention that the cheaper materials (beads of clay, bone or stone) are not to found in funerary jewellery. This conscious choice is to be interpreted as indicating that more mundane, everyday ornaments were not considered sumptuous enough, therefore not conveying adequate status to accompany the dead women on their journey to the after life.

CHARACTERISTIC FINDS

The Geometric period in Argos yielded some particularly interesting finds: rescue excavations on Danaou Street yielded a pair of gold earrings, made of a thick rod of circular section, turned twice-over (875–825 BC) (FIG. 1). Its ends were decorated with an incised herringbone. This is the first specimen of what was to become a widely diffused type, with its ends undergoing changes but maintaining its volute form. It has been maintained that they were fistulae for the insertion of locks of hair, but the objects are quite heavy

¹ The primary Macedonian cemeteries of the archaic period include Sindos, Ag. Paraskevi, Thermi, Archontiko. For the latest excavation reports cf. publications in the periodicals *Archaiologikon Deltion* (Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον), *Archaiologiko Ergo ste Makedonia kai te Thrake* (Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη), as well as: Sindos 1997, Sismanidis 1987, A. Chrysostomou & P. Chrysostomou 2007. For the rich orientalizing finds from Rhodes, the main reference remains the work of Robert Laffineur (Laffineur 1978).

Archaic funerary and votive jewellery

and inflexible for such use.² In general terms, the Argive Geometric graves contain various types of jewellery, such as simple rings found distributed at the level of the hands and on the pelvis – a similar phenomenon is to be noted at Mycenae and Berbati.³ Second to the rings, the most frequent type is gold fistulae, which held the women's tresses and framed their faces. They are found only in female graves, with parallels from Tiryns, Protogeometric Athens and in Kleonai in Corinth.⁴ In addition, we find biconical beads, sometimes gold-plated, which would be threaded on a cord of perishable material (usually leather) or which would form the head of a wooden pin.⁵ There are also examples of bone or faience, indicating commercial relations between Argos and its neighbours within and without the Peloponnese.⁶ A cist grave burial contained a number of vases, among which lay the fixing plate and pins for fibulae, either with a sphere and cruciform ends, or with a leaf-like finial – a rather rare variation.⁷



FIG. 1. Pair of gold earrings, Argos, 875–825 BC.

² Despini 1996, 220 fig. 48.

³ For Mycenae cf. Coldstream 2003, 36 and 16; for Berbati cf. *Stockholm Stud. Class. Archaeol.* 4, 81 ff.

⁴ Davidson 1952, 250 n. 1999, pl. 107 and 250 n. 2000, pl. 107. For a case of an early-geometric grave at Karameikos cemetery, cf. *AA* 1938, 597 fig. 11.

⁵ One such pin with a gold-plated head was found in the wall of tomb 21 at Pronias. Note the finds in sanctuaries (Dawkins 1929, 386; Dekoulakou 1973, 16), but also outside the borders of the Peloponnese, as in Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931, 93 n. 151 pl. 10) and Ephesus (Hogarth 1908, 203 pl. XLV 7–9, 12–14, 16, 18).

⁶ Courbin 1974, 118.

⁷ *Archaiologikon Deltion* 18 (1963) B1, 57–59 pl. 71 γ–ε.

From Aigion, the Geometric period is represented by rare burial finds, such as the pithos burials which were unearthed to the south-west of the Mycenaean habitation. Especially noteworthy are the tiny objects made from semi-precious stones and the leaf-shaped fibulae, typical of the period, whose centre is engraved with horizontal incisions (**FIG. 2**).



FIG. 2. Archaeological Museum of Aigion. Finds from the Late Geometric period.

Close to the Achaean village of Drepanon, south-east of Rio and at the foot of a natural elliptical mound, 50 m from the cemetery of the Dormition of the Virgin, a group of funerary pithoi came to light. Their rich late Geometric finds included many bronze fistulae and pins with spherical ends –the finds from pithos 2 (Π1416) are especially noteworthy: the dead woman was placed in a crouched position and was adorned with a necklace of eighteen biconical beads. At the height of her chest were found two unusual bronzes, 5 cm in diameter: each was formed by two concentric perforated circles and with a loop at the back, apparently used to adjust the beads on the garments (**FIG. 3**).

Examples from the Geometric period are not missing from the municipality of Elis. One can for example mention the site of Kalyvia, where cleaning and irrigation works brought to light an important number of cist graves as well as funerary pithoi. Among the finds, note the biconical beads, the fragmentary pins and fibulae, typical of the Geometric and Late

Archaic funerary and votive jewellery

Geometric period, with incisions on the fixing plate, representing fish flanked by geometric motifs (FIG. 4), as well as a triangular bead made of blue glass and decorated with white concentric circles on each corner.⁸

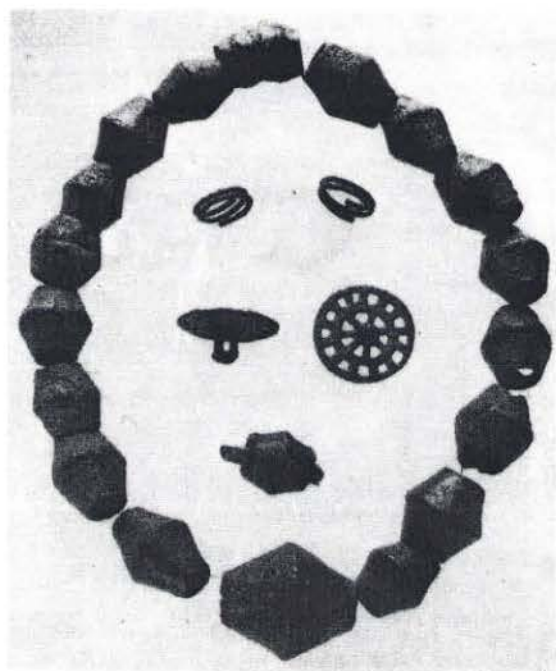


FIG. 3. Drepanon. Late Geometric jewellery from the funerary pithos 2.

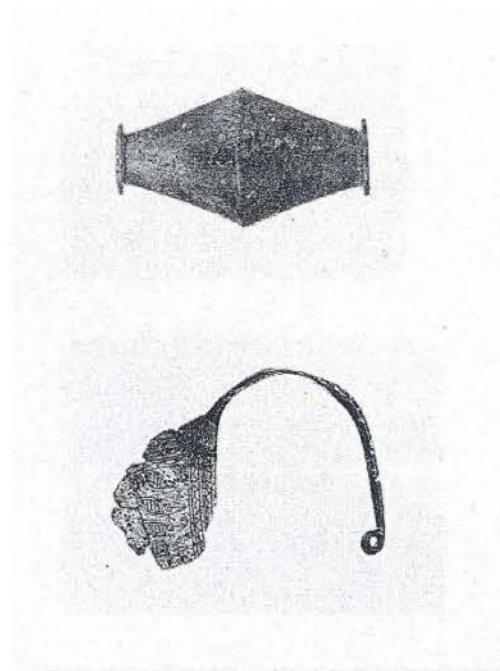


FIG. 4. Kalyvia, Elis. Late Geometric jewellery from funerary pithoi.

A pair of earrings, today in the Stathatos Collection (Στ304) dates to the third quarter of the 7th century BC and was found at Argos. Its place in the evolution of the jewellery of this category is seminal: each earring is formed by a cone, whose upper part is covered by a circular metal sheet, on which stands a *potnia theron* (FIG. 5). The cone is formed by six vertical rows of globules, whose size decreases towards the bottom. The *potnia theron*, this demonic, dominating figure of nature with her protective attributes, is shown here dressed in a peplos whose belt has incised decoration on the front and the back. She wears a wreath and her long hair follows the daedalic style. Upon her shoulders rest the front paws of two lions rising on a circular pedestal and turning their heads outwards. The features on the faces of the goddess and the lions are summarily rendered.⁹ This type of earring is often compared with the object appearing in the Homeric verses under the name «τρίγληνα μορρόεντα», (Il. 15, 183) mainly because of the attachment to the number three and a visual comparison of the globules to the fruit of berries. However, the

⁸ *Archaiologikon Deltion* 47 (1992) B1, 112–13 pl. 36

⁹ Amandry 1953, 29 s. n. 43/44, pl. 10; Higgins 1980, 103, n. 4; Despini 1996, n. 69, 226, fig. 69. Cf. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 24 (1969) B1, 119 pl. 108 a; *Archaiologikon Deltion* 24 (1969) B1, 119 pl. 108 a.

number of accessories should be a local variation.¹⁰ Moreover, it is interesting to note that this very type of jewellery crossed generations, as this clearly popular, or at the very least outstanding, adornment is worn by the 'Lyon kore' (FIG. 6), dated to approximately 540 BC. This fine, stout young woman is represented holding a pigeon and wears elaborate garments and jewellery.¹¹



FIG. 5. Pair of earrings representing a Potnia Theron. Athens, Stathatos Collection. Presumed provenance from Argos, third quarter of the 7th century BC.



FIG. 6 . The 'Lyon Kore', approx. 540 BC.

The gold pendant which follows (height 2.8 cm) is dated by its context to the last quarter of the 7th century BC and comes from Argos (unfortunately according only to the testimony of the seller to the Stathatos Collection). It belongs to the long range of vase-shaped accessories which have been very

¹⁰ This tradition begins in 9th century Lefkandi and became standard with a form having one conical end, which was to have a long development in the course of the centuries to come. From the second quarter of the 4th century BC, added decorative motifs are introduced in filigree (anthemia, helixes, etc.), something which naturally affects the clarity of the forms, while introducing at the same time an almost architectural perception, the body of the ornament being crowned with pediments and anthemia.

¹¹ Boardman 1982, fig. 110.

Archaic funerary and votive jewellery

popular for many centuries and worn either as pendants, on their own, or as elements of necklaces (FIG. 7). The body is divided by triple vertical incisions into elliptical sections. A globule decorates its base. A hole pierces the cylindrical neck, for the lace tying it around the neck. On top of the neck, a disc-shaped sheet carries an embossed rosette. The position of the vertical incisions on the body of the jewel and the rosette on its upper part allow the suggestion that the artist had a pomegranate in mind. Inside this pendant from Argos were found traces of charred material, possibly wood, which could have been the core on which the metal sheet took its form.¹²

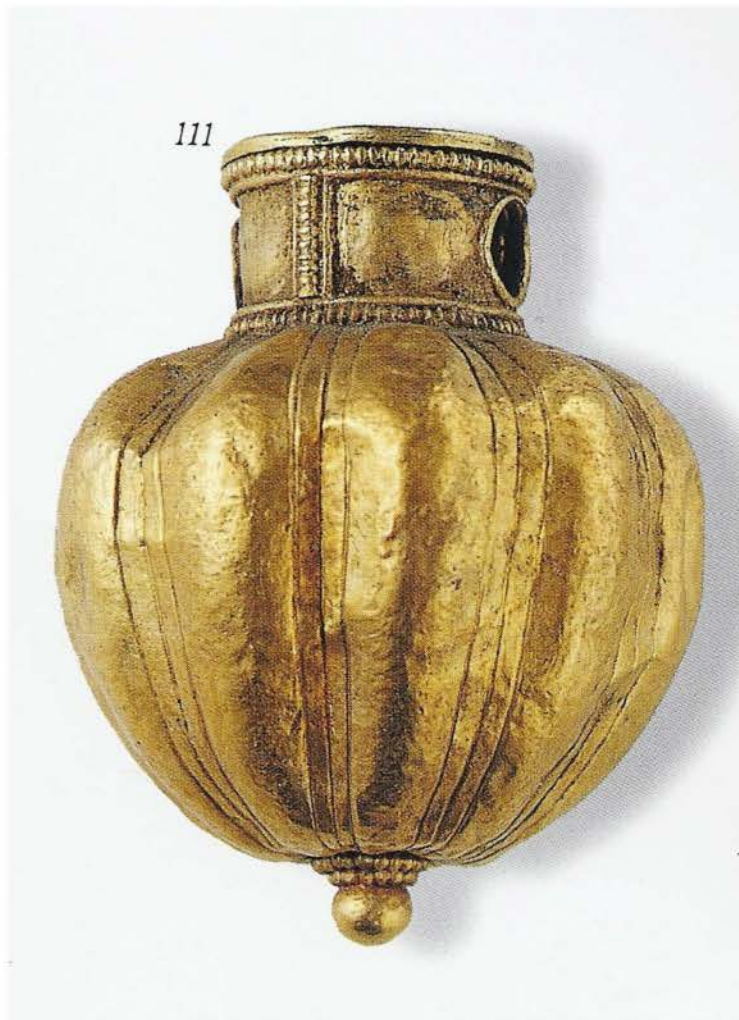


FIG. 7. Gold pendant in the form of a pomegranate. Athens, Stathatos Collection. Presumed provenance from Argos, last quarter of the 7th century BC.

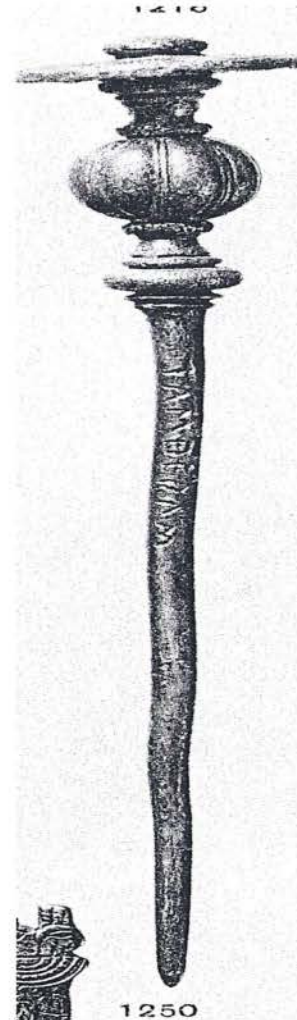


FIG. 8. Pin from the Argive Heraion. 7th century BC. approx.

¹² Amandry 1953, 30 s, n. 45, pl. 10; Despini 1996, n. 111, 241, fig. 111.

The same decorative motif, that is the fruit of the pomegranate, is the main motif of the 11.6 cm-long silver pin which is believed to come from the Argive Heraion and today belongs to the British Museum: above the globe is a disc with an incised flower with twelve petals while the decoration is completed underneath by six moulded rings. On the shaft one reads the inscription τᾱς Ἡρας. The pin is dated approximately to the 7th century BC (FIG. 8).¹³ Objects like these do not stand isolated but belong to an earlier tradition: during the 8th century BC some repeated motifs of these 'primary' 'early' pins, that is, those topped by a disc and a spherical bead decorating the shaft, appear in the Peloponnese and Attica.¹⁴

Independent of their period of use, a general rule is that pins (ῥῆλος, περόνη¹⁵) found in pairs are associated with holding the garment in place, while isolated pins could be more decorative in nature; some were linked with the adornment of the head, as they were placed next to diadems or cloths covering the head.¹⁶ Their usage was linked with the predominance of the peplos which was not sewn and was fixed at the shoulders: it is therefore to be expected that we discover a significant number of pins not only in graves but also as offerings in sanctuaries, such as that of Artemis Orthia¹⁷ and at the Argive Heraion. It is worth noting that an important percentage of offerings in sanctuaries were in fact pins and fibulae, i.e. jewels used *par excellence* in everyday life; women were therefore offering to their gods their immediate, everyday jewels, which perhaps bore a stronger sentimental value.

A late Archaic-early Classical cemetery was unearthed in the Argolid-Corinthian region, in a plot west of the Kyras Vrisi site, on the occasion of irrigation works in 1967. Almost 119 burials were revealed, mostly dated to the 6th and 5th centuries BC – most were burials in sarcophagi while their shallow depth indicates that the cemetery was not used at a later phase. Quite a few tombs were looted; however some important finds survive: pottery of the period (the black-figured aryballoi, skyphoi and pyxides), metallic objects such as strigils and jewellery: pins, rings and an exceptional pair of silver earrings (FIG. 9). Their composition is elaborate, bringing to mind the form of

¹³ Marshall 1911, n. 1250, 106 pl. XIV

¹⁴ Athens has actually yielded similar iron pins, dated as early as the 9th and the beginning of the 8th century BC. They were covered in gold sheet and were sometimes incised or granulated – in which case they exhibit a more monumental character (cf. Kübler 1954, 190 f., 235 f., pl. 159 n. M42; Alexandri 1968, 26 fig. 11).

¹⁵ Deonna 1938, 275, n. 11–12.

¹⁶ Deonna 1938, 277. Also in Pinset-Deslandres 1960, 28–29.

¹⁷ Dawkins 1929, pl. CXXXVI (pins with ivory heads, whose shape and decoration imitates a rosette).

Archaic funerary and votive jewellery

an inverted pyramid: each earring is formed by two globules which are succeeded by several layers of granulation and finish with a sole globule.¹⁸

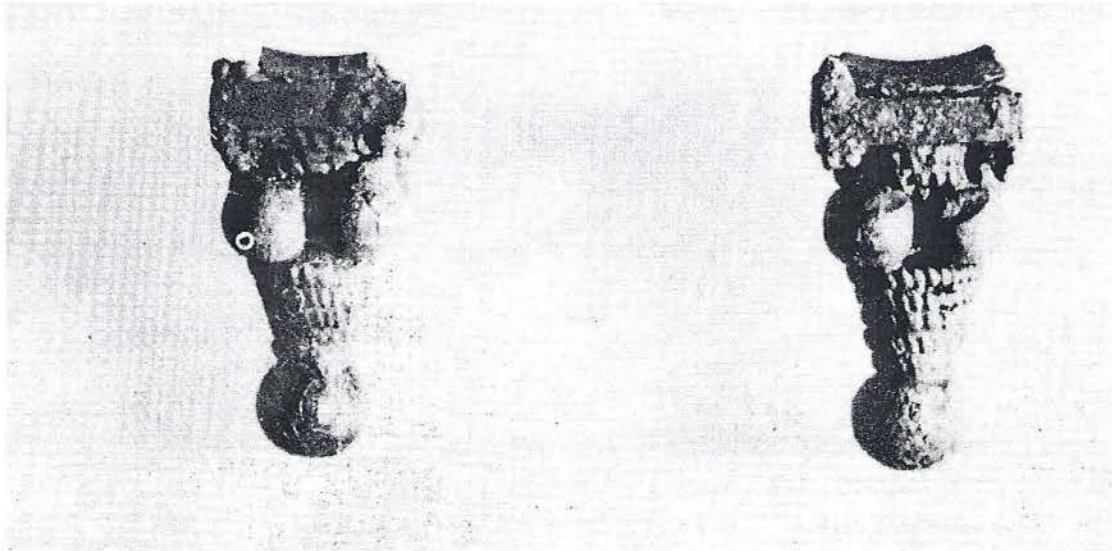


FIG. 9. Pair of silver earrings from Kyras Vrasi site, Argolid–Corinth region, late 6th– early 5th century BC.

AN IMAGE FOR COMPARISON

Our study of the different types of women's jewels as grave offerings could be understood better through the reconstitution of a female burial inside a cist grave which was unearthed by the local Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in 1953 at Amphikleia (Dadi) in the department of Phthiotis and was dated at the end of the 8th century BC. This burial was reconstructed and is today on display in the Karapanos Bronzes hall in the National Archaeological Museum (FIG. 10). We therefore acquire a complete image of the variety of jewels, their place within the grave and their functional relationship with the different body parts. At the same time we have the opportunity to discern similarities with Peloponnesian jewellery, in a region constituting a crossroad between the artistic languages of north and south, east and west. The dead woman wore a diadem with embossed decoration and three series of 390 biconical beads. In the space left between these series we find three bird-shaped pendants, having their parallels in 7th and 6th century BC Thessaly.¹⁹ She also wore a chain with a pair of jewels formed by

¹⁸ *Archaiologikon Deltion* 24 (1969) B1, 119 pl. 108

¹⁹ Picard & Sodini 1971, 28–29, pl. III ter. Similar birds were also used as pin heads (Picard & Sodini, 1971, n. 751, p. 29, pl. III bis and Jacobsthal 1956 : n. 75). For a complete picture of the bird types found as jewellery ornaments throughout the archaic Greek mainland (Argos, Corinth, Boeotia, Delphi, Phères, Macedonia) cf. Bouzek 1988, 47–60, fig. 4. Pendants of this type are also commonly present in the grave tumuli dating from the 8th to the 6th century BC

conical elements linked by a spiral and 5 small wheels, decorated with geometric motifs on both sides. This type of adornment is to be found also further to the north, namely in the Geometric tumuli of Vergina.²⁰ Her arms were adorned with five spiral bracelets, some of which ended in an incised motif and some with the schematized heads of snakes. Her fingers were adorned with two spiral rings and four tubular biconical rings. Her peplos was fixed in place by three 'Helladic' fibulae, bearing incised decoration of animals and birds. Finally, the jewels accompanying this woman were completed by two spectacle fibulae and two iron arch-shaped fibulae. We therefore note that through the course of the centuries, female adornment is extended to a larger part of the female body – although we are not yet in a position to testify as to the reasons that led to such a choice, that is, whether it was the result of greater affluence but also a quest for a means of highlighting female beauty.



FIG. 10. Reconstitution of a late Geometric female burial from Dadi (Phthiotis). National Archaeological Museum, Karapanos Collection.

and found in Kuç I Zi, Korçe (Illyria) and therefore attest to the fertile exchanges between the Balkan world and metropolitan Greece. Cf. Andrea 1976, 204–231 pl. XV.

²⁰ Andronikos 1969, pl. 83 Ia.

Archaic funerary and votive jewellery

PELOPONNESIAN JEWELLERY IN CONTEXT

By contrast to the Homeric world, which favoured adornment for goddesses and mortal aristocrats, while leaving them considerable freedom to participate in public life, Archaic society is more restrictive towards women, who remain closed in their quarters. Cases of women poets or women participating in the *κοινά* are more of an exception than a rule. It appears that women in the Archaic period wore their jewellery only on special occasions (celebrations, religious festivals, weddings). They did not have many personal belongings, only some clothing, utensils and these jewels, which were independent of their dowry. In fact, later sources dating from the 5th and 4th centuries BC mention that a woman could take back her jewellery in cases of separation, widowhood or remarriage.²¹ In Sparta, women participated from the youngest age in festivals where civilians gathered to sing and dance, while the city imposed upon young girls 'nude' athletic games which traditionally aimed at preparing them for child-bearing. It seems however that this sense of freedom, which older scholars even saw as permissive, did not guarantee an equally dynamic presence during adult life. Moreover, Aristotle's view²² that the Spartan woman disposed a fortune, namely 2/5 of the city's resources and that they controlled their assets should be interpreted in relation to the cases of the absence of her *kyrios* (in case of widowhood or an unmarried woman): it is otherwise hard for us to imagine the image of an *oikos* with a man dominated by his wife.

The lack of jewellery of significant quality and quantity in Peloponnesian burial groups is characteristic and consistent with the restriction attributed to Lykourgos, according to which *συνθάπτειν οὐδὲν εἶασεν ἀλλὰ ἐν φοινικίδι καὶ φύλλοις ἐλαίας θέντες το σῶμα περιέστελλον*,²³ meaning "it is not habitual to bury, but to burn the body surrounded by palm and olive branches". This would be a purifying ritual, aimed at distancing the evil spirits, and only kings were excluded from it. This prohibition of luxurious burials is echoed in Aristotle: *εὐτελείς δὲ ταφαί καὶ ἴσαι πάσιν εἰσὶ* ("burials were modest and equal for all").²⁴ Still, the question remains whether this restriction was limited to the interior of the graves or whether it also applied to their exterior, similar to Solon's restrictions in Athens. Moreover, an important issue is the dating of these Spartan prohibitions, given that at the period when the legislation of Lycurgos is traditionally placed, one notes burials with voluminous and luxurious amphorae as 'semata' as well as remains of bones from sacrifices having taken place at the grave – elements

²¹ Murray, 1983.

²² Arist. *Pol.* 2. 1269 b 12–1270 b 6.

²³ Plut. *Lyc.* 27.

²⁴ Cf. Arist. *Lac. Pol.* ; Heraclides *Ex.* 2, 8.

which are not consistent with an austere interpretation of burial customs. Therefore, one should face the eventuality of having to date the legislation on the restrictions and prohibitions of luxury of burials at a later date than the time of Lykourgos, possibly during the ephorate of Chilon.²⁵

Be that as it may, we could still strongly support the view that the sole fact of placing jewels as grave offerings in Peloponnesian graves was a reaction to the frugality and the restrictions imposed by the Lacedaemonian state: it is also interesting to note that the objective value of jewels, particularly those in gold, did not persuade the relatives to keep them within the family, either in order to realise their value at a time of need, or as an heirloom. It appears that even in a world as precarious as that of the Archaic period, women who had stayed in the margins during their whole life gained respect and eternity, the honour and admiration of their family and peers, precisely through the imperishable materials of these fine works of art accompanying them to the other world, and through the love and attention of their creators.

²⁵ Chrestou 1964, 150–152.

Archaic funerary and votive jewellery

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List of illustrations

- FIG. 1. Pair of gold earrings, Argos, 875–825 BC.
- FIG. 2. Archaeological Museum of Aigion. Finds from the Late Geometric period.
- FIG. 3. Drepanon. Late Geometric jewellery from the funerary pithos 2.
- FIG. 4. Kalyvia, Elis. Late Geometric jewellery from funerary pithoi.
- FIG. 5. Pair of earrings representing a Potnia Theron. Athens, Stathatos Collection. Presumed provenance from Argos, third quarter of the 7th century BC.
- FIG. 6. The 'Lyon Kore', approx. 540 BC.
- FIG. 7. Gold pendant in the form of a pomegranate. Athens, Stathatos Collection. Presumed provenance from Argos, last quarter of the 7th century BC.
- FIG. 8. Pin from the Argive Heraion. 7th century BC.
- FIG. 9. Pair of silver earrings from Kyras Vrisi site, Argolid–Corinth region, late 6th–early 5th century BC.
- FIG. 10. Reconstitution of a late Geometric female burial from Dadi (Phthiotis). National Archaeological Museum, Karapanos Collection.

CHAPTER 22

IRON AGE BURIAL CUSTOMS IN THE PELOPONNESE AND THEIR PLACE IN THE FUNERARY GEOGRAPHY OF THE GREEK WORLD

JEAN-MARC LUCE

This chapter presents a part of a more general study of the geography of Early Iron Age burial customs.¹ This study is based on a survey of more than 6200 burials (more than 4800 graves) throughout the Greek world (excluding the colonies in the west) covering the period from 1100–700 BC. It allows us to place the Peloponnese within this general framework. The result will be a book to published at Nancy, currently in preparation. A first presentation is available in *Pallas* 73 (2007).²

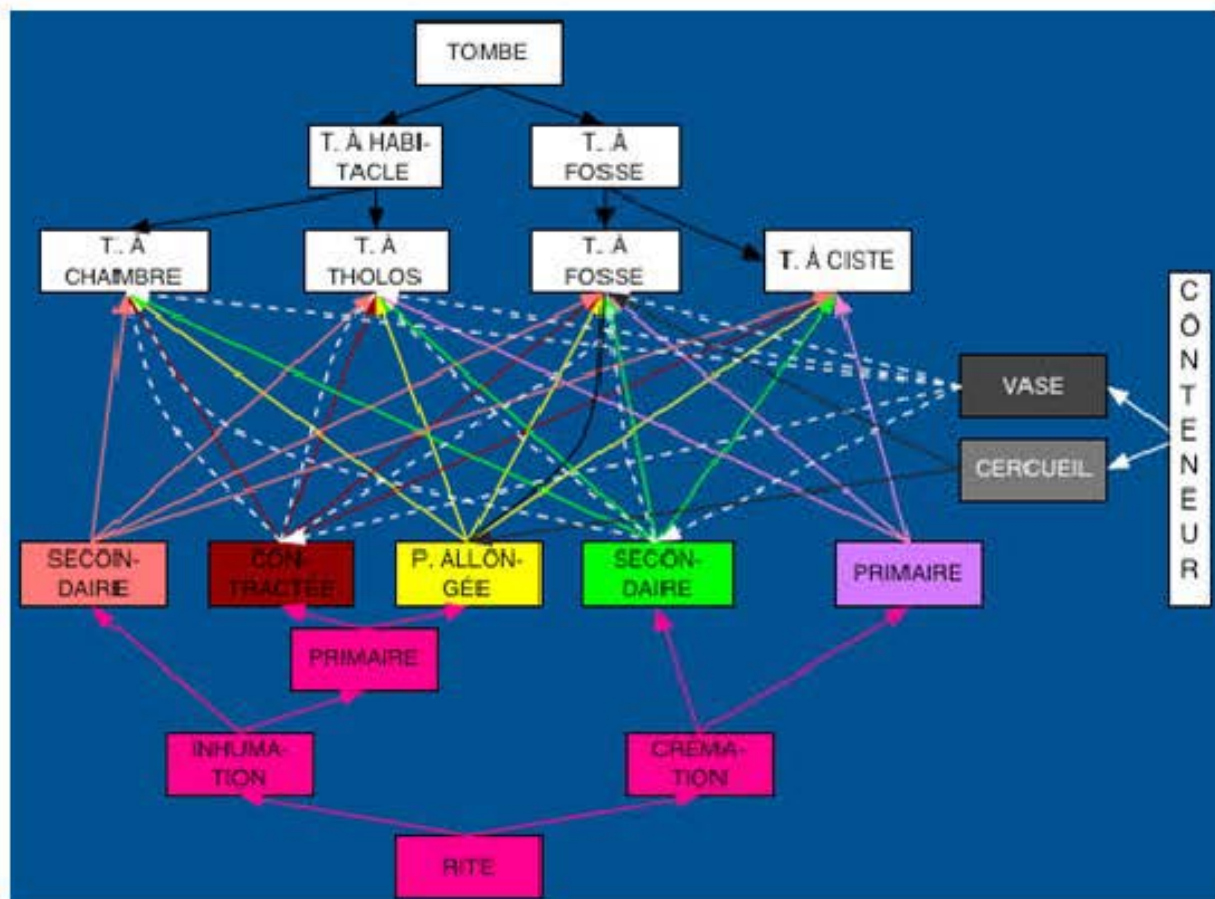


FIG. 1: Combination of funeral features.

¹ Luce, forthcoming.

² Luce 2007b.

Before I present the results, I would like to say a few words on the methodological approach. We have to consider that, as far as burial customs are concerned, every Greek community gave its members a kind of choice, but the choice was not the same from one community to another. This choice is what we have to study. What does it mean, to have a choice? It means that burial customs should be defined at two levels. The first one focuses on features related to the individual being buried, the second on those which can be accepted by the community. Materials included in the grave, by the side of the body, such as furniture or offerings, reflect the status of the dead in society and many of these objects are personal ones. They are concerned with the individual and suggest a social interpretation. The features defined at the level of the community provide the form of the internment. There are five of them: (1) the shape of the grave (pit or cist-grave, tholos or chamber tomb); (2) the container (vase, coffin, sarcophagus, shroud etc.); (3) the ritual (inhumation or cremation, - both can be primary or secondary); (4) the position of the body (outstretched position, contracted position, on its back or on its side); (5) the markers over the grave (e.g. *tumulus*). These features provide quite a large number of possibilities for combination (fig. 1). Their combination is what communities decide. For example, in some places, cremation and inhumation were both accepted and were combined with collective tombs like tholos- or chamber-tombs, but also with individual pit- or cist-graves, with an extended position of the body. Other communities preferred inhumation for children and cremation for adults, but admitted exceptions, and knew pit- and cist-graves only. Such combinations are what I call a sequence. Indeed, sequence has, as in cinema, a kind of temporal depth. Actually, the combination is the result of a process where new features can be added to other more ancient ones at different stages of the evolution. But, because the sequences are so clearly distinct and documented by several thousand graves, it is possible to draw a general map of funeral practices in Early Iron Age Greece (FIG. 2). The distribution of burial customs visible on the map is available from the Protogeometric period onwards (end of 11th–10th century), after a first stage in the Submycenaean period, when sequences were in progress of definition but not completely elaborated.

Subsequently, we can consider the Peloponnesian sequence (FIG. 3). In fact, there are two sequences. The first is limited to Messenia. It is characterised by a strong conservatism in respect of the Mycenaean period. Tholos tombs, already frequent in the Bronze Age, still existed, and ancient cemeteries continued to be used. But in the 10th century a new form appeared, which is a deterioration from the tholos tomb: the horseshoe-grave. The vault, which was normal in tholos tombs, was replaced by a series of cover slabs. Some archaeologists call them 'cist graves', but they are wrong, because these graves were equipped with a lateral access into the chamber, namely the *dromos*, which is a characteristic of tombs with chambers. Contracted and extended positions are both used for the body, as they were in the Mycenaean period. Inhumation seems to be the only accepted ritual. As far as I

Iron Age burial customs

know, cases of cremation are dubious. This sequence survived until the end of the ninth century, and seems to have disappeared during the eighth.

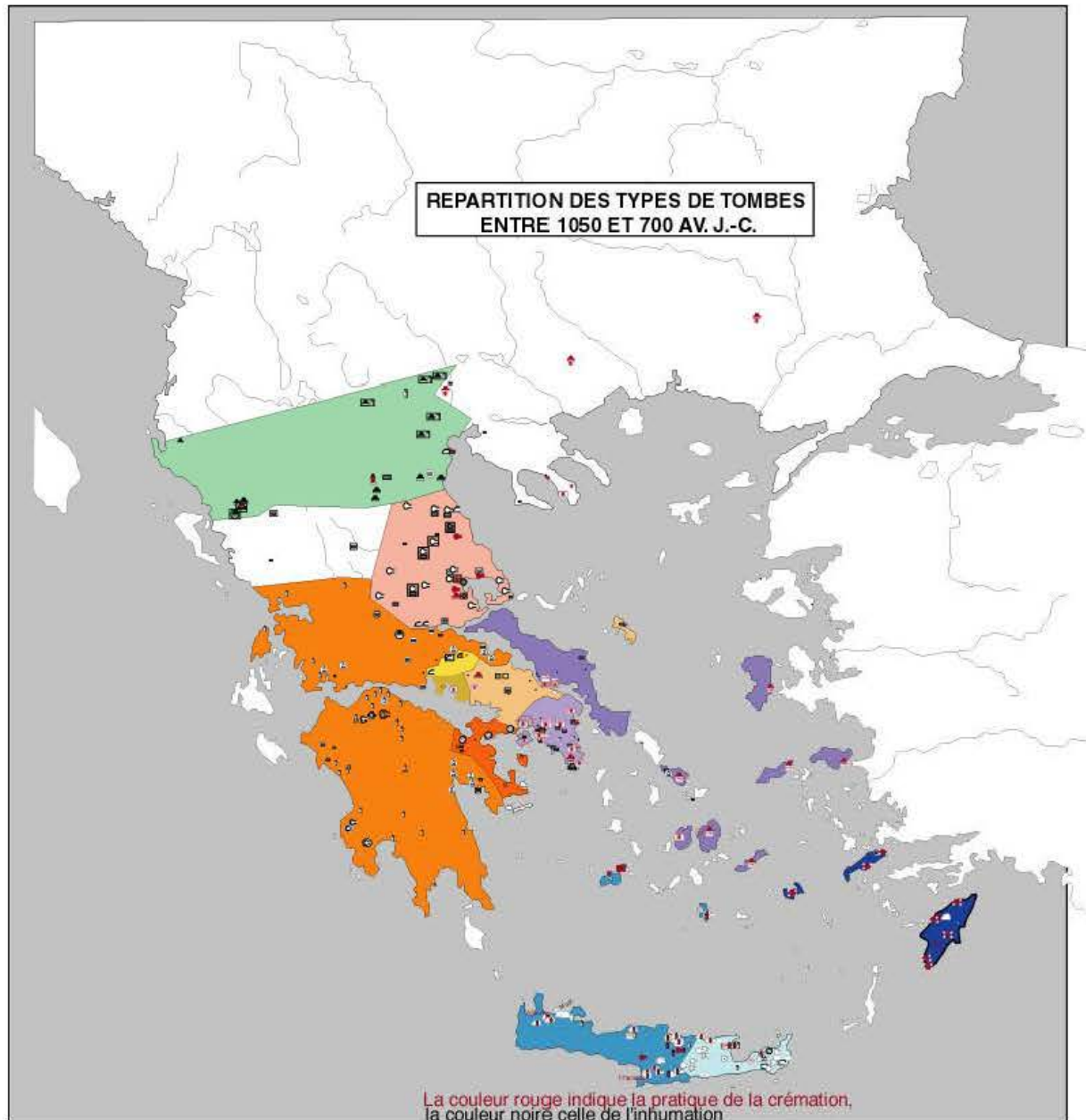


FIG. 2: Funeral map of Iron Age Greece (PG–LG).

The second sequence is spread throughout the rest of Peloponnese. It is better known, because of the number of graves found in the Argolid and in Corinth, often well published (838 graves have been recorded from the Argolid). Other regions are not so well documented, but Elis and especially Achaëa have provided a significant number of cemeteries. Arcadia is the most poorly documented area, with only one known site. This sequence is very different from the first one. Unlike the first sequence, it assumes a clear break with the practices of the Mycenaean period. Collective tombs were very exceptional. Cist- and pit-graves were the rule. Cremation was totally rejected and the contracted position of the body, on its back or

on its side, predominated (but note some exceptions in Achaean *pithoi*). Although some chamber-tombs were still used in Argos in the 11th century,³ cist- and pit-graves were the rule. But from the 10th century onwards, large jars were used as containers, not only for children, which would not be very distinctive, but also for adults. As we can see, people could not choose between inhumation and cremation in this sequence, but they had a choice of container.

Iron Age Cemeteries in Peloponnese



FIG. 3: Funeral map of the Peloponnese (PG–MG).

The development of interment in a jar, the so-called *enchytrismos*, has been the subject of discussion among archaeologists. In his still very useful survey of burial customs in the Argolid, published in 1974, Robin Hägg has described its evolution.⁴ Examples were still few in the 10th century, but became more and more numerous

³ Deshayes 1966.

⁴ Hägg 1974.

Iron Age burial customs

with time, through the 9th and 8th centuries. In the conference *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth century* Hägg proposed a social interpretation of that phenomenon.⁵ Because *enchytrismos* was often poorly furnished or not furnished at all, it was considered as the grave type for the poorest part of the population. On the other hand, cist-graves tended to be more and more richly furnished and became collective tombs, instead of individual, as they had been at the beginning of the Iron Age. *Enchytrismos* would be the tomb type of the Demos, whose rising importance in the city of Argos would be reflected in the evolution of this type of grave. Anne Foley proposed an ethnic interpretation.⁶ She used an inscription that documented the division of Argive society into four tribes: (Dymanes, Hylleis, Pamphyloi and Harnathioi). If the first three tribes are the usual ones in Doric cities, the fourth bore a non-Doric name and could have received the non-Doric part of the population. *Enchytrismos* would be the usual practice of these non-Doric people. But both interpretations neglect the evolution of the practices in the 7th century when, as Courbin has observed,⁷ *enchytrismos* supplanted cist-graves almost entirely. In her survey of the Argolid (Foley 1988), Anne Foley has calculated 48 graves of the 7th century. In fact, her catalogue contains 34 graves certainly dated to the 7th century or to the transition 8th–7th, 13 Subgeometric graves, 8 dated without precision to the Archaic period and 17 graves hypothetically dated to the 7th century. The catalogue contains two 6th century graves as well. Among these 74 Archaic tombs, 52 are pithos-graves, 11 are crater-graves, 2 are SOS amphora-graves, 2 are burials in a jar, 2 are pit-graves and 2 are poros graves. Almost all the graves, therefore, are a type of *enchytrismos*. Are we to suppose that rich people had completely disappeared in the seventh century? Are we to infer that Doric tribes had disappeared? Of course not. But there is another argument. The rise of *enchytrismos* can be observed in other parts of the Peloponnese. In the Submycenaean cemetery of Elis, *enchytrismos* is not documented at all, but is well attested in Elis and within the whole of the Peloponnese from the Protogeometric period onwards. In Achaia it dominates and, according to A. Gadolou,⁸ who has studied Early Iron Age Achaia thoroughly, it was the only type of grave in the north-west part of Achaia and was combined with cist-graves in the east part of the region. Thus, the evolution of this practice does not seem to be entirely specific to the Argolid. What is specific to the Argolid is not *enchytrismos* in itself, but the fact that graves of that type were generally poorly furnished, which was not the case in other parts of the Peloponnese. *Enchytrismos* can be rich in Achaia.⁹ What is significant in the 7th century is the generalisation, not only of one of the two forms of inhumation (the other being left), but of the limitation of

⁵ Hägg 1983b.

⁶ Foley 1998.

⁷ *Les tombes géométriques d'Argos, I* (1952–1958), published in 1974, 107; Foley 1988.

⁸ Gadolou 2008.

⁹ For example, Drepanon: *Archaiologikon Deltion* 26 (1971), Chron., 186–187; I. Dekoulakou 'Γεωμετρικοί ταφικοί πίθοι εξ Αχαΐας' *AE* 1973, 15; I. Dekoulakou 'Κεραμεική 8^{ου} και 7^{ου} αι. π.Χ. από τάφους της Αχαΐας και Αιτωλίας' *Annuario LX* (1982) [1984], 225; Coldstream 1968, 180.

the richness in the graves. It could be an ideological evolution. In many parts of Greece, from the beginning of the 6th century onwards, laws against luxury in funerals and graves were adopted.¹⁰ We have no evidence for such a law in the Argolid, but the diminution of wealth in graves could reflect the rise of an ideology of curtailing luxury. The theory that luxury was a corrupting thing (*tryphe*) is well documented in the Archaic period.¹¹

This second sequence has a secondary version attested mainly in the 8th century in Corinth, Megara, the east coast of the Argolid and Aegina. The sequence is the same as in the rest of the Peloponnese, but the jar as a container in *enchytrismos* is replaced by a sarcophagus.

The Peloponnesian sequence was not limited to the Peloponnese itself, but extended to the area north of the Corinthian Gulf. As can be seen on the map (FIG. 3), Acarnania, Aetolia and Locris, particularly east Locris, used exactly the same practices, the same combinations. The only difference is that cremation, almost completely excluded from the Peloponnese, occurs more often in central Greece. Evidence of this ritual is known in Stamna¹² and in Tragana.¹³ If the Peloponnesian sequence was diffused north of the Corinthian gulf, it did not expand to the whole of central Greece. Boeotia has another sequence, with very mixed features. The extended position was much more frequent and *enchytrismos* of adults was rare. The sequence in Thessaly, with its numerous *tholos* tombs, with more frequent use of cremation and the almost exclusive use of the extended position, was again a very different sequence, with some similarities with Boeotia. The north and south of Phocis did not share the same sequence, but both were different from the Peloponnesian one.

If we put all these data on the map, the result suggests three sets of observations, the last two of which could seem, at first sight, contradictory.

First, the Peloponnesian sequence has no external origin. It is not possible to find either inside or outside of Greece any area where its different features would be combined in the same way. And that is not surprising, because the sequence has been elaborated *in situ*, in the course of time. It contains ancient features inherited from the Mycenaean period, such as the cist-grave or the contracted position of the body on its back, and some later innovations such as *enchytrismos*.¹⁴

Secondly, the geographical distribution of the sequence presents strong similarities with that of the Doric dialect (FIG. 4). In the east, the frontier between Ionic and Doric dialects is situated between Megara and Eleusis. The boundary

¹⁰ Garland 1989.

¹¹ W. Jäger, *Paideia. La formation de l'homme grec*² (1935, 1964 for the French edition), 243–245.

¹² G. Christakopoulou, 'Πρωτογεωμετρικός τάφος στη Στάμνα Μεσολογγίου' in N. Chr. Stamboulidis (ed.) *Καύσεις στην Εποχή του Χαλκού και την πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου, Ρόδος 29 Απριλίου – 2 Μαΐου 1999* (2001): 155–168.

¹³ A. Onasoglou, 'Οι γεωμετρικοί τάφοι της Τραγάνας στην ανατολική Λοκρίδα' *Deltion* 36 (1981) [1989] Meletes: 1–57.

¹⁴ For Mycenaean burial customs, see Cavanagh & Mee 1998.

Iron Age burial customs

between Peloponnesian and Attic burial areas is located at exactly the same place. Such a precise coincidence is truly striking. Inside the regions that spoke what became at a later date the Aeolic dialect (i.e. Boeotia and Thessaly) east Locris was an area of transition that separated them into two parts. We observe the same transition in the burial practices, with the same geographical extent. That is a second striking coincidence between dialectal and burial geographies.

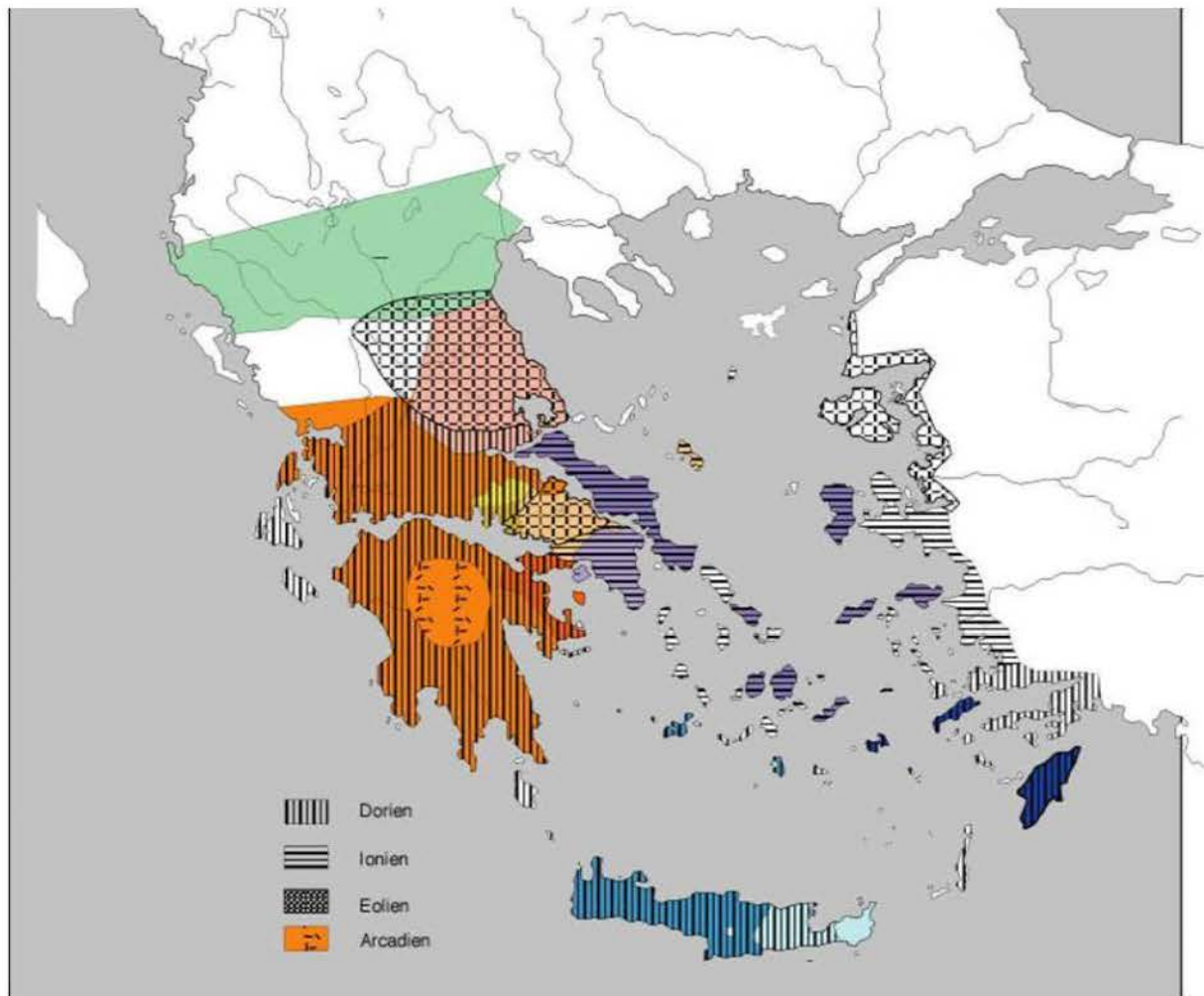


FIG. 4: Superimposed image of dialect map on funeral map.

Thirdly, Arcadia has a distinct dialect within the Peloponnese. Unlike Doric, it was close to the Mycenaean language, from which it was probably the direct descendant. But we observe no specific burial sequence for this region. Few data are available, but all indicate that the Arcadians used the same sequence as the rest of the Peloponnese. Thus, our sequence is not limited to the area of the Doric dialect. On the other hand, outside the mainland, the Doric-speaking islands such as Crete and the Dodecanese had sequences extremely different from those of the Peloponnese. It is clear that the Doric-speaking regions did not constitute a consistent unique area in respect of funeral practices, but were divided into three distinct ones.

In such surprising conditions, assimilating linguistic geography and funeral geography seems impossible. But it would be equally difficult to exclude entirely any

relation between them, because of the precise coincidences we observed. If we look at the general map of Greece, we observe that the limits of the three burial sequences of the Doric speaking regions have no development outside the limits of this linguistic area. That supports the idea of a correlation between the two maps.

How can we solve this contradiction in the data?

I suggest that we distinguish what is relevant to a passive or to an active attitude inside a sequence. For the same feature, both can be integrated. The passive attitude consists in continuing the tradition as the tradition, because it is the tradition. In the Peloponnesian sequence, it can concern the cist- and pit-grave, the inhumation, the position of the body, i.e. the main features of it. An active attitude can be positive or negative. The positive one consists in the adoption of a new custom, sometimes borrowed from another area, as cremation was from more Oriental areas. *Enchytrismos* was not borrowed from somewhere else and was not completely new in Greece, but spread, as we saw, as something new. However, a positive attitude can also be negative. It means the refusal of a new feature. The case of inhumation and cremation in the Peloponnese is a good example. If inhumation was traditional in the Mycenaean period, cremation spread slowly in Greece in the 12th and 11th centuries, even in the Peloponnese, as a minor phenomenon. But in the 10th century, when it became a dominant ritual in a large part of the Greek world, it withdrew completely from the Peloponnese. The only sure exception which has been published in Argos is associated with a splendid PG amphora imported from Athens, where cremation was the rule.¹⁵ This withdrawal cannot be explained either by ignorance of this ritual, or by the continuance of the tradition, but only by the conscious rejection of cremation. As a result, the passive attitude has changed into an active attitude. A sequence is very often a mixture of passive and active attitudes. At the beginning, the active attitude does not affect the features of the sequence as a series of facts, but the consciousness of them. Only at a second stage can this consciousness lead people to strengthen some of them or to change them. Very often, the passive attitude is turned towards the past, the active attitude towards the other communities, even if it is concerned with a conservative feature. It is a way for a human group to affirm its differences *vis-à-vis* other groups and its similarities with others. The active attitude transforms simple practices into what the French geographer Joël Bonnemaïson called a 'géo-symbole'.¹⁶ Geosymbols are cultural markers of territory. They mean the anchorage of identity in space. In using geosymbols, a population engages in a process of construction of ethnic identity. This construction is the main result of an active attitude in burial practices. However, we should be aware that such an attitude is never inevitable, but always depends on the consciousness and the intention of the ethnic group concerned. It is never a mechanical result of the sequence.

¹⁵ Excavations at Kophiniotou Street 27, tomb 10, cf. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 53 (1998) [2004] B'1, 111–112. ; Luce 2007b. Miss A. Papadimitriou kindly informed me that some other examples have been excavated, all in the same area.

¹⁶ Bonnemaïson 1996, 1997, 2004, see also Luce 2007a.

Iron Age burial customs

As is well known, the Greeks considered the Dorian, Ionian and Aeolian unities as ethnic groups, so much so that the organisation of the Delphic Amphictionic Council was based on this division, at least from the time of the first Sacred War (596–586 BC);¹⁷ also, the migration myths of the Dorians were used for denominating the tribes of Sparta and other Doric cities.¹⁸ Every Greek community was clearly conscious of the practices of the others, particularly of its neighbours. In the 8th century the Homeric poems (where all funeral scenes are of the Ionian type) would have spread throughout the Peloponnese, giving everybody the ability to compare heroic practices with those of their own community.

In conclusion, my guess is that the Dorians of the mainland used the burial practices as geosymbols, giving them an ethnic meaning, because they had an active attitude. Unlike them, the Arcadians had a passive attitude in their funeral practices and did not mark their identity through their burial practices. This suggestion would be consistent with the opinion of Catherine Morgan¹⁹ that Arcadian identity was a late phenomenon (as was also Achaean identity), emerging after the end of the Early Iron Age. In fact, the foundation of Arkades in Crete, with cultural links with Arcadia, is strong evidence for an ancient self-consciousness of the Arcadians;²⁰ however, they did not express their ethnicity in their material culture before the late Archaic period. The division of the Doric area into three different sequences shows that the Dorians elaborated their active attitude in relation to their immediate neighbours, because their practices were always constructed locally, without looking for a general unity on the scale of the whole Doric world.

But what happened with the Messenian sequence? Why did it disappear in the 8th century, to be replaced by the Doric one? Because the entire sequence is borrowed from outside, it should be interpreted as the result of an active attitude. It may have had some links with Spartan penetration in this region, since it occurred a short time before the Messenian Wars.

¹⁷ Lefèvre 1998.

¹⁸ Cf. Hall 1997, p. 9–16.

¹⁹ Morgan 1999 ; Morgan 2003.

²⁰ Doro Levi, *ASAtene* 10–12 [1927–29], 17–21.

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List of Illustrations

FIG. 1: Combination of funeral features.

FIG. 2: Funeral map of Iron Age Greece (PG–LG).

FIG. 3: Funeral map of the Peloponnese (PG–MG).

FIG. 4: Superimposed image of dialect map on funeral map.

CHAPTER 23

THE THOLOS TOMB AT KAMBOS, AVIA: EXCAVATION BY CHRISTOS TSOUNTAS, 1891¹

CHRISTINA MARABEA

Μνήμη Ευαγγέλου Γ. Πτερνέα
(1930–2008)

In memoriam Evangelos G. Pterneas
(1930–2008)

INTRODUCTION

This paper is a summary presentation of the Mycenaean tholos tomb at Kambos, Avia (prefecture of Messenia), which was excavated by Christos Tsountas in 1891, then at the age of 34.² His reports and other documents, now deposited in the Archives of the Archaeological Society at Athens, highlight the processes that led to the excavation of the tomb, but not the excavation itself. The tomb was found looted; however, it yielded a small number of objects, among them two well-known lead figurines of Minoan character.

DISCOVERY AND EXCAVATION OF THE TOMB

¹ The study of the tholos tomb at Kambos by the present author includes research in archives, architectural survey and drawing, reconsideration of all finds from the tomb and interpretation of its function within the Mycenaean environment of Messenian Mani.

My warmest thanks are due to the general secretary and academician Mr. Vassileios Chr. Petrakos and the Committee of the Archaeological Society at Athens for granting me permission to study and publish the tomb, as well as to Mrs. Ioanna Ninou, responsible for the Society's Archives, for providing access to Tsountas's documents concerning the excavation of the tomb at Kambos. The documents were photographed by Mr. Nikos Gavriil, the photographs of the monument were taken by the present author and those of the finds by Mr. Kostas Xenikakis. I also wish to thank the archaeologists Dr. Eleni Konstantinidi and Mr. Constantinos Paschalidis for multiple assistance in the storerooms of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens and Ms. Maria Kontaki for the microscopic examination of the two figurines and the verification of the metal, with the kind permission of Dr. Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki, Director of the Prehistoric Collections. Lastly, I am grateful to Associate Professor Yannis G. Lolos of the University of Ioannina for his steady guidance and useful comments.

² Tsountas 1891a and 1891b.

"Having returned yesterday evening from Kambos, in the municipality of Avia (FIG. 1), I report to you that indeed a tholos tomb has been discovered there, like the ones at Mycenae and Vapheio and elsewhere".

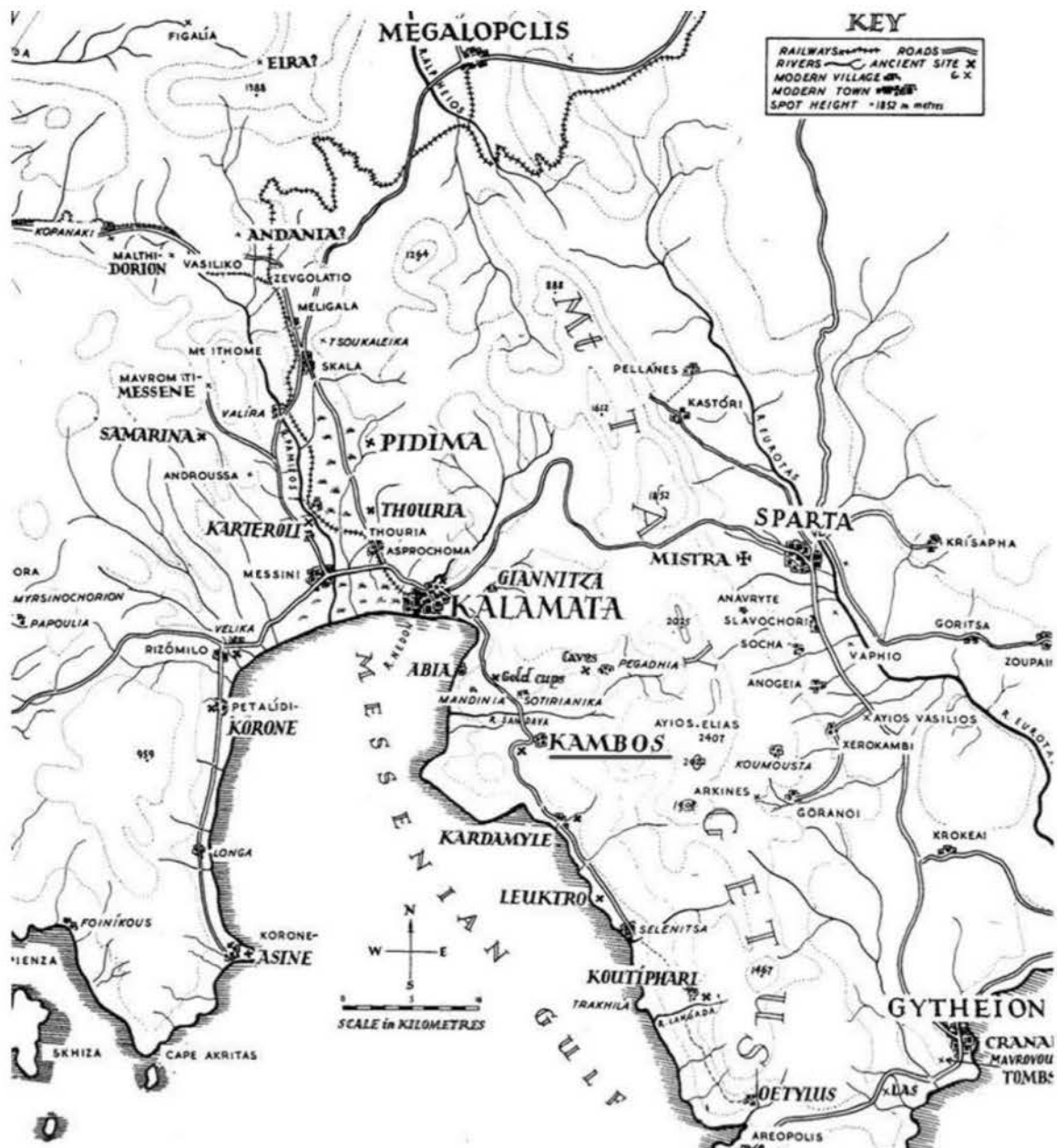


FIG. 1. Map of eastern Messenia, with major sites and the location of Kambos (after Hope Simpson 1957, Fig. 1).

With this phrase, the Ephor of Antiquities Christos Tsountas (FIG. 2), writing from Kalamata, began his report to the President of the Athens Archaeological Society on 10 April 1891, following a reconnaissance by him at the site. In an earlier report, of 18 November 1890, Christos Tsountas mentioned that his information on a probable tomb at Kambos, discovered in 1886, had been confirmed. During the period from 10 April 1891 until 24 June

Tholos tomb at Kambos, Avia

of the same year, when his excavation started, a series of developments have been recorded in the form of reports and telegrams:

- Negotiations with the owner of the field in which the tomb was found.

In his report, which was sent to the Archaeological Society from Mycenae on 6 May 1891, he described the owner's terms, the actual price of the field and the subsequent options for the Society.

- Issue of permits from the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education, on 28 May 1891, and from the Archaeological Society, on 3 May 1891.
- A report addressed to the Archaeological Society on 12 June 1891; it referred to Tsountas's advances regarding the purchase of part of the field, his request for the amount to be transferred to him and his call for two experienced workers (and equipment) from Mycenae for the excavation.
- Obstacles from the local police officer, who "changed his mind during the night being influenced by some locals, who do not want the excavation to be carried out", even though he had agreed with Chr. Tsountas for a preliminary investigation while waiting for the permit from the central police station of Laconia (19th of June 1891).



FIG. 2. Chr. Tsountas (1857–1934) (from *Gods and Heroes of the Bronze Age Europe, The roots of Odysseus*, Greek exhibition catalogue 2000, p. 9).



FIG. 3. Messenia, Kambos. View of the tholos tomb and the surrounding area; in the distance, the modern village (2009).

The tholos tomb is located on the N–NE slope of a low hill with the toponym of Garbelia, on the SW edge of a small fertile plateau (Kambos) (**FIG. 3**). On the top of the hill are the remains of the tower house of Alexandros Koumoundouros (1815–1883), one of the prime ministers of the (then) newly-founded modern Greek state. On a contiguous higher conical hill to the south lies the medieval tower of Zarnata, constructed on an ancient (Classical/Hellenistic?) foundation (**FIG. 4**).



FIG. 4. Messenia, Kambos. View of the dromos and stomion of the tholos tomb. On a higher level, the tower house of Prime Minister Alexandros Koumoundouros (1815–1883) and in the distance, the medieval castle of Zarnata, on the top of a hill (2009).

The excavation of the tholos tomb began on 24 June 1891 and came to an end on 2 July;³ the telegram to the Archaeological Society announcing the conclusion of the excavation is dated 3 July (**FIG. 7**). A total of 934.65 drachmas were spent for the excavation, on the basis of the accounts of the Archaeological Society for the year 1891. As notebooks of the excavation have not as yet been traced, we are not in a position to follow the process of the excavation. The available documents, in the form of telegrams and brief

³ Tsountas 1891b, 23.

Tholos tomb at Kambos, Avia

reports, highlight the events before and just after the completion of the excavation. From the brief excavation it became apparent that the tholos tomb at Kambos had been looted, despite Tsountas's initial appraisal. Apart from the tholoi at Mycenae, it was the second tholos tomb, after that at Vapheio, to be excavated in the Peloponnese.



FIG. 5. Messenia, Kambos. View of the interior of the tholos tomb (1999).



FIG. 6. Messenia, Kambos. View of the masonry of the burial chamber (2009).

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΣ ΤΗΛΕΓΡΑΦΟΣ (Εντ. ΣΤ.) ΤΗΛΕΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΝ

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Οδός

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Ε. Ν. 16 Ε. Ν. 16

Αρ. αφίξεως Ο Παράστατων

10701

Καλαμάτα

Ε. Π. 7 Ε. Π. 3 8 Π. Μ. 1891

Ε. Ν. 15 Ε. Ν. 15 Ωρα Λεπτά

Αρ 292 Αποδέιγμα 160

Πρόεδρον Αρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρίας
καὶ Γενικῆν Εφορίαν Αρχαιο-
τήτων

Σε

Σὺν Καμπίου ἀνασκευαί ἔπε-
ρατάθησαν. Εὐρήματα με-
τρια. Ὑπερὸν ἀναχωρῶ
Τσούντας
Εφορῇ Αρχαιοτήτων

FIG. 7. Telegram by Chr. Tsountas, from Kalamata, to the President of the Athens Archaeological Society and to the General Ephorate of Antiquities, announcing the end of the excavation of the tholos tomb at Kambos (July 3rd 1891) with "finds of moderate" interest.

Tholos tomb at Kambos, Avia

“MODERATE FINDS”

The surviving finds,⁴ some of them now on display in the central Mycenaean Room of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, intended for a few persons, in the excavator's view, include:

- The two well-known lead figurines, of Minoan inspiration, possibly products of a local artisan (**FIG. 8**).⁵ One represents a male muscular figure of excellent craftsmanship (height 0.119 m), who has been variously interpreted as an athlete,⁶ as a young man engaged in play,⁷ a flute player,⁸ a boxer,⁹ a 'genre scene'¹⁰ or as a man holding a rhyton.¹¹ However, it should be underlined that the pose of the hands and the specific rendering of the palms exclude the interpretation of the flute player, the rhyton-bearer and possibly the boxer. The other is a female figurine (height 0.085m) of inferior workmanship, who has been identified as a goddess holding snakes,¹² as a dancer, or as a goddess with a male worshipper¹³ and has been compared with the female figures on the Agia Triada sarcophagus,¹⁴ although their gestures are rather different.

Such figurines, made of lead, are very rare on the Greek mainland. Two examples of LH III C date come from the *Unterburg* at Tiryns,¹⁵ whereas an earlier example (a small female figurine), possibly of LH I-IIA date, was recognized by Sp. Marinatos from oral descriptions; it was said to have been found by local villagers when they blew up the large lintel of tholos tomb 1 at Peristeria in Triphylia to secure building material; it was subsequently melted down to produce shot.¹⁶ By 1915, the figurines from Kambos were already on display in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.¹⁷

⁴ There are some discrepancies between the finds reported by Tsountas in his protocol of delivery/receipt and those registered in the entry book of the National Archaeological Museum.

⁵ For first references see e.g. Tsountas 1893, 183. Tsountas & Manatt 1897, 8, 146, 160, 229–230.

⁶ Tsountas & Manatt 1897, 160.

⁷ Marinatos & Hirmer 1959, 125.

⁸ Van Hoorn cited in Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1995, 84.

⁹ Stais 1915, 157–158, although he was not certain of this identification.

¹⁰ See Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1995, 83–85, with bibliographical references.

¹¹ Hope Simpson 1957, 238.

¹² Stais 1915, 159.

¹³ Hope Simpson 1957, 238.

¹⁴ Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1995, 84–85, with references.

¹⁵ Mossman 2000, 93.

¹⁶ Vermeule 1961, 119. The reference was drawn to my attention by Assoc. Prof. Yannis G. Lolos.

¹⁷ Stais 1915, 157–159.

- A gold-capped lentoid seal stone of chalcedony, with a representation of two wild goats proceeding to the right (to the left, on the impression) (diam. 1.8–1.9 cm).¹⁸
- Seven small gold ornaments (relief beads), in the shape of ivy or lily (FIG. 8).
- Cut-outs of gold sheet, in the form of rosettes and other patterns (FIG. 8).
- A fine bronze ear scoop (length 0.113 m).
- Thirteen (13) intact and four (4) fragmentary beads of blue glass paste, decorated with four relief shells and five (5) decorated with an ivy chain or other relief patterns.¹⁹
- Thirty seven (37) buttons of brownish, purple and black steatite.²⁰
- An ivory comb and fragments of ivory objects²¹ and
- Lengths of lead wire(s).²²

Even though no pottery is mentioned in the official protocol and receipt of delivery, Tsountas, in his definitive report published in *Archaeologiki Ephemeris* 1891, made mention of plain sherds and some with banded decoration.



FIG. 8. Messenia, Kambos. Selected finds from the tomb; two lead figurines on the left; gold ornaments (relief beads and cut-outs of foil) on the right.

¹⁸ See also Sakellariou 1964, 295–296 (Nr. 262).

¹⁹ 16 intact pieces and parts of others according to Tsountas's catalogue and 20 according to Hope Simpson (1957, 238).

²⁰ Tsountas reported 31 pieces, whereas Hope Simpson (1957, 238) referred to 40 examples.

²¹ The ivory fragments (a small disc, a comb, two pieces from a sword sheath and two "horse hooves") were not mentioned in Tsountas's catalogue, with the exception of the comb. For these finds see Poursat 1977, 125. I thank C. Paschalidis for the reference.

²² Tsountas reported only a piece of lead wire.



FIG. 9. Messenia, Kambos. Sherds of late Classical–Hellenistic pots that were observed in the vicinity of the tomb (2009).

Furthermore, during later collections in the area of Tsountas's excavation debris, sherds of Late Helladic III have been reported (see below). Sporadic sherds of small black-glazed and other pots occurring in the surrounding area of the monument may be evidence for (cult?) visits at the site during Late Classical–Hellenistic times (FIG. 9). In the report by Chr. Tsountas, mentioned above, small fragments of bone were briefly noted, which, however, could not at the time be attributed with certainty to the contents of the tomb.

ARCHITECTURE

The architecture of the tholos tomb at Kambos, which is so far unique in E Messenia (Messenian Mani) is of particular interest with reference to its components. The circular chamber, with a diameter of 7.54 m and a preserved height of approximately 3 m, is constructed of dressed stones of medium size and of a rather homogeneous appearance (FIG. 5). A clear tendency towards an isodomic system may be observed, although gravel was widely used to fill the interstices between the stones (FIG. 6).

The entrance (*stomion*), marked by dressed 'titanolithos', sandstone and some conglomerate stones,²³ is 2.65 m high, 1.64 m (bottom) to 1.50 m (top) wide and 3.60 m deep. The lintel is formed by three large slabs that greatly exceed the upper width of the *stomion*; the inner one is not straight but follows the curve of the tholos.²⁴ Of particular interest is the quality of the slabs from a non-local rock. The excavator was the first to notice that the 'titanolithos' variety used in the lintel was imported into the area;²⁵ this is certainly an important feature with wider implications for the significance of the tomb. A relieving triangle above the lintel most probably existed once; three stones, preserved above the exterior slab of the lintel, probably formed the first (lowest) course of the wall which blocked the relieving triangle. The initial existence of a relieving triangle was noted by Tsountas and some evidence to verify its existence seems to have been provided by an episode that happened two years later (see below).

The *dromos* of the tomb had an original length of 12.85 m and a width of 2.18 m towards the north-northeast; its sides were once lined with rubble walls (with a clay cement) for all their length. At the time of the excavation only the left side of the *dromos* was preserved, up to a height of 1.5 m approximately; since then, it has been totally destroyed (FIG. 4). In O. Pelon's classification,²⁶ the tomb at Kambos is attributed to the medium group, bearing strong resemblances to the Panayia tomb at Mycenae.²⁷

The discovery of the tomb does not seem to have aroused a special interest to the inhabitants of the area, perhaps in part due to its looting and poorly preserved contents. Two years after its excavation, in 1893, the tholos tomb and a small damaged Byzantine chapel that had once stood close to the Koumoundouros's tower house were used as a source for building material for the new church at Kambos; a stone taken from above the lintel of the tholos is reported to have been chiselled to form the chancel table of the new church.²⁸

²³ According to Pelon (1976, 304), blocks cut at right angles are rather rare outside Mycenae.

²⁴ This appears to be a rare characteristic outside Mycenae (Pelon 1976, 309). In Messenia, this feature is to be found, in addition to the tholos at Kambos, in tholos 1 at Peristeria.

²⁵ Tsountas 1891a, col. 190.

²⁶ 1976, 187–188.

²⁷ Hope Simpson 1957, 136. Pelon (1976, 403) agreed with Hope Simpson's attribution highlighting the characteristics that resemble those of the second group of tholoi at Mycenae: the special formation of the lintel slabs and the curve of the interior one to meet the inclination of the tholos.

²⁸ Kougeas 1933, 275–276.

Tholos tomb at Kambos, Avia

CHRONOLOGY

The careful 'isodomic' style of the construction of the tomb, combined with the presence of particular small finds and the occurrence of Late Mycenaean sherds in its immediate vicinity, may indicate a rather late date for its building. It appears that the tomb was built and was in use in the LH II B – LH III A period,²⁹ even though an entirely LH III (A–B) construction and use cannot be excluded. This estimation is based on the general architectural appearance of the tholos³⁰ and on the reported sherds found in the excavator's debris.

More specifically, W. McDonald and R. Hope Simpson reported³¹ that "one [sherd] is from a stemmed bowl of LH II–IIIA with a splaying rim and monochrome paint; the second is part of the base of a deep bowl of LH III A–B, with streaky monochrome paint", whereas R. Hope Simpson, commenting on the same sherds in a slightly later report,³² wrote that "some help towards the dating of the tholos tomb may be given by two diagnostic sherds from the excavation dump outside the *dromos*. One is from a LH II/IIIA stemmed bowl, the other from a deep bowl of LH III A or III B date". The monochrome decoration of the two pots (stemmed bowl and deep bowl) points towards a rather late date, i.e. LH III A2 (and even LH III B) for the stemmed bowl and to the end of LH III B for the deep bowl.³³ Apart from the pottery mentioned above, additional support for a LH III date is provided by the two lead figurines, which may rather be associated with the Mycenaean aesthetics, yet with a strong Minoan background.³⁴

HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS

According to tradition (Pausanias III, 26, 8–11), Machaon, brother of Podaleirios, son of Asklepios and physician of Homeric Nestor, joined the expedition to Troy, where he lost his life. His bones were transferred and buried by Nestor in Enopi, which was called Gerenia at the time of Pausanias,

²⁹ E.g. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 166. Hope Simpson 1981, 133. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 64, 81.

³⁰ Compare the tholos tomb at Kambos with the other tholos tombs of medium size that were constructed in the LH III A–B period in Messenia: Tholos tomb I (6.85 m) and II (5.75 m) at Malthi, the MME tholos tomb (6.6 m) at Nichoria and the tholos tomb (6.75 m) at Dara; they all have walled dromoi and comparable masonry (Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 63; Parlama 1973–74, 315–316).

³¹ McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 251.

³² Hope Simpson 1966, 114.

³³ See e.g. Mountjoy 1999, 131, Fig. 30: 220 (monochrome stemmed bowl, LH III A 2), 351, Fig. 120: 117 (monochrome deep bowl, end of LH III B).

³⁴ Sakellariou 1968, 250–252.

being one on the towns of the 'Confederation of the Lacedaemonians'. This town may coincide, on the basis of all relevant considerations, with modern-day Kambos, even though an alternative opinion has also been put forward.³⁵ In the light of this, the attribution of the tholos tomb at Kambos to Machaon is intriguing, considering the form, status and preliminary dating of the monument.

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³⁵ Kougeas (1933, 263) has compiled early references for and against the identification of Kambos (and Zarnata) with ancient Gerenia. To the first category scholars such as M. E. Puillon Boblaye, E. Curtius, Chr. Tsountas, W. Kolbe and H. Hitzig and H. Blümner may be found, whereas W. Leake, C. Bursian, H. Lolling, F. Bölte, G. Hirschfeld and J. Frazer favoured coastal Kitries as the place of ancient Gerenia, even though Pausanias specifically wrote of an inland site. N. Papachatzis (1994, 455–456), in his commentary of Pausanias's description, supports the identification of Kambos as the site of ancient Gerenia (and Homeric Enope), after considering all the available evidence.

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List of illustrations

FIG. 1. Map of eastern Messenia, with major sites and the location of Kambos (after Hope Simpson 1957, Fig. 1).

FIG. 2. Chr. Tsountas (1857–1934) (from *Gods and Heroes of the Bronze Age Europe, The roots of Odysseus*, Greek exhibition catalogue 2000, p. 9).

FIG. 3. Messenia, Kambos. View of the tholos tomb and the surrounding area; in the distance, the modern village (2009).

FIG. 4. Messenia, Kambos. View of the dromos and stomion of the tholos tomb. On a higher level, the tower house of Prime Minister Alexandros Koumoundouros (1815–1883) and in the distance, the medieval castle of Zarnata, on the top of a hill (2009).

FIG. 5. Messenia, Kambos. View of the interior of the tholos tomb (1999).

FIG. 6. Messenia, Kambos. View of the masonry of the burial chamber (2009).

FIG. 7. Telegram by Chr. Tsountas, from Kalamata, to the President of the Athens Archaeological Society and to the General Ephorate of Antiquities, announcing the end of the excavation of the tholos tomb at Kambos (July 3rd 1891) with “finds of moderate” interest.

FIG. 8. Messenia, Kambos. Selected finds from the tomb; two lead figurines on the left; gold ornaments (relief beads and cut-outs of foil) on the right.

FIG. 9. Messenia, Kambos. Sherds of late Classical–Hellenistic pots that were observed in the vicinity of the tomb (2009).

CHAPTER 24

ANCESTOR WORSHIP AND HERO CULT IN THE CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN PELOPONNESE: THE EVIDENCE FROM PAUSANIAS*

ELENI MARANTOU

INTRODUCTION

Pausanias is the main source for identifying and understanding the material past of the Peloponnese. His descriptions are the basic tools for acquiring a complete picture of those monuments which have not survived. He also makes it possible for us to recreate a picture of the mythical past and to understand why it was important for some individuals to have their memory kept alive over the ages.

DESCRIPTION OF FUNERARY MONUMENTS

Arcadia

Starting from Arcadia, the first monument described by Pausanias is the **grave of Callisto** at Trikolonoi, north of Megalopolis. It is described as a tall mount of earth with many trees on it.¹

The **bones of Callisto's son, Arcadas**, had originally been buried near mount Mainalo.² Because of an oracle from Delphi, they were transferred to Mantinea. In the same place was a *temenos* where sacrifices for him were made.

In the city of Mantinea the **grave of Antinoe**, daughter of Kepheas, existed, according to Pausanias.³ She had transferred the citizens of Mantinea from the prehistoric ptolis, which was on the hill of Gortsouli, to the site of

* I'd like to thank my colleague and friend, Vanessa Foudouli, for helping with the translation and for her well-aimed observations on the language of the text.

¹ Paus. 8.3.7.

² Paus. 8.9.3.

³ Paus. 8.9.3.

the modern city, because of an oracle. For this she was honoured as the founder of the city.

In the same area was the **grave of Gryllos**, the son of Xenophon.⁴ He was known because he mortally wounded Epaminondas in the battle of Mantinea. For this, the Mantineian people gave him a public burial and they dedicated a relief of a horseman on a column at the place where he was killed in battle, honouring him as the bravest among the allies.

Also among the bravest warriors was **Podares**, who was killed in the same battle. For him, a **funerary Heroon** was built in the agora at Mantinea.⁵ It was probably the temple-like construction found in the theatre. The Mantineians continued honouring him until the time Pausanias visited Mantinea.

In the region between Mantinea and Tegea the Traveller saw **graves for the daughters of Pelias**.⁶ They were simple graves, created by the accumulation of earth and without any inscription so that their names are unknown.

Near those graves lay Phoizon. There was a stone tomb with a circular *crepidoma* and was thought to be the **grave of Arethoos**.⁷ Homer mentioned him because he used an iron club as a weapon.⁸ He was killed by the king of Arcadia, Lycurgus, the son of Alea, at the place where his grave was.

On the hill Skope, in the same region, was the **tomb of Epaminondas**, who lost his life in the battle of Mantinea.⁹ On his grave was erected a column. Above it was his shield with a relief representation of a dragon, which symbolized his *genos*. There was also a column with an epigram from Boeotia and another one dedicated by Hadrian.

The next monument mentioned by Pausanias is the **tomb of Penelope**.¹⁰ The wife of Odysseus came from Sparta and she returned there when her husband accused her of having relations with the suitors. From there she went to Tegea, where she remained until her death. Her grave was simply a tall mound of earth.

On mount Anchisia there was the **tomb of Anchises**, father of Aeneas.¹¹

⁴ Paus. 8.9.3.

⁵ Paus. 8.9.9.

⁶ Paus. 8.11.2.

⁷ Paus. 8.11.4.

⁸ Hom. Il. 6.137.

⁹ Paus. 8.11.8.

¹⁰ Paus. 8.12.5.

¹¹ Paus. 8.12.8.

Ancestor worship and hero cult in Pausanias

Some **anonymous graves** belonging to warriors existed near the city of Orchomenos.¹² They consisted of cairns of stones, one next to the other. Nothing more was mentioned about the dead.

On the road that led from Orchomenos to Kaphyes existed the **grave of the fabulous king Aristocrat**, who was known for the rape of the priestess of Artemis Hymnia.¹³

On the way to Pheneos there was the **grave of Iphicles**, brother of Heracles. He was buried there and was worshipped as a hero with *enagismoi*.¹⁴

In the city of Pheneos existed the **grave** of another mythical figure, **Myrtilos**.¹⁵ He was the charioteer of Oinomaos and was killed by Pelops. He was buried near the temple of Hermes, who was considered to be his father. Outside the city of Pheneos there were some **graves of heroes**, who participated with Herakles in the expedition against Troy and were killed in battle.¹⁶

East of Pheneos, Pausanias saw the **tomb of Aipytos**.¹⁷ Already Homer (Il. 2.604) described it as the most impressive funeral monument he had seen. According to his description it was a pile of earth surrounded by a circular stone kerb.

Near Kaphyes, at a place called Kondylea, there was the sanctuary of Artemis Kondyleatis. Near this was a **tomb of children** stoned to death by the Kaphyans because they had strangled the image of the goddess.¹⁸ The goddess, however, became upset and punished their women, so that their babies were stillborn. A Pythian oracle asked them to bury the children and sacrifice to them every year as they did to heroes. The Kaphyans were still obeying this oracle when Pausanias visited the place.

In Psophis there was the **tomb of mythical Alkmeon**.¹⁹ It was a building that was not distinguished for its size or decoration but was considered a sacred place, as were the cypresses around it. Pausanias says that the trees were taller than the hill of Psophis, but nevertheless they were not cut because they were considered to be the sacred trees of Alkmeon.

At the sanctuary of Asklepios Pais in Thelpousa there was the **tomb of Trygon**, who was the childminder of Asklepios.²⁰

¹² Paus. 8.13.3.

¹³ Paus. 8.13.5.

¹⁴ Paus. 8.14.9.

¹⁵ Paus. 8.14.11.

¹⁶ Paus. 8.15.5.

¹⁷ Paus. 8.16.3.

¹⁸ Paus. 8.23.6–7.

¹⁹ Paus. 8.24.7.

²⁰ Paus. 8.25.11.

The first winner of the foot-race after the refoundation of the Olympic games in 776 was **Koroibos**. His tomb was at the border of Arcadia with Elis and an inscription on it survived to the time of Pausanias.²¹

On the way from Gortys to Megalopolis there was a **funeral monument** for the citizens of Megalopolis who had been killed in the battle against Kleomenes.²²

On the street leading from Megalopolis to Mainalon Pausanias came across the **tomb of Aristodemos**, which he describes as a mound of earth.²³ Aristodemos was a historical figure particularly loved by the Arcadians.

In the same region Pausanias saw the **grave of mythical Oikles**, who was the father of Amphiaraos.²⁴

Another mythological figure was **Maira**, the daughter of Atlas and wife of Tegeates, son of Lykaon. **Her tomb** was mentioned twice: once as being north of the polis of Mantinea and once as at Tegea, where it was believed that she was buried together with Tegeates. One of the tombs was probably a cenotaph or simply a reminder of the fabulous past of Arcadia.²⁵

Finally, on the way from Tegea to Thyrea Pausanias reports the existence of the **tomb of Orestes**, son of Agamemnon.²⁶ The locals said that a Spartan named Lichas stole the bones of Orestes from the tomb and transported them to Sparta.

In Arcadia Pausanias met twenty-five graves in total, of which only six were of women.

Elis

The next prefecture that we will examine is Elis. The first tomb reported here by Pausanias in his narration of the fabulous past of the region is the **tomb of Aitolos**, son of Oxylos, king of Elis.²⁷ He died young and his parents built a funeral monument for him at the gate leading from Elis to Olympia, following an oracle that demanded that the grave be built at a point neither inside nor outside the city. Up to the time of Pausanias *enagismoi* for Aetolos were made every year.

In Skillountas – which had been granted by the Lakedaimonians to Xenophon, when he was exiled from Athens – Pausanias saw the **grave of**

²¹ Paus. 8.26.3.

²² Paus. 8.28.7.

²³ Paus. 8.36.5.

²⁴ Paus. 8.36.6.

²⁵ Paus. 8.12.7 and 8.48.6.

²⁶ Paus. 8.54.4.

²⁷ Paus. 5.4.4.

Ancestor worship and hero cult in Pausanias

Xenophon.²⁸ It is known that Xenophon passed the last years of his life in Corinth. Therefore this monument could only be his tomb if his bones had been transferred here after his death.

West of the river Kladeos, on a hill within ancient Olympia, there was the **tomb of the Arcadians** who fell in the battle against the Eleians.²⁹ The Eleians won this battle with the help of the deity Sosipolis, who turned the Arcadians away by transforming himself into a snake.

At the Altis of Olympia there was the Hippodameion, the place where **the bones of Hippodameia** were buried.³⁰ According to the myth, Pelops banished Hippodameia when he heard that she had let his son, Chrysippos be killed. She went to the Argolid, where she died. Following an oracle, her bones were transferred to Olympia again, to a place surrounded by a *crepidoma*. Once a year the women of the city were allowed to enter the sacred place and to honour Hippodameia with sacrifices.

At the Hippodrome of Olympia there was an altar in a place called **Taraxippos.**³¹ When horses participating in the games reached this spot, they were seized by a great fear for no reason, causing the chariots to crash into each other. They believed, therefore, that in this place there was the **grave** of a man who caused disturbance to the horses. Some considered that the skilled horseman Olenios was buried there. Others said that Dameon, the son of Phlious, who took part in the expedition of Herakles against Augeas and the Eleians, was buried there. Kteatos, the son of Aktor, killed him along with his charger. According to another story this was the place which Pelops built as a cenotaph for Myrtilos and sacrificed to him in an effort to calm his anger for being killed. Some said that it was Oinomaos himself who harmed the racers in the course. Others believed that here was the tomb of Alkathos, the son of Porthaon.

The **tomb of Oinomaos** was on the opposite bank of Kladeos and was a mound of earth with a stone *crepidoma* around it.³²

After crossing the river Erymanthos, Pausanias saw the **tomb of Sauros**, a robber who had been killed at this point by Herakles; because of this a sanctuary was built for him.³³

In the area of Phrixa, near the river Alpheios was a **tomb for the fillies of Marmakas.**³⁴ Marmakas was the first suitor of Hippodameia, but

²⁸ Paus. 5.6.6.

²⁹ Paus. 6.20.6.

³⁰ Paus. 6.20.7.

³¹ Paus. 6.20.16.

³² Paus. 6.21.3.

³³ Paus. 6.21.4.

³⁴ Paus. 6.21.7.

Oinomaos killed him and his fillies, Parthenia and Eripha, for whom a separate tomb was built. Beyond the river Arpinates were the ruins of the city Arpinas. Not far beyond it there was the **grave of the suitors of Hippodameia**.³⁵ It was a joint tomb, constituted by a tall mound of earth. Oinomaos buried the dead suitors side by side and covered them with earth without any mark. Pelops, however, later built a large monument to honour the dead. Each year *enagismoi* were performed in order to thank Hippodameia and to keep the memory of Pelops as the one to overcome Oinomaos, who had killed many heroes.

Near the sanctuary of Artemis Kordakas there was a small building in which a bronze box with the **bones of Pelops** was kept.³⁶ Pelops was worshipped in Olympia as a hero, or a deity who had been pushed aside by Zeus.

In Elis, Pausanias saw a **cenotaph for Achilles**.³⁷ As he reports, there was no altar, but only the cenotaph, which had been created following an oracle. Every year, on the day when the city celebrations began and at sunset, the women of the city worshipped the hero with ceremonies and lamentations. In this case he was worshipped as a god of vegetation and not as the Homeric hero.

In Elis there was also the **tomb of Pyrron**, a sceptic philosopher. His grave was found near the city of Elis, at the point named Petra.³⁸

Nearby, Pausanias saw a temple-like building, which was believed to be the **tomb of Oxylos**.³⁹

In total, Pausanias came across thirteen funeral monuments in Elis, all of which were connected with the mythological past of the region.

Messenia

In Messenia the Traveller saw only two funeral monuments. The first was the **tomb of Machaon**, which was on the border of Messenia and Laconia, at Gerenia.⁴⁰ Machaon was one of the sons of Asklepios. His brother was Podaleirios. Pausanias describes the tomb, which was used as a sacred place and was called Rhodon. People went there in order to be healed, since Machaon, like his father, was also a healer. Machaon had been killed at Troy and Nestor was the one who brought his bones back to Messenia.

³⁵ Paus. 6.21.9.

³⁶ Paus. 6.20.7.

³⁷ Paus. 6.23.3.

³⁸ Paus. 6.24.5.

³⁹ Paus. 6.24.9.

⁴⁰ Paus. 4.3.2 and 3.26.9.

Ancestor worship and hero cult in Pausanias

The other funeral monument in Messenia was the **tomb of Aristomenes** at Ithome.⁴¹ Aristomenes died on the island of Rhodes and his bones were transferred to Messenia, following an oracle from Delphi. Above the grave of Aristomenes a divinatory procedure took place. A sacrificial bull was brought and tied to a column set up above the tomb. The bull made movements in order to escape. If by his movements the column shook, it was considered as a favourable mark for their city, but if it remained motionless from the efforts of the bull this was an ominous mark. Generally, Aristomenes was a very respectable figure and one of the beloved ancestors, because of his action during the Messenian wars. The Messenians believed that he helped them in the battles even though he was dead.⁴²

Laconia

In Laconia, the first funeral monuments that Pausanias saw were in the city of Sparta. Near the sanctuary of Moires, he saw the **tomb** where **Orestes**, the son of Agamemnon, had been buried, after his bones were transferred from Tegea to Sparta following an oracle.⁴³

The next monuments were the **tomb of Epimenides**⁴⁴, the Cretan philosopher, and the **tomb of Aphareas**.⁴⁵

Near Hellenion there was the **tomb** of the seer **Talthybios**.⁴⁶

Near the city wall of Sparta there was a **tomb for the Eurypontid kings**.⁴⁷

At a small distance from the tomb of the **Eurypontids** there were the **graves of the Iamides**, a family of priests from Elis.⁴⁸

At another point of the city, near the Skias, which was a round building in the agora, there were a few more tombs. The existence of so many tombs in the centre of the city is remarkable and demonstrates the importance of ancestors in the memory and history of the Lakedaimonians. There was the tomb of the mythical **Kynortas**, son of Amyklas.⁴⁹ Also remarkable was the **tomb of Kastor**.⁵⁰ He was, according to mythology, the human son of

⁴¹ Paus. 4.32.3.

⁴² Themelis 2003, 20.

⁴³ Paus. 3.11.10.

⁴⁴ Paus. 3.11.11.

⁴⁵ Paus. 3.11.11.

⁴⁶ Paus. 3.12.7.

⁴⁷ Paus. 3.12.8.

⁴⁸ Paus. 3.12.9.

⁴⁹ Paus. 3.13.1.

⁵⁰ Paus. 3.13.1.

Tyndareus, but he was deified together with his twin brother Polydeukes, forty years after their death. They were known as Dioskouroi and mostly worshiped in Laconia but their cult was widespread in the whole Peloponnese. We can conclude that the Dioskouroi were pre-Dorian deities, whose memory remained in the minds of the Dorians who continued worshipping them as gods, but giving them a fabulous human substance.

In the same region there were the tombs of **Idas and Lygeas**, who were cousins of the Dioskouroi.⁵¹

It should be noted that all the tombs at the Skias belonged to people of the mythological past. Near the agora of Sparta, in the region where the theatre was, there was the Cenotaph of the **Brasidas the general**.⁵² In the same area was the **grave of Pausanias**, king and head of the Lakedaemonians in the battle of Plataea, and also the **grave of Leonidas**, whose bones had been transferred from Thermopylai to Sparta forty years after the battle, by king Pausanias.⁵³

In a place called Theomilida there were the **tombs of the dynasty of Agiads**, and near the sanctuary of Asklepios there was the tomb of **Tainaros** and the tomb of **Eumedes**, son of Hippocoon.⁵⁴

Pausanias informs us about the existence of some more tombs in Sparta. Among them was the **tomb of Alkman**, the lyric poet of the 7th century⁵⁵ and the **tomb of Oionos**, who was a cousin of Herakles and was killed by the sons of Hippocoon.⁵⁶ In Sparta there was also the **tomb of Eukosmos**, son of Lykourgos.⁵⁷ Although there was a grave for his son, a sanctuary had been built for Lykourgos himself, which shows the importance of Lykourgos for his polis since he was the lawgiver of Sparta. He was worshipped as a god and not simply as a hero (as were the other ancestors) and it seems that he was worshipped so since at least the 5th century, according to Herodotus.⁵⁸ Therefore, many researchers consider that Lykourgos was not a historical figure, but an old deity who continued to be worshipped during historical times.

Behind the sanctuary of Lykourgos there was the **grave of Lathria and Anaxandra**. Opposite the temple there was the **tomb of Theopompos**, son of Nikander, and also that of **Eurybiades**, who commanded the Lakedaimonian warships that fought the Persians at Artemision and Salamis.⁵⁹

⁵¹ Paus. 3.13.1.

⁵² Paus. 3.14.1.

⁵³ Paus. 3.14.1.

⁵⁴ Paus. 3.14.2 and Paus. 3.14.6–7.

⁵⁵ Paus. 3.15.2.

⁵⁶ Paus. 3.15.5.

⁵⁷ Paus. 3.16.6.

⁵⁸ Her. 1.65–66.

⁵⁹ Paus. 3.16.6.

Ancestor worship and hero cult in Pausanias

At the acropolis of Sparta there was the **tomb of Tyndareus**.⁶⁰

At Amyklai there was the tomb of **Hyakinthos**. According to the myth, Hyakinthos was the youngest and most beautiful son of Amyklas, founder of the city, but he died very young. A tomb was made for him, which is located at the sanctuary of Apollo, underneath the image of the god. The pedestal of the statue was fashioned into the shape of an altar and they say that Hyacinthos was buried under it. At the Hyakinthia, a local feast for the dead hero, the Spartans dedicated offerings to Hyakinthos on this altar before the sacrifice to Apollo, accessing it through a bronze door on the left of the altar.⁶¹ Hyakinthos was worshipped in Sparta as a deity of vegetation and he was probably a pre-Dorian chthonic deity, whose memory was preserved in the new worship in the form of a mythical being.⁶² The fact that the door for the *enagismoι* was on the left of the altar strengthens the theory of the chthonic nature of the deity.

In the region of Therapne there was the temple of **Menelaos**. It was believed that he was buried there together with **Helen**.⁶³ Menelaos and Helen were mythical figures worshipped in Sparta, mainly in the region which was supposed to be the kingdom of Menelaos.

On the way from Laconia to Arcadia there was the **grave of the Horse**.⁶⁴ This was a very special place, because it was the point where the suitors of Helen swore that they would help at any circumstances the one who would be chosen as her husband. The horse that was sacrificed after the oath had been buried there and the grave was still visible in Pausanias' time.

Near the banks of the river Eurotas there was the **tomb of Ladas**, who had won the event of racing at Olympia. According to Pausanias he became ill on his way back and died at the spot where his grave was.⁶⁵ The **tomb** of another Olympic Games winner, **Nikokles**, was at Akriai.⁶⁶

A curious place of tomb-worship was at Asopos, where Pausanias reports that **human bones** much bigger than normal were worshipped.⁶⁷

Near the river there was also the **grave of Kinados**, who was the steersman of Menelaos' ship.⁶⁸

Finally, at a place called Araino there was the **grave of Las**. Above it his statue had been erected.⁶⁹

In total, Pausanias saw thirty funeral monuments in Laconia.

⁶⁰ Paus. 3.17.4.

⁶¹ Antonaccio 1995, 178.

⁶² Pakkanen 2000–2001, 86.

⁶³ Paus. 3.19.9.

⁶⁴ Paus. 3.20.9.

⁶⁵ Paus. 3.21.1.

⁶⁶ Paus. 3.22.6.

⁶⁷ Paus. 3.22.9.

⁶⁸ Paus. 3.22.10.

⁶⁹ Paus. 3.24.10.

UNDERSTANDING FUNERARY MONUMENTS

We have to bear in mind that, during his trip around the Peloponnese, Pausanias saw only portion of the funerary monuments which had been erected in antiquity. We should not forget that Pausanias did not visit all the places he describes, but obtained some of his information from narrations; there were also places which he neither visited nor described. On the other hand, a lot of monuments had been destroyed by the time he visited the Peloponnese and some old rituals were no longer in use. For this reason the information he provides is not complete. Therefore we can only take into account what he saw and reported in his books.

In total, Pausanias describes seventy funerary monuments. Most of them were concentrated in Laconia, while there is a small number of monuments in other regions and only two in Messenia. (TABLE 1).

TABLE 1: Funeral monuments

	<i>Mythological figures</i>	<i>Historical figures</i>
Arcadia	17	7
Elis	10	3
Messenia	1	1
Laconia	14	15

The first observation regarding the monuments of the central and southern Peloponnese is that they are divided into two categories: tombs for individuals who emanate from the mythical past, and tombs of historical figures.

Mythological figures are those who played a leading role in the local myths regarding the founding of a city, mainly ancestors and settlers; also individuals whose actions took place in the particular region or who lost their life there. (TABLE 2).

TABLE 2: Mythological figures

	<i>Arcadia</i>	<i>Elis</i>	<i>Messenia</i>	<i>Laconia</i>
Mythological past	12	8		9
Ancestors	2			
Settlers	1			2
Heroes	1			
Cult			1	
Homeric	1			

Ancestor worship and hero cult in Pausanias

	<i>Arcadia</i>	<i>Elis</i>	<i>Messenia</i>	<i>Laconia</i>
heroes				
Mythological animals		1		1
Robbers		1		

Historical figures are kings, warriors, their relatives, but also philosophers, poets and Olympic victors. (TABLE 3).

TABLE 3: Historical figures

	<i>Arcadia</i>	<i>Elis</i>	<i>Messenia</i>	<i>Laconia</i>
Historical figures	1		1	1
Warriors	2	1		
Ancestors			1	1
Kings				1
Olympic victors	1			2
Philosophers				1
Poets				1

Generally there was a special treatment and worship for those who connected the present of the city with its past, figures of myth or the city's previous history.

Transfer of relics

It was important for a city to keep within its borders the bones of its founder, because this confirmed its strategic role and strengthened its cultural identity (TABLE 4).

TABLE 4: Transfer of bones

<i>Figures</i>	<i>Reasons</i>
Orestes	Following an oracle
Arcadas	Confirmation of sovereignty
Aristomenes	Legitimation of power
Pelops	Protective powers

<i>Figures</i>	<i>Reasons</i>
Hippodameia	Commemorate the past
Machaon	
Leonidas	

In cases where the bones were buried in another place, an oracle dictated that the citizens bring them back to the city.⁷⁰ We have the examples of the bones of Arkadas, which were returned to Mantinea, the bones of Orestes, which came back to Sparta,⁷¹ and the bones of Aristomenes, which were transferred to Messene. The transfer of the bones of Hippodameia, of Machaon and of Pelops is also known.

The importance of the existence of the founder's bones in a city is related to the legitimation of power and the confirmation of sovereignty in a region, which needed to be preserved by any means. For this purpose, the spot where the bones of a city's founder were buried was secret and only an oracle could help find them.

The basic reasons for the transfer of the bones of a hero are the following:⁷²

- (1) The return of a hero to his paternal place confirmed the political and strategic role of the city.
- (2) The acceptance of a foreign hero by a city made it possible to take advantage of his protective power.
- (3) The worship of a hero who belonged to an enemy city took from it the protective powers of that hero.

Therefore "heroizing a founder constitutes the most particular and most explicit expression of hero-worship".⁷³

In this case the civic hero is considered as testifying to a new political order. He contributes to the determination of its political identity, but also of the city's boundaries.⁷⁴

Worship of ancestors and heroes

In addition to the city founders, the honouring of ancestors was something usual, and this is apparent from the existence of tombs and *heroa* which were

⁷⁰ Burkert 1993, 428.

⁷¹ Blomart 2005, 87.

⁷² Blomart 2005, 88.

⁷³ Themelis 2000, 1.

⁷⁴ Hall 1999, 49ff.

Ancestor worship and hero cult in Pausanias

built within the cities. The example of Sparta stresses the importance that the Spartans gave to their dead and to the recollection of the past.

On the other hand, sanctuaries were built in the centre of the city to worship personalities of the past and underline their importance for the city.

The worship of the ancestors began mainly in the Archaic period, when the first cities were founded and their residents sought a connection with the Mycenaean past. Therefore a hero was the figure around whom the newly established community was developed. At this time we have the first examples of worship at the Mycenaean tholos tombs.⁷⁵ This provided legality and protection in the newly-established cities and power in their competition with neighbouring areas for sovereignty over the wider region. According to the mythical frame, the hero was the protector of the area and this belief was maintained during antiquity.⁷⁶

Generally the worship of ancestors was constant throughout antiquity.⁷⁷ It started from the moment the first cities were established and continued to Roman times. It concerned the ancient ancestors, as well as historical figures who were chosen as protagonists of the action in their region during ancient times.

The worship of a hero began with the thought that he would be embodied in the ideological frame of the city. That way the establishment of an urban hero is considered as an affirmation of a new political order (TABLE 5).⁷⁸

TABLE 5: Funeral monuments

<i>Funeral monuments inside cities</i>	<i>Funeral monuments outside the city boundaries</i>
Relation with past	Determination and defending of the territorial boundaries
Local hero as central figure of the city	Connection with past
Protective power of ancestors	Site of death
Cult of ancestors (Tombs, Heroa, Cenotaphs, Sanctuaries)	Special cases (see TABLE 6)

Apart from the funeral monuments that were built within the cities for political reasons, there were other monuments outside the borders of the

⁷⁵ Korres 1988, 322ff.

⁷⁶ Antonaccio 1994, 96.

⁷⁷ Malkin 1987, 264–265.

⁷⁸ About heroes see Boehringer 2001, 26 and Whitley 1995, 52.

cities. With their presence in many locations outside the urban context they determined the geographical borders of the region, they provided historical continuity and they achieved a connection with the past.⁷⁹ In many cases the burial happened at the spot where a figure died and, depending on the importance of that figure, a monumental funerary monument was erected.

Special cases of tombs

Certain particular cases of tombs are memorable (TABLE 6), such as the grave for the fillies of Marmakas in Elis and the grave for a horse in Laconia, on which the suitors of Helen swore the oath, because it was the moral engagement for the beginning of the Trojan War.

TABLE 6: Special cases

Funeral monuments for animals	(Elis-Laconia)
Funeral monuments with bad significance	(Aristokrates in Arcadia, Sauros in Eleia)
Funeral monuments for bones	(Laconia)
Funeral monuments for children	(Arcadia)
Funeral monuments for women	(Arcadia-Elis-Laconia)

Again, there were cases where the individual who was buried had a negative significance for the community. One case was the tomb of the robber Sauros in Elis, who was killed by Herakles. Tombs of robbers and other criminals could be found beside provincial roads, where the travellers threw the 'stone of anathema'. The resulting stone clusters (*lithosoroi*) were considered as ill-omened spots.⁸⁰ There was also the grave of Aristokrates in Arcadia, who was a king, but his name remained in history because he raped the priestess of Artemis Hymnia.

As a particularity, the tomb of the children at Kondylea is reported, and the adoration of the oversized bones in Laconia. It is likely that they were worshipped as bones of Titans who were believed to have lived in the Peloponnese.

Worship and rituals

At some point there existed mythical heroes who enjoyed some type of worship as a transfer of the worship of pre-Olympian deities, who thus

⁷⁹ Alcock 2005, 165.

⁸⁰ Papachatzis 2004, VIII. Arkadika, 227.

Ancestor worship and hero cult in Pausanias

continued their existence into the historic ages. This happened in the case of Achilles, Pelops, Menelaos, Hyakinthos and Lykourgos. On the other hand, it should be stressed that there was a difference between the worship of heroes as local deities and the pan-Hellenic worship of the Olympian gods. We also have deification of figures from the mythical past whose acts took place in a particular region, as happened with the Dioskouroi and Machaon, for whom new sanctuaries were established.⁸¹ Historical figures, on the other hand, enjoyed more respect for their actions.

Death played an important role in the social life of ancient societies, since death was associated with the unknown and the weakness of man to control it. For this reason some rituals were created which helped the transition of a dead man to the other world, and also monuments which kept his memory alive. With the passage of time, death was linked with life. A heroic life brought a prestigious death.

The basic rituals that took place over the tombs of the ancestors were of two kinds.⁸² One kind was the *enagismos*, a libation ritual intended initially for chthonic deities but which eventually became a ritual for dead people; the other kind was the *sacrifice*, in the case of deification of heroes, as it is characteristically reported for Menelaos and Helen.⁸³ We should not forget the special rituals at certain kinds of tombs, which were connected with the particular abilities of the buried person (TABLE 7).

TABLE 7: Rituals – ceremonies

Enagismoi	
Sacrifices	
Special rituals:	1. Divination (Tomb of Aristomenes) 2. Lamentation (Cenotaph of Achilles) 3. Healing (Tomb of Machaon)

CONCLUSION

As we can see the underlining of the relationship of the next generations to the previous ones played a significant role in the life of people in antiquity with ceremonies and rituals that were maintained in the duration of ancient times. It was not only the existence of funerary monuments but also the ritual practices, which reminded people of the special identity of the dead.

⁸¹ De Polignac 1995, 201.

⁸² Ekroth 2002, 121.

⁸³ De Polignac 1995, 194.

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List of tables

TABLE 1: Funeral monuments

TABLE 2: Mythological figures

TABLE 3: Historical figures

TABLE 4: Transfer of bones

TABLE 5: Funeral monuments

TABLE 6: Special cases

TABLE 7: Rituals – ceremonies

CHAPTER 25

HONOURING THE DEAD WITH POLYCHROME POTS: THE CASE OF MAINLAND POLYCHROME POTTERY IN PELOPONNESIAN FUNERARY CONTEXTS (AN INTERPRETATIVE APPROACH)

IRO MATHIOUDAKI

INTRODUCTION

My topic concerns a type of fine pottery of the early Late Helladic period, known as Mainland Polychrome, well represented in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae and often decorated with pictorial motives. The pottery, being elaborate and technologically advanced, provides an instance for the application of theoretical models developed and tested by Material Culture Studies. We see here the first attempts of Helladic representational art,¹ which is supposed to have served to enhance individual status and needs to be understood as part of the social strategies adopted by an emergent elite, especially where the case of the Mycenaean Shaft Graves is concerned.²

THE CASE OF MAINLAND POLYCHROME POTTERY

Mainland Polychrome pots have been found as grave offerings in Circles A and B at Mycenae,³ the shaft graves at Lerna,⁴ tumulus IQ and two simpler graves from Asine,⁵ tumulus Γ at Argos,⁶ two chamber tombs at Prosymna⁷

¹ For the lack of representational art in MH see Rutter 1993, 789.

² Voutsaki 2005, 141. *Contra*: Rutter 1993, 791, but see note 195.

³ Furtwängler and Loeschcke 1879; Karo 1930–1933; Mylonas 1973.

⁴ Lindblom 2007.

⁵ Dietz 1980.

⁶ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980.

⁷ Blegen 1937.

and the tumulus at Samikos.⁸ Especially in the case of the Mycenaean circles and the graves at Lerna and Prosymna the context speaks of luxurious burials. The small quantity of Mainland Polychrome ware and its probable function as an indicator of central Greek (i.e. Boeotian) craftsmanship, is of great importance. In contrast to the scenes with men fighting and hunting, which are particularly common in the Mycenaean Shaft Graves and emphasize competition and prowess,⁹ our pots are used as a canvas for the depiction of peaceful, harmonious or sacred scenes. A great number of Mainland Polychrome pots is decorated with geometric or curvilinear motifs of an aniconic nature, deriving from the MH tradition. Both categories are attested in funerary contexts, the pictorial with a percentage of 22% and the aniconic with 78%. In a domestic context the first represents a lower proportion, only 5%, while the aniconic is 95%. Thus, there is a bias towards pictorial iconography in the graves. The presence of Mainland Polychrome pots with geometric and curvilinear motives in the Circles Mycenaean is indicative of the value of both categories.

The most common motifs of Mainland Polychrome in funerary assemblages are panels and birds; there is no indication of action with the intention of narration, a feature further emphasized by the strict syntactic constraints imposed by the panels. The effect seems to be decorative and perhaps emblematic. The well-known griffin of grave VI in Circle A is also placed within panels. The symbolic meaning of the griffin is more straightforward and, as previous analytical work has shown, griffins function both as predators and guardians.¹⁰ The presence of jugs with birds in funerary contexts was perhaps required, to judge by their quantity. Here we have to do with a representation of a bird rather than an accurately depicted and identifiable species, as proposed for their Middle Cycladic counterparts. In two cases, the depiction of birds may have had a narrative character: one comes from grave VI of Mycenae¹¹ with two birds which are obviously connected (as their tails touch), the other from Plasi at Marathon, from a domestic context.¹²

I wish to stress here the need to look at luxury goods as not always materialized symbols, but as a special register of consumption, the manifestation of which is –in the words of Appadurai– the restriction to the elite, the complexity of acquisition, the scarcity and the advanced technological traits.¹³ All these characteristics apply in the case of Mainland Polychrome pots. The aesthetic perspective is not related to function and

⁸ Gialouris 1965.

⁹ Laffineur 1992, 109.

¹⁰ Papagiannopoulou 2008, 440. See also Laffineur 1985, 261 and Bennet 2004, 97.

¹¹ Furtwängler & Loeschcke 1879, Pl. X, no. 45 and Karo 1930–1933, 164, Fig. 80/1, pot no. 946.

¹² Pot K700 is exhibited in the Museum of Marathon.

¹³ Appadurai 1986, 38.

Honouring the dead with polychrome pots

therefore the latter becomes secondary. In our case, in Peloponnesian funerary contexts, pouring and storage vessels prevail, namely stamnoi, beak-spouted jugs and juglets. Style and function refer to two classes of difference among alternative variants, therefore they are not treated together here.¹⁴

THE AESTHETIC PARAMETER

For Bourdieu the term 'aesthetics' carries with it connotations of high culture and class-based processes of discrimination and distinction.¹⁵ We are dealing with judgments and standards of artistic beauty and the alternative approach is to situate studies of aesthetics within the context of a culturally specific perception, as in this instance – a certain pottery type within a certain spatio-temporal context. The sense of aesthetic judgment is appreciated in this case from the objects chosen to be buried and their formal qualities.

The qualities of Mainland Polychrome pottery – the use of two colours (red especially, as a stimulus of physical excitement¹⁶), the burnished ground recalling metallic objects, and the symmetry of the motifs – all these provoke certain responses, above all balance and harmony; the pottery is thus aesthetically defined. Taking into consideration the funerary and possibly also ceremonial context of Mainland Polychrome we can recreate its own life-history. The pottery seems to be the latest stage of the wheel-made and burnished Boeotian potting tradition and, thus, a result of time-consuming procedures and technological knowledge. This is based on aesthetic, typological and technological criteria and mainly on the principle of repetition. The prevalence of familiar combinations of shape and decoration, even in the case of pictorial motifs, is related to the quality of a product and its potential use as a trademark. In the context of Minoan influences in art and the predominance of Thera imports during the LH I period, the profoundly local characteristics of Mainland Polychrome signify a wealth of dynamic expression and creativity of Helladic origin. Its sensory environment, one might say, infuses the pottery with social meaning as the last expression of a long tradition, in juxtaposition to all the foreign finery of the shaft graves.

The context elevates the pots to an agent of prestige and power, both seen as cross-culturally recognizable motivations. A detailed description of pottery leads to a better understanding, since aesthetics is defined as the value we attach to the formal qualities of objects.¹⁷ Mainland polychrome pots were highly-charged objects, as their context and physical properties reveal. As

¹⁴ Neiman 1995, 8.

¹⁵ Bourdieu 1979, 99.

¹⁶ Wreschner 1980, 631.

¹⁷ Gosden 2001, 164.

Gosden says, “what we need is a framework that acknowledges objects as a creative part of social life, but which focuses on the effects on objects in creating the values attached to human relations”.¹⁸ The framework in our case is the funerary assemblage, the Shaft Graves in the first place and the tumuli, in the second as the most elaborate forms of tomb alongside the simpler ones.

OBJECTS AND PEOPLE: MUTUAL ASPECTS

The singling-out of objects as an action full of social meaning takes place during the funeral with the selection and display of offerings.¹⁹ Since Mainland Polychrome pots are commonly found in domestic assemblages, their presence in graves is at the same time an abstraction from their general flow of life, due to their aesthetic qualities, or their connection with particular people and events. Things concealed from sight, such as grave offerings, may have been used in the first place as indicators of values upheld in life. What remains concealed was once deliberately revealed. We follow here Gosden’s idea of focusing on the quality and quantity of objects in order to reveal their biography.²⁰ There is a mutual process of value between people and things: objects gain value through links with powerful people and an individual’s standing is enhanced through possession of well-known objects. The cycle of production, exchange and consumption of Mainland Polychrome pots has to be looked at as a whole and funerary assemblages can be directed towards this idea, since, as R. Laffineur points out, there is a remarkable similarity between the original context of the objects, the context for which they have been made, and the context in which they have been found.²¹ Recently John Bennet expressed the idea of a cultural biography created by the mortuary context as attested in Circle A of Mycenae, where numerous objects could be understood, by virtue of their exotic material or special manufacture, as objects with biographies.²²

RELATION TO SOCIAL POSITION AND MEMORY

The presence of jugs decorated with birds, both in large-scale (multiple burials and complex grave types in Mycenae) and small-scale events (single burials in pits or cist graves at Argos and Asine) allows a multi-level reading of the information. The juglets from Asine and Argos, all decorated with

¹⁸ *Id.*, 164.

¹⁹ Gosden 2004, 35–36.

²⁰ *Id.*, 39.

²¹ Laffineur 1992, 105.

²² Bennet 2004, 95.

Honouring the dead with polychrome pots

birds, are, interestingly enough, local products, while those from the first group were all imported from Boeotia. We need to give weight to the construction of social being through individual narratives of lived lives and events and to acknowledge that individuals used material culture in their competing and changing strategies.²³ Mortuary ritual especially, takes place at a time when roles are portrayed. An emphasis on intentionality in the use of grave offerings in the shaft grave era has been forcefully advanced by Voutsaki.²⁴ To this view we should add that expression of status can also be seen as relating to – apart from reflecting – social position, since after death individuals are automatically classed as ancestors and status is thus expressed through membership of a generation.

The creation of collective memory is crucial at this point, since each burial cites previous events, and artefacts mediate the reproduction of burial practices.²⁵ Mainland Polychrome pottery remains a link between the two Mycenaean Grave Circles, as one of the rare types attested in both Circles. Mainland Polychrome pottery is in this case related to mnemonic processes through its decorative and aesthetic immediacy.²⁶ The deposition of certain types of pottery, like the one treated here, may have acted as a step towards the materialization of ideology, a long process that confers social power to an elite group (in our case the group of Grave Circle B) on the next level (the group of Grave Circle A). Mainland Polychrome pottery is another type of object that signifies social position, owned, inherited or transferred.

CEREMONIES AND PAIRING OF POTS

The shaft graves at Lerna have a different depositional story.²⁷ The fragmentary assemblage retrieved from the *epichosis* was too large to fit into the graves, leading us – as Lindblom claims – to conclusions concerning funerary meals and feasting. As far as Mainland Polychrome pottery is concerned, interestingly enough, the presence of kraters in the assemblage supports this view, since this type of pot is not attested in other funerary contexts. Here we may have the remains of a ceremonial performance, as the form of the pots and their fragmentary state indicates. Ceremonies integrate and define large and sometimes different groups of people and, in this case, objects contribute to the biography of a ceremony.²⁸

²³ Hodder 2008, 22.

²⁴ Voutsaki 2005.

²⁵ Jones 2001, 347.

²⁶ For this view see Gell 1996 and 1998, as well as DeMarrais, Castillo & Earle 1996, 16–17.

²⁷ Lindblom 2007, 120.

²⁸ DeMarrais, Castillo & Earle 1996, 17.

The pairing of pots, a notion developed by Nordquist,²⁹ is attested in three cases as far as Mainland Polychrome pottery is concerned: (1) in the double juglet with decoration of birds found in a cist tomb in tumulus IQ at Asine; (2) in grave E of Circle B at Mycenae, with two identical stamnoi decorated with panels; and (3) in chamber tomb XXVI of Prosymna with two four-handled stamnoi. Nordquist sees in the last two cases an example of rich elite tombs and identifies a pattern, since this type of vessel is usually found with adult burials.³⁰

EPILOGUE

Mainland polychrome pottery makes its appearance in changing times, when new shapes and motifs develop and an increase in the deposition and variety of valuables with the dead is attested. All these signify a period of the formation of political structures and polychrome pottery as a luxury item is another expression of this formation. The presence of these pots among others stands at a crucial point in the perception of time, when a context – here the funerary – “encompasses the maximum amount of information that it can handle” and at this point “a sudden breakthrough to a higher-context level is most expected”.³¹

²⁹ Nordquist 2002, 120.

³⁰ *Id.*, 129.

³¹ Van der Leeuw 1982, 452.

Honouring the dead with polychrome pots

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CHAPTER 26

“PASSING AWAY” OR “PASSING THROUGH”? CHANGING FUNERARY ATTITUDES IN THE PELOPONNESE AT THE MBA/LBA TRANSITION

NIKOLAS PAPADIMITRIOU

The transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age saw a major transformation of funerary customs in the Peloponnese and other parts of mainland Greece. Several studies have documented the gradual but nevertheless radical nature of the change from a MH tradition of burying in tumuli and poorly provided single – often intra-mural – graves to the ‘Mycenaean’ mode of burial in chamber tomb cemeteries and tholoi; the increasing elaboration of tomb architecture and the proliferation of grave goods from MH III onwards are widely thought to reflect an emphasis on ostentation and conspicuous consumption, themselves interpreted by most scholars as mechanisms of competitive emulation among emerging *elites* – and as undeniable signs of spiralling social complexity.¹

This kind of interpretation mirrors a major trend in Aegean archaeology over the past thirty years, namely an increasing emphasis on the social dimension of burial practices. As much as reflecting wider theoretical developments,² this trend was also a reaction to the presumed inability of mortuary remains to shed sufficient light on ritual and symbolic aspects of the funerary process; as a consequence, the latter were often excluded from discussion, and analysis of mortuary data was directed towards quantitative approaches of a strictly sociological character.³

¹ Dickinson 1977; Mee & Cavanagh 1984; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1986; Graziadio 1991; Voutsaki 1993; 1995; 1998; Cavanagh & Mee 1998; Papadimitriou 2001a; Boyd 2002; Bennet & Galanakis 2005.

² As expressed by processual and post-processual approaches to mortuary customs, e.g. Saxe 1970; Binford 1971; Tainter 1978; Morris 1987; 1992.

³ Only a few studies include theoretical discussions on the ritual context of MH/LH burials: Voutsaki 1993, 26–32; Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 103–20; for the LH III period, see Gallou 2005, 64–74.

However, the methodological isolation of a *single component* of the funerary process – or any phenomenon of comparable complexity – from its full context involves an obvious risk: *over-interpretation* in favour of this very component. Anthropologists continue to argue strongly for the highly *conceptual* nature of funeral, and insist that its sociological and ritual dimensions are not easy to separate;⁴ moreover, it is widely acknowledged that objects deposited in tombs acquire new symbolic meaning through *ritual*, and this meaning may be quite unrelated to their material or artistic value.⁵

My own opinion is that current approaches to the MH/LH transition have, indeed, overemphasized the role of social competition and ‘elite aspirations’ as stimulating forces for the observed changes. I believe that a balanced reading of the funerary record, based on a combined view of its social, ritual and symbolic elements, can provide a much more refined picture and demonstrate that developments in that period were both subtler and more widespread than usually thought.

To exemplify my thesis, I have chosen to focus on a standard feature of Mycenaean tombs, the *dromos-stomion-chamber* layout, and try to explore its symbolic meaning. This layout emerged precisely in that period but its appearance was *not* a spontaneous event. Rather, it was the outcome of a long process of change in funerary architecture and practice in certain regions of mainland Greece.

In order to examine the social and symbolic dynamics that underlay this change, I will first discuss the shifting nature of *social identities* – the identities of dead individuals and of the groups they belonged to – and the evolution of ritual performance and symbolic representation in late MH and early Mycenaean Greece. Then I will focus on three crucial questions:

1. Why the need for a *permanent system of access* to the burial complex arose at the end of the MH period;
2. Why this access took the form of a *horizontal approach* to the tomb; and
3. Why the *dromos* was adopted as the ideal solution.

THE IDENTITY OF THE GROUP

The appearance of multiple tombs in this transitional phase suggests increasing emphasis on *collective identities*, in our case the identity of nuclear or extended families rather than any wider grouping.⁶ The decision to build a special place where family members will be re-united after death presupposes

⁴ Metcalf & Huntington 1991, 14–19, 36–7; see also Härke 1997a, 23–4.

⁵ Pader 1982, 40–1, 199–200; Morris 1992, 18; Härke 1997b.

⁶ Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 130–1; Wright 2008; for recent DNA analysis of skeletons from the Mycenae Grave Circles, see Chivers *et. al.* 2009.

“Passing away” or “passing through”?

strong ideas about descent and continuity. Through its repeated use, the tomb becomes not only a ‘house of ancestors’ but also a repository of collective memories, a material statement about the exclusiveness and solidarity of the group.

Of course, the expression of collective identities in the funerary realm was not a Late Bronze Age phenomenon alone. Tumuli were also collective burial monuments (either communal or corporate)⁷ and any demarcated cluster of graves in a MH cemetery could also represent a distinct group.⁸ Yet, *differentiation* among burials was minimal, rendering rather untenable the idea expressed by Nordquist that MH mortuary customs focused on individuality rather than group identity.⁹ True, the status of the dead was sometimes proclaimed, as in the warrior graves of Thebes and Aigina,¹⁰ but these were exceptional cases in an otherwise undifferentiated mortuary landscape.¹¹ Why and how the need arose for a more emphatic statement of group identity – as reflected on the appearance of rich *collective* tombs at the transition to the LBA – is a question that begs for more complex explanations.

One of the reasons may have been what Maran describes as a major re-organization of the settlement pattern in the Shaft Grave period, perhaps motivated by the emergence of new socio-political structures.¹² This involved a process of settlement nucleation, the establishment of new sites, and the relocation of some settlements from old to new habitation areas.¹³ Such changes may have made a restructuring of burial space necessary. Argos offers a good Peloponnesian example of those developments: here, MH burials were widely scattered all over the E and S flanks of the Aspis hill, while early LH graves were confined to a much smaller part of the so-called ‘tumulus cemetery’;¹⁴ it is within this later context that collective tombs first appeared on the site,¹⁵ at the same time as the settlement shifted from the top of the Aspis to the slopes of the hill.¹⁶ It is possible that the establishment of more dense, ‘formal’ cemeteries brought groups, who previously lived apart

⁷ Boyd 2002, 264–6; Wright 2008, 145–7.

⁸ For MH burial plots and their significance, see Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 24–5.

⁹ Nordquist 1990, 38.

¹⁰ Kassimi-Soutou 1980; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997.

¹¹ Cavanagh & Mee 1998; age and sex distinctions may have been important in MH burials, yet these pertain to inherent physical qualities of the individuals, not socially determined roles, and as such cannot be re-negotiated in post-mortem representations, Härke 1997a, 25–6.

¹² Maran 1995.

¹³ Dietz 1991, 293 (for the Argolid); Shelmerdine 2001, 125–6 (for the Pylos area).

¹⁴ Touchais & Divari-Valakou 1998, 11–12 and plans VII and VIII; Papadimitriou 2001a, 21.

¹⁵ Mainly the LH I built chamber tombs T. 29 and T. 164, Papadimitriou 2001a, 17–19; another grave with several successive burials (T 12) may have been built at the very end of the MH period, Psychogiou 1992, 88–9; there are also smaller cist- and pit-graves with 2–3 burials each, dating mostly to MH IIIB and LH I, Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980; Voutsaki *et al.* 2007, 180.

¹⁶ Philippa-Touchais & Touchais 1997.

and buried their dead in separate clusters, into closer contact, thus creating the need for sharper demarcation of identities.¹⁷ According to recent theories, the process may have even involved a renegotiation of lineages and ancestral traditions.¹⁸ In any case, death was transforming from a private to a *public* affair. And as the circulation of larger amounts of material wealth was causing social asymmetries,¹⁹ group identification may have become more meaningful than before.

According to various theorists, increased investment in funerary ritual – either by erecting grandiose tombs or by placing valuables with the dead – is frequently linked to periods of social instability and the desire of certain groups (mainly ‘elite’ ones) to reaffirm their status or claim legitimacy;²⁰ this thesis seems to conform to the conditions of late MH/early LH Argolid. Shifting attitudes towards death may also explain the gradual abandonment of intra-mural burial.²¹

Responses to changing conditions, however, may have varied between regions. In the w Peloponnese, collective tombs seem to have first appeared in the context of pre-existing tumuli, for example the tholos at Voidokoilia, the small tholoi at Koukounara and Kaminia, and the built tombs at Kato Samikon-Kleidi and Portes.²² Those examples suggest marked continuity and a gradual adaptation to new patterns of funerary behaviour. At Volimidia, on the other hand, novel grave types not deriving from a pre-existing tradition (i.e. chamber tombs) were very common from the very beginning of the LBA.²³ Therefore, generalizations should be avoided.²⁴

THE IDENTITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Important as they may have been for the definition of group identity, the notions of collectivity, solidarity and common ancestry could only be manifested through *individual representations*. The other major change of the period, the shift from plain burial to the rich furnishing of the dead, addressed precisely this need.

¹⁷ For the establishment of formal cemeteries at Mycenae in that period, see Alden 2000, 16–18; French and Shelton 2005, 178–80; for Argos, see Touchais 1998, 78; for similar remarks on late MH/early LH Thebes, see Dakouri-Hild 2001, 112, 116–17.

¹⁸ Wolpert 2004, 135–6; Wright 2008, 148–50.

¹⁹ Voutsaki 1995, 56.

²⁰ Childe 1945, 17; Morris 1992, 28; Parker-Pearson 1999, 86–7.

²¹ Nordquist 2002, 28–29; Philippa-Touchais (forthcoming)

²² *Voidhokoilia*: Korres 1978, 334–59; *Koukounara and Kaminia*: Korres 1975; *Kato Samikon-Kleidi*: Papakonstantinou 1981; 1982; *Portes*: Moschos 2000.

²³ Zavadi 2001, vol. I, 31–3, vol. II, 44–102; Boyd 2002, 138–47.

²⁴ For similar remarks, see Cavanagh 1998; Voutsaki 1998; Bennet & Galanakis 2005.

“Passing away” or “passing through”?

The shift was not as straightforward as it may seem, neither did it involve only a sudden increase in the quantity and quality of grave offerings. Rather, it represented a *major transformation* of the funerary assemblage. Apart from luxuries, the LH grave-kit included new pottery types primarily destined for funerary use, such as alabaster and squat jugs (probably containing substances for the anointment of the dead);²⁵ elaborately decorated drinking sets; ceremonial vases, such as rhyta; palatial jars, from LH IIA; figurines from LH IIB. It contained also fine garments and gold-foil ornaments – evidently not restricted to the wealthier tombs.²⁶

None of them should be ignored because they entail escalating investment in ritual performance and more sophisticated forms of symbolic representation. For the purpose of this paper, however, I would like to focus on the deposition of *valuable personal belongings* (or gifts) such as weapons, tools, sealstones, because they had multiple social connotations:

1. they allowed for a detailed representation of the *social persona* of the deceased;
2. they created *prestige* for the group through the ceremonial disposal of (and, thus, the alienation from) material wealth; and
3. they made an emphatic statement about the *extension of property rights* beyond death, and by consequence, their transmission to surviving members of the group.

Kilian-Dirlmeier and other scholars have discussed in detail the symbolic importance of valuable personal offerings or *sets of offerings* for representing socially acquired properties of the dead.²⁷ But representation may have not been the sole objective.

Voutsaki has suggested that the formal disposal of personal items of rare craftsmanship or *exotica* was also meant to emphasize access to important exchange networks and/or the ability of the group to disrupt the circulation of socially charged artefacts within the community and prevent others from obtaining them; this kind of ‘conspicuous consumption’ was thought capable of *creating* – rather than simply reflecting – social differentiation.²⁸ Although her analysis has received a fair amount of criticism for its “over-reliance on artefacts as nodes for status negotiation”,²⁹ Voutsaki should be credited for drawing our attention to what anthropologists consider a major function of funeral: to ensure the smooth transfer of social roles, rights and obligations to the surviving members of the group.³⁰ Her thesis suggests that offerings

²⁵ Cavanagh 1998, 106.

²⁶ Cavanagh 1998, 104–5; Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 110–11.

²⁷ Kilian-Dirlmeier 1986; Laffineur 1989; Voutsaki 1993, 148–9; Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 126–7.

²⁸ Voutsaki 1993, 147–9; 1995, 60; 1998, 46.

²⁹ Wolpert 2004, 135.

³⁰ This function derives from the interpretation of funeral as a rite of passage (or rite of transition), Hertz 1960 [1907], 77–8; van Gennep 1960 [1909]; Goody 1962.

acquired a variety of symbolic meanings in burial and refutes the view that wealth deposition was a haphazard attempt to outclass 'rival groups' simply by stockpiling ever greater amounts of precious objects in tombs. Such an impression may be born out by the Mycenae Shaft Graves – and it is true that the quantity and diversity of grave goods here cannot be easily dismissed as insignificant. Yet, in the rest of the Peloponnese – and beyond – the deposition of valuables in MH III and LH I follows much more consistent patterns: it is mainly characterized by sets of weapons, ornaments made of precious metals, a few 'exotic' items and a wide array of high-quality pottery.³¹ Thus, if we leave the Mycenae evidence aside, we obtain a much more balanced picture of family groups vying to express their distinct identities through emphatic – perhaps idealized – individual representations. When combined with the increasing use of collective tombs, this attitude can be plausibly interpreted as an attempt to reinstate kinship relations and assess group rights and claims over continuously expanding communities.

Let me be clear on that point, though: I do not suggest that this was a conscious effort to abuse the dead in favour of the living. It never is. Burial customs may reflect social relations but they do so indirectly and are certainly not meant to *illustrate* them in the first place. Social aspirations can affect mortuary behaviour only in the long term and solely if they manage to become embedded successfully into traditional norms of social conduct.³² For death rituals embody strong religious symbolisms and well-rooted beliefs about afterlife or ancestral tradition and, as such, cannot change overnight;³³ moreover, their primary role is to *restore*, rather than disrupt, social order and cohesion.³⁴ The transformation we are studying spread over a long period of time, perhaps a century or so, and must have been less perceptible (and aggressive) to those who experienced it than it apparently seems to us. In all probability, it was the result of a gradual process that grew out of changing social conditions and values, and may have started from the plain need to memorialize certain virtues of the individual, gone through a stage of increasing emphasis on symbolic representation, and ended up with a highly sophisticated profile-making invested with religious overtones, as exemplified *in extremis* in Grave Circle A.

It is to that process, rather than to any practicality (i.e. the enlargement of the grave), that we should ascribe another shift of the period, namely that from the crouched to the extended position of the corpse. The latter facilitated both the embellishment of the body with meaningful attributes and its public presentation at *prothesis* and *ekphora*, iconographic evidence for which is

³¹ Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 31–2.

³² Bloch 1977.

³³ Bloch 1977, 329–37; Wolpert 2004, 129–30.

³⁴ Hertz 1960 [1907]; Goody 1962, 35; Voutsaki 1993, 29–30

“Passing away” or “passing through”?

available on the much later Tanagra larnakes and on krater fragments from Elis.³⁵ It would be tempting to link the adoption of the extended position with the introduction of a formal *ekphora* custom to the funerary ritual, but further research is necessary on the subject. The extended position may have served another tendency of the period: the desire to create symbolic representations of the dead *as if alive* that would survive long after the body had perished. This tendency is certainly evident in the Shaft Graves of Mycenae, where grave stelai were decorated with heroic hunting scenes, and gold masks were placed on the faces of high-status individuals,³⁶ but may be also reflected in the general increase of personal attributes in Mainland tombs from MH III onwards.³⁷ The adornment of a suitably extended corpse with socially and ritually charged paraphernalia may have been meant to inscribe individual biographies into ancestral narratives, emphasize the importance of collective memories and symbolize the permanence of the group.

SYSTEM OF ACCESS

With changes such as these, death ceased to be a ‘private’ affair and became *socialized*. The tomb itself became a socially meaningful place that should be regularly revisited and tended, thus generating the need for a *permanent system of access*. This eventually took the form of what Gallou has termed the ‘holy triad’ of Mycenaean funerary architecture: the *dromos-stomion-chamber* arrangement.³⁸ I argue that the success of this arrangement, which remained in use for more than four centuries, was due to its ability to integrate the social and ritual dimensions of funeral into a *single conceptual framework*.

Gallou has made a serious attempt to analyze the symbolic character of this arrangement drawing on current anthropological theory and the important notion of funeral as a *rite of passage*.³⁹ Her approach is interesting but rather static, as it tries to explain the possible meanings of the Mycenaean layout only *after* chamber tombs and tholoi had been established as the main grave forms all over Mainland Greece in LH III. I believe we can obtain much more interesting insights if we manage to trace the *formation process* of a system of horizontal access in the transitional MH/LH phase. Thankfully, there is good evidence to allow us to do this.

Burial in most MH cist- and pit-graves was *from above*. Tumuli, on the other hand, were meant to be accessed *laterally*, and that was also the case for some of the graves they contained. For example, the central apsidal tomb in

³⁵ Immerwahr 1995; Marinatos 1997; Schoinas 1999.

³⁶ Cavanagh 1998, 104–5.

³⁷ Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 109–11.

³⁸ Gallou 2005, 64; see also Voutsaki 1993, 141–2; 1998, 45.

³⁹ Gallou 2005, 64–75.

the MH tumulus of Papoulia had a proper side entrance, and some pithoi had their rims surrounded by horizontal slabs resembling *antae*.⁴⁰ Apsidal tombs of LH I or earlier date are also known from a burial mound at Akones, and reported from the poorly documented tumuli at Kato Samikon-Kleidi.⁴¹ Also of LH I date are some circular built graves (or 'small tholoi') embedded in the burial mounds of Koukounara-Gouvalari and Kaminia, and the rectangular built chamber tombs found in tumulus C (and A?) at Portes, Achaia.⁴² Outside the Peloponnese, at Marathon, built tombs with lateral entrances were used in tumulus I as early as MH III if not MH II,⁴³ and even a threshold was placed in front of tumulus II.⁴⁴ Whether these examples pre- or post-date the appearance of tholoi and chamber tombs in the corresponding regions is not entirely clear, but in any case they help to explain the successful merging of the tumulus tradition with the tholos, when the latter was introduced to mainland Greece – whether or not from Crete is another matter – as best exemplified in the case of Voidhokoilia.⁴⁵

The need for a more articulated – or more restricted – access to the tomb was still under negotiation in the LH I period (**FIG. 1**). At Mycenae a vertical system – originally invented in MH III – continued to be used for Shaft Graves.⁴⁶ Apparently, however, this was not considered suitable and would soon be abandoned. Why? Practical considerations (that it would be difficult to dig the filling of a shaft-grave each time a new burial was to be made) do *not* provide a convincing answer, especially in a period when energy expenditure in funeral must have been emblematic of status.⁴⁷ It seems more likely that the disadvantage of the vertical system lay in its inability to provide sufficiently exclusive contexts for the performance of ritual. Space arrangement in the Grave Circles allowed only for shared, symbiotic rites, e.g. on the famous 'altar' over grave IV in GCA, or in the 'funerary meals' held above the graves of GCB;⁴⁸ such rites did not differ significantly from those performed in earlier tumuli, as for example at Argos, where a ritual deposit has been found at the central structure of the MH I tumulus A, and at Marathon, where a possible altar was built between tumuli I and II.⁴⁹ It was

⁴⁰ Korres 1978, 326–32; 1980, 129–50.

⁴¹ *Akones*: Parlama 1972; Lolos 1987, 154–5; *Kato Samikon-Kleidi*: Papakonstantinou 1981, 148–9 (tombs VII and XI); 1982, 133 (tomb IV).

⁴² *Koukounara and Kaminia*: Korres 1975; Lolos 1987, 161–4, 166–8; *Portes*: Moschos 2000, 12–17.

⁴³ Tombs 2 and 3, Marinatos 1970, 10–13; for the date of the tombs, see Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997, 97.

⁴⁴ Marinatos 1970, 14–16; see also Cavanagh 1977, 105.

⁴⁵ Korres 1978, 334–59.

⁴⁶ Mylonas 1973, 243–5; for shaft-graves in other areas, see Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 28–9, 43–4.

⁴⁷ Wright 1987.

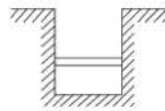
⁴⁸ For the "altar" in GCA, see Gallou 2005, 21–4; for GCB, see Mylonas 1973, 261.

⁴⁹ *Argos*: Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980, 11–16; for the MH I date of this structure, see Voutsaki *et al.* 2007, 157, table 1; *Marathon*: Marinatos 1970, 10.

“Passing away” or “passing through”?

only the dromoi of tholoi and chamber tombs that would guarantee more *exclusive areas of representation*.

vertically accessed

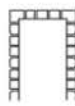


shaft graves

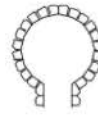
laterally accessed



apsidal tombs



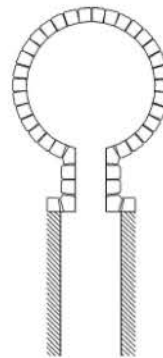
rectangular tombs



**circular tombs
("small tholoi")**



chamber tombs



tholos tombs

FIG. 1 Types of multiple tomb used in the Peloponnese during LH I

We have to remember, however, that during LH I tholoi were used almost exclusively in Messenia,⁵⁰ and only a few of these had well-defined dromoi, certainly nothing comparable to the narrow and long passageways we find at LH IIA Vapheio (29.80 m), Mycenae (Aegisthus and Lion tombs, 22 m) and Peristeria (Tomb 1, 21.50 m).⁵¹ The same is true of the recently discovered tholos of Corinth, which is also claimed to date to LH I.⁵² Tomb 3 at Galatas, which is tentatively dated to the MH/LH transition, had neither a dromos nor a proper stomion; if it ever had a superstructure it would probably look more like a Minoan circular tomb than a Mainland tholos.⁵³ Chamber tombs were used at a handful of sites in the Argolid, Laconia and Messenia,⁵⁴ and also had quite wide and short passageways.⁵⁵ Even shorter were the dromoi of two LH I built chamber tombs at Argos.⁵⁶ The form of the entrance had not yet been finalized. Sometimes, the quest for private space in front of the burial chamber could take an idiosyncratic form, as suggested by a number of early built tombs with vestibules; the most famous example is the LH IIA tomb Rho in Grave Circle B, but earlier examples are known from Eleusis and Keos.⁵⁷ All these examples testify to the highly experimental spirit of LH I funerary architecture, which sought to satisfy more sophisticated ritual needs and to reconcile *pre-existing traditions* with new grave-forms.⁵⁸ Undoubtedly, the most emblematic example of such experimentation is the LHI/IIA 'oblong tholos' at Thorikos, built next to an earlier tumulus.⁵⁹

⁵⁰ Mee & Cavanagh 1984, 50; Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 44.

⁵¹ Length of dromoi in LH I tholoi: *Ano Englianos* IV: 10.50 m; *Voidhokoilia*: 7.80 m; *Tragana* 2: 7.50 m; *Psari*: 6 m; *Nichoria*, *Veves* tholos: 2.40 m; *Koukounara-Gouvalari* Ta10: ca. 3.60 m; no information is available for *Koryphasion-Osmanaga*, *Pylos* 'Grave Circle', *Routsi* 1 and 2, *Peristeria* 3 and south tholos, *Livaditi*, *Gouvalari* 1 and 2, *Kato Samikon-Kleidi*, *Diodia*; *Pelon* 1976; *Zavadil* 2001; *Boyd* 2002.

⁵² The tomb was presented by P. Kassime at the international conference "*Corinthia and the Northeastern Peloponnesus. Topography and history from prehistoric times until the end of antiquity*", Loutraki, 26–29 March 2009. It contained a polychrome jug of possible LH I date, which however was found in the same context as a palace-style jar and other LH IIA vases. Its dromos was rather short.

⁵³ Only a circular course of stones and two monolithic *antae* are preserved; no pottery has been published, but the excavator mentions "MH/LH" sherds collected from the interior of the tomb, *Konsolaki-Giannopoulou* 2009, 510–11.

⁵⁴ Mee & Cavanagh 1984, 56 and fig. 7; Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 48.

⁵⁵ *Mycenae*: Wace 1932, 124–5; *Prosymna*: Blegen 1937; *Epidauros* *Limera*: Christou 1956; *Volimidia*: Iakovidis 1966; *Kokla*: Demakopoulou 1993, 59–60. Among the known LH I chamber tombs only a few have dromoi 8–10 m long, while most fall in the range 3–7 m.

⁵⁶ Tomb 164: 2.30 m; tomb 29: 2.00–2.30 m, *Papadimitriou* 2001a, 17–18.

⁵⁷ *Mycenae*, Tomb Rho: Mylonas 1973, 211–25; *Eleusis*: Mylonas 1975–76, vol. B' 198–201 (tomb Aπ4 – LH I or II); *Philios* 1889 (tomb under the Telesterion – possibly LH I); *Keos*: Caskey 1971, 381–2 (tomb 29 – LH I/LM IA).

⁵⁸ *Pelon* 1987; Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 117–8.

⁵⁹ *Servais & Servais-Soyez* 1984.

“Passing away” or “passing through”?

It was only in LH IIA that dromoi became standardized and started getting longer, only to evolve into highly impressive, at times monumental, passageways in LH III (FIG. 2).⁶⁰ This steady development need not have been simply the result of architectural elaboration. It is equally probable that it reflects the increasing importance of the dromos as an *attention-focusing device* in funerary ritual.

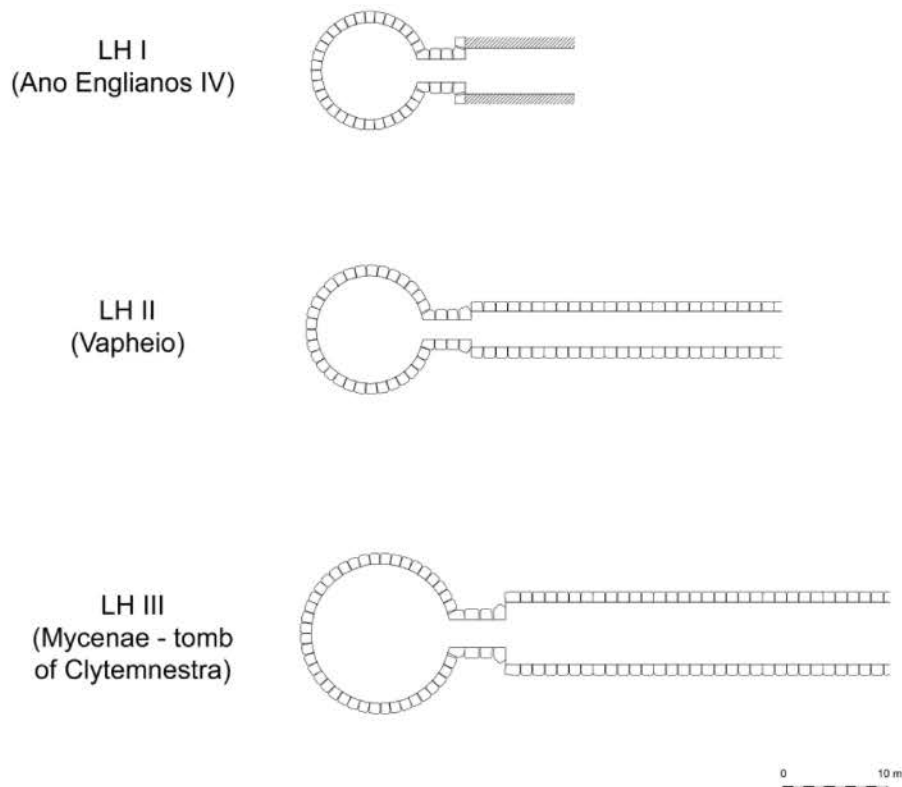


FIG. 2 The evolution of tholoi and their dromoi (examples with the longest dromoi of each period are shown)

Longer dromoi allowed for a more evocative performance of the rituals of *ekphora* and *prothesis* within their confines. As suggested by iconography, those rituals were executed on portable wooden biers,⁶¹ although there may be some evidence for *permanent* installations at some early tombs. At Argos, an earthen platform, sufficiently large to accommodate a human body, was found in the dromos of an LH I tomb, unfortunately not directly associated

⁶⁰ E.g. the dromoi of the Treasury of Atreus (36 m), the Tomb of Clytemnestra (37 m) and the Treasury of Minyas (20 m), and several chamber tombs, e.g. Mycenae-Kalkani 505 (35 m), Thebes-Megalo Kastelli 1 (25 m), Antheia 1 (23.30 m).

⁶¹ *Supra*, n. 35.

with finds.⁶² Small built benches, perhaps used for the temporary deposition of offerings, were found in front of a LH IIA tomb at Medeon, and a rather later L-type grave from Eleusis.⁶³ These examples may reflect early attempts to contextualize *rituals of transition* in the dromos of a tomb. For we should not forget that the available evidence for toasting ceremonies and other liminal rites in front of stomia is invariably late in date.⁶⁴ In the earlier part of the LBA, such ceremonies may have taken place quite far from the grave, as an assemblage of broken Early Mycenaean drinking vessels in 'tumulus I' of Argos suggests.⁶⁵ Their later incorporation into the dromoi of chamber tombs and tholoi may lend support to the idea of *increasing ritualization* of this part of the funerary construction.

From a conceptual point of view, it seems likely that the dromos was not perceived as a simple passageway, but as a major *transitive feature* that embodied multiple ritual and social symbolisms (FIG. 3). It was a *liminal zone* that led from open air into the earth – the resting place of the dead body – and, finally, to the stomion, the true boundary between the living world and the realm of ancestors; between the public and the private sphere; between society and the place that was the exclusive reserve of the family group: the burial chamber.

This is not the place for a detailed discussion on the possible symbolisms of the burial chamber – and whether it was perceived as the final resting place or the temporary abode of the 'soul' prior to its departure for the Underworld. Yet, I would like to make a brief remark. In later Greek literature, as well as in contemporary Egyptian, Ugaritic and Mesopotamian texts, earth is considered as the final destination of the body, but the spirit is expected to depart at some point to join the ancestors.⁶⁶ If, as has been suggested, the winged body on a Tanagra larnax represents a *psyche*,⁶⁷ then it is probable that the Mycenaeans shared similar views. In such a case, the 'transitive' character of the *dromos-stomion-chamber* arrangement would become even stronger.

⁶² Papadimitriou 2001b, 43–5 and fig. 3.

⁶³ Medeon: S2, Müller 1999, 225–6 and figs. 4, 5; Eleusis: Bπ1, Mylonas 1975–76, vol. A, 15–19.

⁶⁴ Cavanagh 1998, 111; Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 115; Gallou 2005, 65–71.

⁶⁵ Protonotariou-Deilaki 1980, 28–29.

⁶⁶ For later Greek beliefs, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1981; Burkert 1985, 194–9; for the notions of the soul and the Underworld in Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Ugaritic religions, see Johnston 1994, 471–80.

⁶⁷ Vermeule 1979, 65; Immerwahr 1995, 117; Marinatos 1997, 291.

“Passing away” or “passing through”?

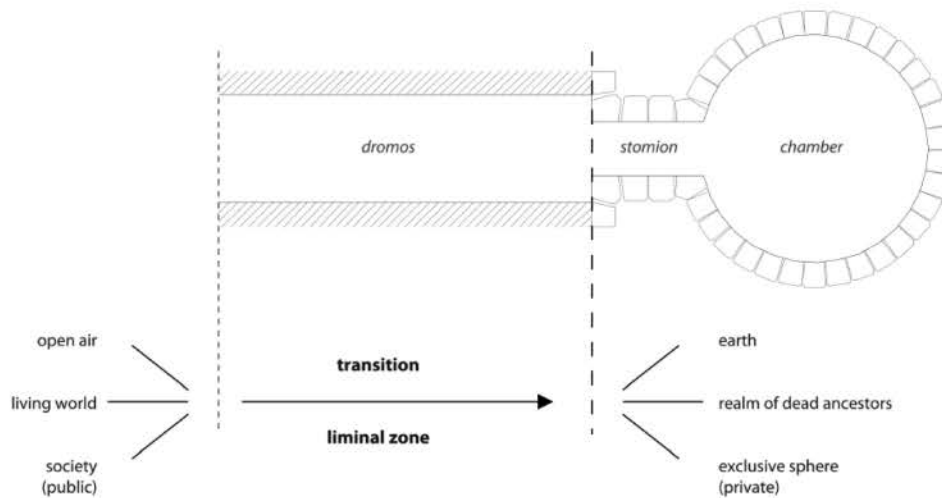


FIG. 3 The liminal character of the dromos-stomion-chamber arrangement

ISSUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

So far, I have argued that the dromoi of Mycenaean tombs bore major ritual and social symbolisms. Therefore, I remain sceptical of the idea that they were completely back-filled after a funeral. The decoration of facades, not only on the most elaborate tholoi but also on several chamber tombs,⁶⁸ suggests that they were meant to be seen. This must have been particularly important at the ‘inauguration’ of a tomb, i.e. the first interment, when the most emphatic statements about collective and individual identities were made. At Ugarit, where very similar burial customs were employed in that period – the significant difference being that tombs were built under house floors – the stepped dromoi of tombs probably remained open after burial, and could be visited through a small room of the house that was also accessible from the road.⁶⁹ The stratigraphy of Mycenaean dromoi (when properly recorded) suggests that they were filled and re-dug several times during their lifetimes.⁷⁰ Whether this was intentional or accidental filling, however, is hard to determine. The suggestion that only the dromoi of large tholoi and important chamber tombs remained open⁷¹ is not satisfactory. It may be time, therefore, for a careful re-examination of the available stratigraphic evidence.

In view of the above, it may also be useful to reconsider the case of the so-called ‘unfinished’ dromoi. Such dromoi are usually thought of as failures.

⁶⁸ Polychronakou-Sgouritsa in this publication; see also Gallou 2005, 67–70.

⁶⁹ Salles 1995, 181–83.

⁷⁰ See, for example, Wace 1932, 125–6; see, also the discussion in Boyd 2002, 63–4.

⁷¹ Gallou 2005, 66.

However, the monumental stepped dromos X at the chamber tomb cemetery of Deiras, which had its sides dressed with well-cut blocks, was neither a failure nor part of an unfinished tholos, as Pelon has proven beyond all doubt.⁷² Only a couple of sherds were found in this enigmatic construction and no skeletal remains, causing scholars to puzzle for years about its function. I wonder whether we could see here a space that was built *on purpose* to resemble the dromos of a tholos for some kind of ritual use by the owners of neighbouring chamber tombs. The horse burial that was placed at the end of the unfinished dromos 14 at Aidonia,⁷³ may imply that the history and use of these “failures” was more complex than usually thought.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I have tried to demonstrate that the development of a horizontal approach to the tomb was a slow process, which originated in the tumulus tradition, went through an experimental stage, and crystallized in the dromoi of LH IIA tholoi and chamber tombs. I have argued that this process reflects the gradual restructuring of the funerary space and the increasing sophistication of ritual performance, as a result of growing emphasis on group identities that led to the adoption of collective tombs and generated the need for more exclusive areas of representation.

That the beginning of this process coincided with the appearance of the first ‘rich’ burials should not come as a surprise; valuables were introduced in funerary rituals precisely to facilitate more emphatic representation of individual qualities and socially ascribed attributes; it was upon such individual representations that group identity and distinct ancestral traditions were built.

As to the assumption that this process of change was motivated primarily by social competition among ‘powerful elites’, the evidence is rather negative. At Messenia, the most active region in terms of funerary innovation during that period, new grave-forms were *not* restricted to major centres (FIG. 4). The earliest tholos was probably built at Koryphasion-Osmanaga and was really modest; dromoi were used in several LH I tombs, including large tholoi in the Pylos area (Ano Englianos IV), and far from it (Psari), smaller peripheral ones (the Veves tholos at Nichoria), chamber tombs (Volimida) and unimpressive round built graves (e.g. Koukounara Ta10).⁷⁴ Evidently, elaboration in ritual performance was a rather widespread phenomenon.

⁷² Deshayes 1966, 23–8; Pelon 1976, 291–2.

⁷³ Krystalli-Votsi 1996, 23–5.

⁷⁴ For early Messenian tombs see Lolos 1987; Zavadil 2001; Boyd 2002; Bennet & Galanakis 2005.

"Passing away" or "passing through"?

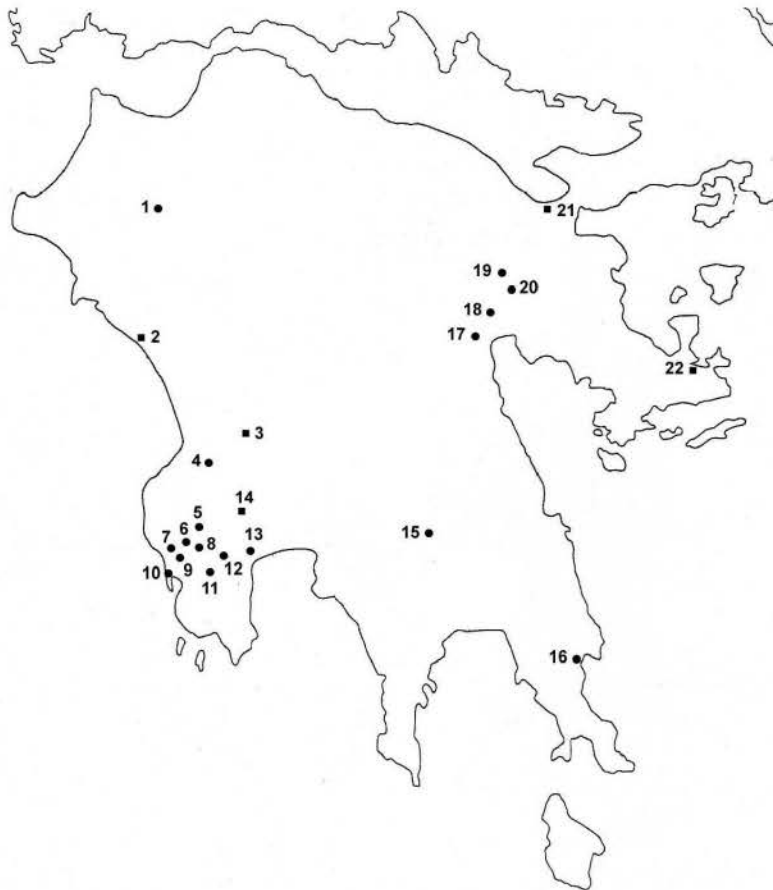


FIG. 4 The distribution of tombs with side entrance in the Peloponnese in LH I

● Safely dated to LH I

■ Possibly of LH I date

Th = tholos; CT = chamber tomb; BCT = built chamber tomb; ST = 'small tholos'

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Portes (BCT) | 9 Koryphasion-Osmanaga (Th) | 15. Sparta (BCT) |
| 2. Kato Samikon-Kleidi (Th, BCT) | 10. Voidhokoilia (Th) | 16. Epidaurus Limera (CT) |
| 3. Psari (Th) | 11. Koukounara (ST, Th) | 17. Kokla (CT) |
| 4. Peristeria (Th) | 12. Kaminia-Kremmydia (ST) | 18. Argos (BCT) |
| 5. Volimidia (CT) | 13. Nichoria (Th, BCT, ST) | 19. Mycenae (CT) |
| 6. Englianos (Th) | 14. Diodia (Th) | 20. Prosymna (CT) |
| 7. Tragana (Th) | | 21. Corinth (Th) |
| 8. Routsis (Th) | | 22. Galatas (Th) |

By the same time, the paramount rulers of Mycenae continued to practice their lavish displays in traditional shaft graves. The site that, according to Voutsaki, experienced the most intense form of social competition in that

period⁷⁵ was apparently reluctant to revolutionize in ritual.⁷⁶ Other social groups in the Argolid, however, were already affected by changes in funerary rite; this is suggested, at least, by the few LH I tombs with side entrances and dromoi that have been found in the region.⁷⁷ The same might be true of the nearby region of Troizen, if tomb 3 at Galatas was actually built at the MH/LH transition.⁷⁸ When 'Mycenae' tomb types finally spread in the Argolid in LH IIA, they became popular not only among the 'elites' of Mycenae but also among groups that cannot be qualified as 'powerful', such as those using the modest Kazarma tholos and the numerous chamber tomb cemeteries of the period.⁷⁹

The evidence from other Peloponnesian regions is less abundant and, thus, less conclusive. At Laconia, multiple burial was practiced during MH III–LH I in a few chamber tombs at the remote site of Epidaurus Limera and a built chamber tomb at Sparta;⁸⁰ in LH IIA, the tholos form was introduced to the vicinities of Sparta (Vapheio) and Analipsis, and impressive chamber tombs were cut at Pellana.⁸¹ At Elis and Achaea, multiple tombs were inserted in tumuli at Kato Samikon-Kleidi and Portes as early as LH I; a tholos tomb in the former site may also date to that period.⁸²

As to the rest of mainland Greece, the use of built tombs with side entrances and dromoi is clearly attested as early as LH I in several regions, notably so in Attica.⁸³

To sum up, the reassessment of MH III–LH I burial evidence from the Peloponnese and beyond tends to challenge the role of 'powerful elites' in the

⁷⁵ Voutsaki 1998, 55.

⁷⁶ Note that many early graves in G.C.B' and possibly grave II in G.C.A' held single burials, several of which in a crouched position, Mylonas 1973, 255; Graziadio 1991, 434.

⁷⁷ The following tombs with side entrances and dromoi from the Argolid can be safely dated to LH I: *Mycenae*: tomb 518, Shelton 2003, 36; *Prosymna*: tombs 25, 26, 52, Shelton 1996, 273; *Kokla*: tombs V, VIIB, Demakopoulou 1993, 59–60; *Argos*: tombs 29, 164, Papadimitriou 2001a, 17–19.

⁷⁸ The MH/LH dating of the tomb is tentative, *supra*, n. 53; another unusual circular tomb (tomb 2) and a proper tholos (tomb 1) of LH II date have been found on the site, Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2009, 506–10; if the chronological sequence suggested by the excavator is correct, then our understanding of the introduction of the tholos form in the NE Peloponnese should be revised.

⁷⁹ During LH IIA chamber tombs were certainly used at Mycenae, Tiryns, Argos, Prosymna, Dendra, Asine, Kokla and perhaps a few more sites, Voutsaki 1993, Appendix IIIB; Demakopoulou 1993. At Prosymna as many as 19 tombs are dated to that period, Shelton 1996, 273. At Mycenae, more than half of the 27 cemeteries around the citadel were established in LH IIA, French & Shelton 2005, 181.

⁸⁰ Christou 1956; Zavvou & Themis 2009, 110–11.

⁸¹ For early Laconian tombs, see Banou 1996; Boyd 2002; Bennet & Galanakis 2005, 147–8.

⁸² *Supra*, n. 41, 42. Chamber tombs and tholoi seem to have been introduced in Achaea in LH II, most probably LH IIB, Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1998, 150–1.

⁸³ Dickinson 1977, 59–65; 1983, 61; Papadimitriou 2001a, 163–8.

“Passing away” or “passing through”?

observed changes in funerary practices. Theories advocating their prominence have relied heavily on the distorting effect of the Mycenae Shaft Graves. Certainly the unparalleled accumulation of wealth in GCA is difficult to ignore. Equally difficult to ignore, however, is the accumulation of evidence for a substantial renegotiation of identities over wider parts of Helladic societies that led to the radical reconfiguration of mortuary space.

This is not to doubt that status differences *were* reflected in LH burials. Still, to suggest that the transformation of burial customs was *stimulated* by the desire of certain ‘elites’ to express such differences is an unwarranted over-interpretation of the available evidence. The observed changes seem to reflect much more pervasive developments than simply the ambitions of emerging power groups.

In LH times the dead were no longer left to pass away in peace. They were obliged to pass *through* a highly manipulated landscape – the dromos and the stomion – that was meant to give material shape to ideas about social exclusiveness, ancestry, symbolic boundaries between the group and the rest of the community, and other types of transition, before reaching their resting place, in order to become part of a the collective memory of the group. In many senses, the Mycenaean period was the period of the *meaningful dead*.

Burial practices, of course, are not static. What I have described may have been major ideological strategies employed by Early Mycenaean groups in order to emphasize family identity and exclusiveness; but by sharing those mechanisms, the Mycenaeans eventually created an extremely homogeneous set of customs and cultural behaviours. It is not to be doubted that, in one sense, burial became an arena for expressing *differentiation* within Mycenaean society; yet, in another, equally important sense, it became a means of *integration* into that society – at least when the practice of multiple burial in chamber tombs was generalized in LH III.⁸⁴

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank warmly Dr Colin F. Macdonald for greatly improving my English; of courses any errors are due to my own subsequent additions. Many thanks are also due to Mrs Christine-Joanna Lambrou for drawing figs. 1–3.

⁸⁴ Many of the issues raised in this paper are also discussed by Sofia Voutsaki in a forthcoming publication focusing mainly on the Mycenae Shaft Graves, Voutsaki (forthcoming). I thank Dr Voutsaki for bringing this interesting article to my attention.

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Nikolas Papadimitriou

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“Passing away” or “passing through”?

List of illustrations

FIG.1: Types of multiple tombs used in the Peloponnese during LH I

FIG.2: The evolution of tholoi and their dromoi (examples with the longest dromoi of each period are shown)

FIG.3: The transitive character of the dromos-stomion-chamber arrangement

FIG.4: The distribution of tombs with side entrance in the Peloponnese in LH I

CHAPTER 27

HONOURABLE DEATH. HONOURS TO DEAD HEROES AND NEW MOTHERS IN ANCIENT SPARTA

METAXIA PAPAPOSTOLOU

Much scientific interest has been generated in recent years regarding the study of burial customs in ancient Greek communities. With the assistance of studies in comparative anthropology and archaeology, burial customs and rituals connected with death are examined as a measure for a greater understanding of ancient Greek communities. There is a systematic examination of the literary and epigraphic evidence which, although very sparse, sheds light on those traditions.

The first Greek legal codes which refer to funerals have also been studied recently. These archaising, primitive laws are worthy of notice because of the consistent way in which they tried to limit funeral expenses and restrict the behaviour of those taking part in the rituals of death. Many interpret such legislation as one of the important aspects of the crisis which enveloped the aristocracy in archaic Greece and led to the imposition of tyrants and law-givers. The legislation which sets limits to funerary expenditure reflects the attempt to curb aristocratic display and bring about legal equality, in order to avoid conflict between the people and the aristocracy during the social revolutions of the period.¹

Most Greek city-states developed such laws as part of their early legal codes. Despite their wide geographical and chronological extent, these laws are so similar between states, that they cannot be simply the product of purely local circumstances. One common characteristic is the imposition of limits to the number of participants and to the expenditure on ritual. Thus they were restrictive, not regulatory, laws, which set limits to the relevant activities and expenses and which are devoid of any religious overtones. All these laws are concerned with the public aspect of a funeral, namely the *ekphora* (carrying the corpse to the grave), the rites performed at the graveside and the period of mourning. They do not concern the *prothesis* (the laying-out, the wake), nor that part of the funeral which does not involve public display. Later laws deal with limitations to the form and size of funerary monuments.²

The best known code regulating funerals in the archaic and classical period is Solon's law (Demosthenes 43.62). Here the behaviour of the mourners is prescribed, as is the ritual of burial; that is, it sets limits to the number and behaviour of the women taking part in the *ekphora*, as well as to the size of the monument. Solon's

¹ Toher 1991, 159–171.

² Toher *loc. cit.*

law was the model for similar laws in other cities such as Chios and for the laws of Charon in Catania, Pittakos in Mytilini and Gelon in Syracuse. Along with other Greek cities, Sparta too had its law regarding funerals as part of its legislation. The relevant law of Lykourgos (27.1–3) describes the procedure that Spartans should follow:

καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄριστα διεκόσμησεν αὐτοῖς. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀνελὼν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ἐν τῇ πόλει θάπτειν τοὺς νεκροὺς, καὶ πλησίον ἔχειν τὰ μνήματα τῶν ἱερῶν οὐκ ἐκώλυσε, συντροφούς ποιῶν ταῖς τοιαύταις ὄψεσι καὶ συνήθεις τοὺς νέους, ὥστε μὴ ταράττεσθαι μηδ' ὀρρωδεῖν τὸν θάνατον ὡς μιαίνοντα τοὺς ἀψαμένους νεκροῦ σώματος ἢ διὰ τάφων διελθόντας. ἔπειτα συνθάπτειν οὐδὲν εἶασεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν φοινικίδι καὶ φύλλοις ἐλαίας θέντες τὸ σῶμα περιέστελλον. ἐπιγράψαι δὲ τοῦνομα θάψαντας οὐκ ἐξῆν τοῦ νεκροῦ, πλὴν ἀνδρὸς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ γυναικὸς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποθανόντων (Plut. *Lyc.* 27. 1–2)

Furthermore, Lycurgus made most excellent regulations in the matter of their burials. To begin with, he did away with all superstitious terror by allowing them to bury their dead within the city, and to have memorials of them near the sacred places, thus making the youth familiar with such sights and accustomed to them, so that they were not confounded by them, and had no horror of death as polluting those who touched a corpse or walked among graves. In the second place, he permitted nothing to be buried with the dead; they simply covered the body with a scarlet robe and olive leaves when they laid it away. To inscribe the name of the dead upon the tomb was not allowed, unless it were that of a man who had fallen in war, or that of a woman who had died in sacred office.

So the funerary and burial ceremonies in Sparta were consistent with its lifestyle: plain and severe. No grave offerings were permitted and families were not allowed to erect tombstone dedications in memory of their dead, the only exception being a strict, simple inscription in the case of a warrior fallen in battle and a 'sacred/holy woman'. The only provision for a lavish funeral was made in the case of a dead king.³

As in other cities of the archaic period, the rites of burial in Sparta were extremely simple and almost identical for all its citizens. Moreover, instead of a redistribution of private property, the city tried to impose restrictions on the uses of wealth. In this way the inequality of property was counter-balanced by an ideology of a community of equals (*homioi*). The city imposed a common public lifestyle on

³ Hodkinson, 2004.

Honourable death

all the citizens, in areas such as education, diet and dress, wedding ceremonies and funerals.⁴

Plutarch describes an essentially primitive burial procedure. The simplicity and anonymity of the ritual precluded any display indicating position or class. Plutarch describes burial in connection with Spartan society as this had developed in the 6th century BC.⁵

Lykourgos wished to get rid of superstition so that the young men of Sparta would not be afraid to die and all the members of Spartan society would regard sacrifice for the common good, for the motherland, as the highest virtue of all. In this way Lykourgos emphasised the system which began to prevail in Sparta after the Second Messenian War. In contrast with the rest of Greece, where the tendency was to bury the dead outside the residential part of the city, Sparta encouraged burial within the community. Whilst curbing funeral expenses and ritual practices for its citizens, Sparta preserved and reinforced the tradition of grand funerals for its kings (Xen. *Lac.* 15.9).

Funerary practices in Sparta seem to be, like so many other aspects of its life, unusual. A basic burial is prescribed for members of the community, within the residential area; but at the same time a special form of ancient aristocratic funeral is preserved in the burial ceremonies for their kings, in contrast to other cities where there was an attempt to restrict them. Cartledge in his analysis of this phenomenon considers that it had religious, political and social importance, as it confirmed the legality of inherited office and reaffirmed the unity of the Spartan state. Lavish ceremonies of mourning for the kings served the purpose of unifying the community. The king thus became a hero in the memory of the people.⁶

The funeral ritual in Sparta restricted the expression of individuality and grief and imposed an acceptance of death in the service of the community, as the dead were rewarded by posthumous honours. Such ritual removed the fear of death and it recalls Tyrtaios (fr 9) when he is urging the young men to throw themselves into the front line of battle. The death of the anonymous hoplite is the same as the heroic glory of the individual warrior; through his death in battle the individual became one with the glory of the community and in this regard Spartan ritual has the characteristics of a communal military burial ceremony.

At Sparta only those who fell in battle were honoured individually and escaped anonymity. Those citizens who died fighting came within the collective identity of the community.⁷ As Tyrtaios says, "... his glory will never diminish, nor his name perish. Even under the earth he will remain immortal, the man whom Ares strikes while he is fighting, achieving excellence for the good of the country and his children" (Tyrtaios, fr. 9).

⁴ Hodkinson, 2004.

⁵ Toher *loc. cit.*

⁶ Cartledge 1987, 331–43.

⁷ Toher 1991, 159–71.

According to Spartan tradition, a 'good' death is not only an ideological matter but also appears as a categorical, inescapable demand. The men were ordered "never to abandon the battle scene in the face of any sort of enemy, but to hold their position and there either win or die". The basic command, "Μάχεσθε παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες" (Fight standing firm next to each other), pervaded the hoplite battle and kept the phalanx together. Through such a death, for which the Spartans were constantly preparing their body and soul during the *agoge*, they attained what Jeanmaire called 'trial of virtue'. The hoplite consciously sacrifices his life for the city, whose values he himself embodies. However he must simply accept death and not seek it out. Aristodemos, the bravest Spartan soldier during the battle of Plataia, was refused all posthumous honours because he disobeyed this principle.

Moreover the Spartan state reinforced the enthusiasm of the brave with a strict law which was both praise and a rebuke. Glory belongs to the brave, the glory of the dead, shame to the cowards. Those who fled (*tresantes*) had a miserable life, which was the opposite pole from a good death, the honourable death of the brave. War can have an additional reward in store; one can experience glory in life, but it is even greater in death.

So in Sparta there was indeed a body of legislation which aimed at achieving a 'good death'. The battle of Thermopylai was the most renowned example of this Spartan ideal: discipline among the hoplites and masculine prowess/valour, a combination of the most aristocratic desire for glory with the most sophisticated military techniques. It is true that in this city, which was the most militaristic among Greek states, the traditional virtues of the citizen-hoplite often hid a heroic past, which the Spartans had never allowed to be entirely silenced.

Funerary monuments in Laconia in archaic and classical times are rare. But a few undecorated stelae have survived, bare stones with the name of the dead person and the phrase 'ἐν πολέμῳ' (in battle).

Ἐνάλκες ἐν πολέμοι ἐν Μαντινέαι

Bluish marble base, found at Geraki (IG V.1, 1124)

Αἶνετος ἐν πολέμοι

Bluish marble base in Sparta Museum (ΜΣ 386) (IG V.1, 701)

ἡαῖρη{ἵππος} ἐν πο(λέμοι) (ΜΣ 387) (IG V.1 702) (Αἰρήσιππος)⁸

Sparta was therefore considered to be the city where the ideal of a 'good death' first appeared, namely the death of a hoplite, a citizen who falls in the front

⁸ Zavvou & Themis, 2006.

Honourable death

line of battle. Loraux, however, points out that, in contrast with this male ideal, the female version of a 'good death' never left the boundaries of Lacedaemon. It concerns a tradition which was practised exclusively in Sparta. 'Ἀγίππια ἐν λεχοί' is inscribed on one gravestone, Agippia (died) in childbirth. A very special regard for death during childbirth must, it seems, be explained in purely Spartan terms.⁹

The women of Sparta had a duty to bear perfect sons, who were destined to become hoplite-citizens. For this reason, according to Kritias, Xenophon and Plutarch, young girls as well as pregnant women had to exercise, so that they could endure the pains of labour, in the same way that the hoplites endure an enemy attack – childbirth is a battle. Vernant says: "marriage for a girl is what war is for a boy". The name given to a woman who has just given birth is 'lechos'. 'Lochos' means a birth, however it also means an ambush (*enedra*) already in Homer, and later the word '*enedreuontes*' means a group of warriors. So both meanings of war and childbirth are found in the same word. Many philologists talk about linguistic acrobatics and dispute this. However, anthropologists mention the curious inherent connection between the concepts of ambush and childbirth, using many examples. If, therefore, an ambush is the ultimate test of valour in the Iliad, because it shows the warriors' worth, distinguishing the brave from the cowardly, then childbirth is shown to be connected with war, seen from the same point of view, that of the concept of bravery. What connects motherhood with war in the Greek city-states is the fact that a mother is the producer of hoplites. It is what Gorgo said was the aim of the education of girls in Sparta. "I give birth means I provide the city with boys" (Plut. *Lyc.* 14) They are proud to be *kourotokoi*, mothers of boys. Men give up their lives and women give up their sons. "They say that we live safely in the house, leading a life without danger, while they wage war. The fools! I would thrice prefer to stand in a column with my shield on my side than to give birth once" (Eur. *Med.* 248–51). Medea says that childbirth is itself a battle more dangerous than war is for a hoplite. In Sparta a young man was toughened up in order to endure pain, while a woman could, through childbirth, acquire some of the honour reserved for men. This equality between female pain and (the primarily) male war activity is the highest honour granted to Greek women.¹⁰

Historians often confront a problem by jumping to conclusions without re-examining the ancient sources, because they doubt the reliability of those sources. Their interpretation then quickly becomes the accepted truth. This has happened in the case of the comment by Plutarch in his *Life of Lykourgos* (27) which refers to burial customs. There is no reference to childbirth in the ancient sources, but the above interpretation does suit the Spartan way of life and the principles of Spartan society. The ancient text talks about 'holy/sacred women'. What could this mean?

⁹ Loraux 2006, 41–45.

¹⁰ Loraux 2006, 51–52.

1. It may have a religious meaning, but it is certain that the word is not *hieriai*, but *hierai*.
2. The word may be *hieros*, meaning 'those who died in a holy way'.
3. Grammatically it is more correct to read τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποθανόντων, 'women who died in the sanctuary'. [?]

Answering the question, what kind of women could have attained such a privilege, Kurt Latte first suggested the reading λεχούς instead of ἱερῶν, meaning women who died at childbirth. Men therefore were honoured for what they did, women for what they were – bravery becomes equal with sacrifice and communication with the divine. Latte's interpretation was reinforced by four inscriptions which indeed mention women who died at childbirth (Ἀγίπεια λεχώ) (IG V.1 713, IG V.1 714, IG V.1 128 from Geraki, anc. Geronthrai, IG V.1 1277 from Hippola or Messa).

We possess 15 funerary stelae for men who died in battle: 8 of the texts were gathered together by Papanikolou (1976) and two by Zavvou (1992–98).

Historians therefore consider that the only event that could grant a Spartan woman the right to stand out and escape anonymity was death during childbirth. Although Latte's interpretation has convinced many, the dissenting voices have recently increased. Many try to explain the word '*hiera*' by turning to Herodotus and his description of the battle of Plataia (9.85, 9.71, 9.72, 9.53):

Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τριξὰς ἐποίησαντο θήκας: ἔνθα μὲν τοὺς ἱρένας ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. ἐν μὲν δὴ ἐνὶ τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἱρένες/ἱρέας, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ εἰλωτες.

The Lacedaemonians made three graves – one for the young men [/priests], amongst whom were Posidonius, Amompharetus, Philocyon, and Callicrates; another for the rest of the Spartans; and a third for the helots.

The question is, does the text refer to *hireas* or *irenas*? Irenes were young Spartans who had become 20 years old and could be promoted to general during war. Alternatively, does it refer to *hiereis* or *hireas*, i.e. priests, or heroes? Surely it cannot refer to priests, because only those who died in battle were honoured; not every priest had this privilege. In fact, no inscription referring to a priest has been found.¹¹

Ducat claims that the reading τῶν ἱερῶν is grammatically more correct, therefore we must look for a category of women, to whom the adjective belongs. There are 5 funerary inscriptions from Teuthrone or Pyrrichos, in which women are

¹¹ Brulé & Piolot 2004, 151–178.

Honourable death

called *ἱερά/ἱαρά* IG V.1 1221, *Ἀριστόνεια ἱαρά χαίρει*, IG V.1 1283 *Σοφιδός ἱαρά χαίρει*, SEG 306 *Πολυφάτια ἱαρά χαίρει*, IG V.1 1127 (Geronthrai) *Νικοδαμία ἱαρά χαίρει*, IG V.1 129 (Geronthrai), *Σάλισκα ἱαρά χαίρει*. But what does *ἱαρά* mean? Many claim that it refers to freed slaves, those who were set free through a procedure of sanctification at Tainaron.

The social status of these women is therefore not clear. Were they priestesses? However we do not possess any inscriptions referring to priestesses. As for the four 'priests' who are mentioned by Herodotus in the context of the battle of Plataia, they are not honoured because of their office, but because they sacrificed themselves and thus achieved glory in battle.

In fact young Spartan girls before they married, that is, while they were virgins, had various religious roles, as reflected in the *Parthenia* of Alkman. The Dionysiads were another group of virgins, described as priestesses of Dionysus Kolonatas, however there were no priestesses apart from the Leukippides. Therefore the word *hieron* in Plutarch's *Lykourgos* (27) must mean not priestesses but holy/sacred women. So who were these sacred women who were granted such an honour?¹²

We know that the Spartans were very religious. Perhaps *hierēs* means 'honoured', which brings us closer to the interpretation that involves the honouring of women who have just given birth, because after their death they acquire special status. After all, a new mother has always been a 'sacred' figure throughout the ages, because she gives life, regardless of whether it is a girl or a boy. Emphasising a more religious sense, the word may mean 'those who were in communication with the divine'. The above 4 inscriptions which refer to new mothers are not Archaic or Classical but Hellenistic and Roman. Perhaps the word did initially have a more strongly religious connotation, but later, with the development of the Spartan state, a new mother may have been specially honoured.

According to Empedocles, love (*Philotes*) and strife (*Eris*) are the world's mobilising powers. The painful labour of men is war, for women it is reproduction. In ancient Greece very few could escape from either of these two trials. The evidence is impressive, from the horrific descriptions of butchered bodies covering the fields of battle after every clash of hoplites, to the bone analyses which indicate that the ordinary Greek woman of the 5th century BC had five children and lived on average for only 36 years, in contrast to her husband, who lived for 44. For both sexes life was often nothing like the romantic idyll created in the 19th century. Under such circumstances the Spartan custom of inscribing tombs only with the names of men who died fighting and women who died at childbirth acquires a deeper meaning and appears surprisingly human.¹³

¹² Dillon 2007, 149–65.

¹³ Stewart 2003, 168–69.

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CHAPTER 28

DISHONOURING THE DEAD: THE PLUNDERING OF THOLOS TOMBS IN THE EARLY PALATIAL PERIOD AND THE CASE OF THE THOLOS TOMB AT MYGDALIA HILL (PETROTO) IN ACHAEA¹

LENA PAPAZOGLU-MANIOUDAKI

For tholos tombs in general, even if they belong to the class of relatively small provincial structures, as are the tholos tombs of Achaea, it is safe to claim that they still demanded considerable labour to be built and they were comparatively rich in grave furnishings. So we tend to agree that they were meant for the local elites who ruled over small-scale principalities and were eager to display their wealth, status and power. There is also a certain consensus in the literature that the floors of tholos tombs were found, in most cases, utterly disturbed and their grave furnishings literally destroyed, since the time Blegen wrote of tholos tomb III at Pylos, that it "had for some unknown reason been sacked, plundered and ruthlessly destroyed by enemies".²

What I propose to argue is:

1. The four tholos tombs in Achaea, namely two in the region of Pharai (A and B) and two in the area of Patras (the Kallithea tholos and the PetROTO/Mygdalia hill tholos), all located in western Achaea, are dated, at least as far as their main use is concerned, to the LH IIB-III A1 period, that is the prepalatial period, an important era in Achaea as well.³ At the end of this period tholos tombs were

¹**Acknowledgements.** My thanks go to M. Petropoulos who has given me access to the diaries of his excavation of the tholos tomb at Mygdalia hill and granted me permission to publish the material. The detailed drawings of the tholos are the work of M. Philippopoulou-Petropoulou. I also thank C. Paschalidis and the architect A. Manioudakis, my collaborators in the Mygdalia Project, for their support. The drawing of the apsidal tomb is the work of A. Manioudakis.

² Blegen *et al.* 1973, 77, 108; Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1995, 114.

³ Two tholos tombs recently reported from the cemetery at Portes, in SW Achaea, remain unpublished and are not discussed here. Their circular chambers measure 5 to 5,35m in

Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki

abandoned by their first users and plundered, a situation already attested in many sites of Mycenaean Greece.⁴

2. After the time of their main use tholos tombs had a complex and puzzling afterlife, which may be described as 'dishonouring the dead'.

THE MYGDALIA HILL SETTLEMENT AND TOMBS

The Mygdalia hill lies to the SE of the city of Patras and its fertile plain (FIG. 1). It is a natural extension of the foothills of the Panachaikon mountain range and rises 388 m above sea level. The coastline, which provides good anchorage, is less than 5 km away, or one-and-a-half hour to the north by foot. It is a massive oblong hill extended on a N-S axis, measuring 1.6 km length and 500 m width. It is a naturally fortified site with its slopes, particularly steep, covered by low vegetation and almond trees, hence the name Mygdalia. Two torrents, the Xeropotamos and the Philiouras, run along the west and east sides of the hill respectively. A tholos tomb of LH IIB-III A1 date was accidentally discovered in 1989 on the W slope of the hill.⁵ Immediately to the east lies the Koukouri hill, where a Mycenaean chamber tomb cemetery, known since the 1930s, was excavated in the vineyards of the Achaia Clauss wine factory.⁶ To the west of Mygdalia lies the hilly area of Krini also known from the excavated Mycenaean cemeteries there and its warrior graves.⁷

diameter and are found plundered. After the collapse of the corbelled roofs cist graves were built in the interior or the stomion. The tombs may be dated in the LH II-III A period. I owe the information to Lazaros Kolonas, *Network of visitable mycenaean settlements and cemeteries in the Prefecture of Patras*, Athens 2008, 39-40, 45-47, fig. 51-52, 63-65.

⁴ Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 56, 58-59, 64; Voutsaki 1998, 52-56; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1999, 277-279.

⁵ Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2003; Giannopoulos 2008, 57-60.

⁶ Paschalidis & McGeorge 2009.

⁷ Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994.

Dishonouring the dead

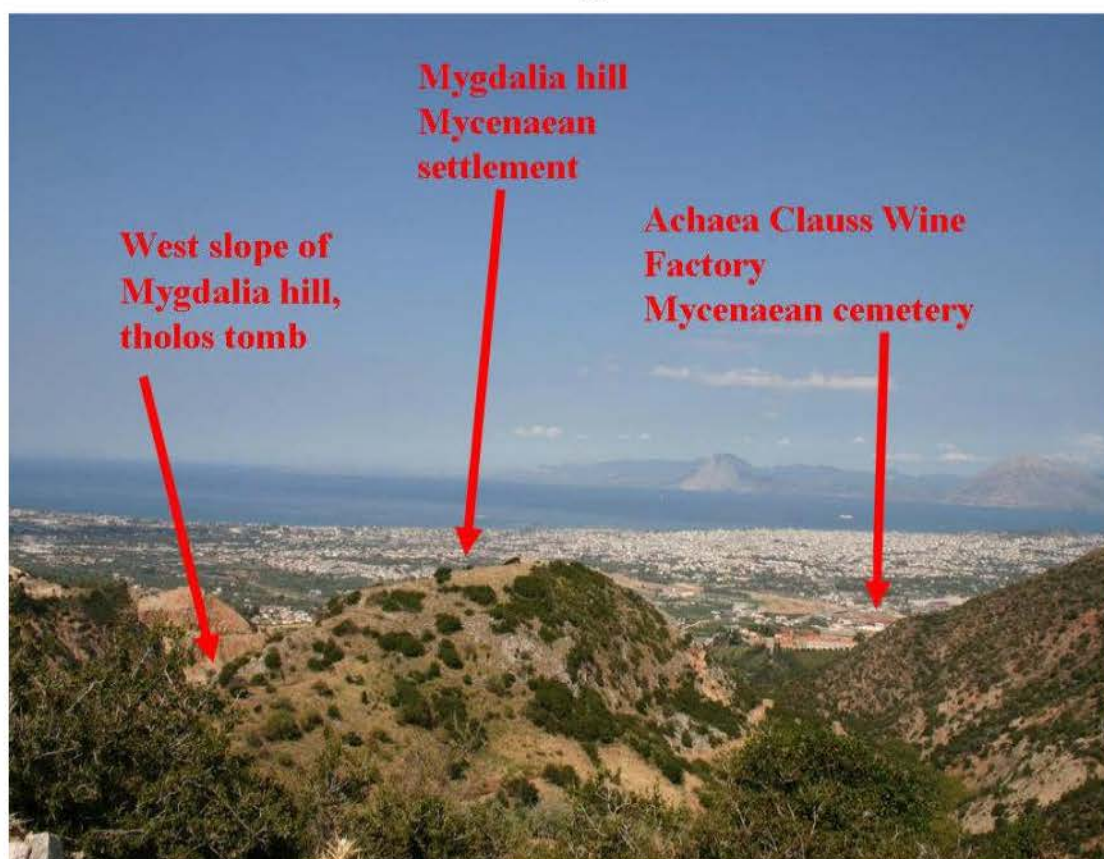
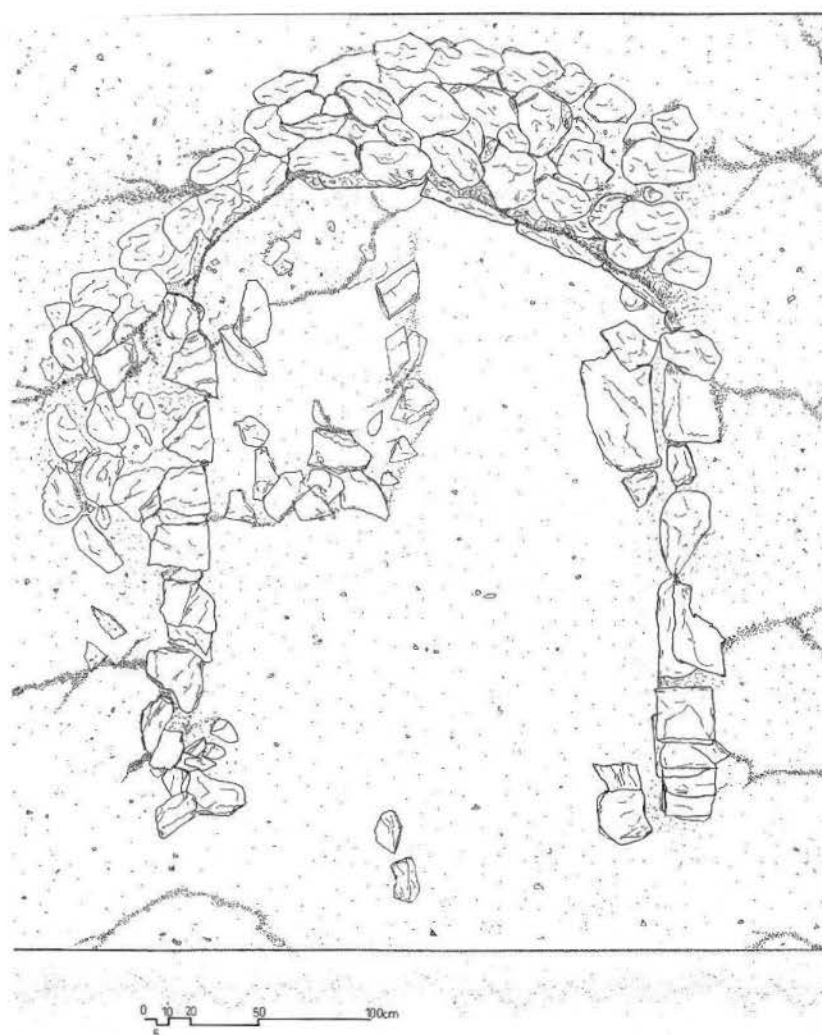


FIG. 1. Overview of the Mygdalia hill in the Patras area, Achaia.

A project called 'Mygdalia Survey and Excavation Project: A New Mycenaean Settlement near Patras' was initiated in 2008. The settlement, at the SE end of the oblong hill, was densely populated and covered an area of about 6500 m² over three successive terraces. The excavated settlement strata are dated provisionally from the early Mycenaean period to the end of the LH IIIC phase. A strongly built enclosure wall supported and protected terrace 3 from the SE, where the settlement is still more accessible. Interesting in the context of this conference is the tholos-like, apsidal built grave on the SW slope (FIGS 2, 3), a small distance (60 m) from the retaining wall and overlooking the torrent and the way in to the settlement. Its preserved height measured 2.75 m and the maximum diameter 2.80 m. The river-bed stones found on top may be the remains of a tumulus. Similar graves are known primarily from Messenia and they date to the early Mycenaean period,⁸ while tumuli and rectangular built tombs of this date have recently been reported from Achaia from the cemetery at Portes.⁹ Unfortunately the tomb, already partly visible when discovered, had been thoroughly plundered.

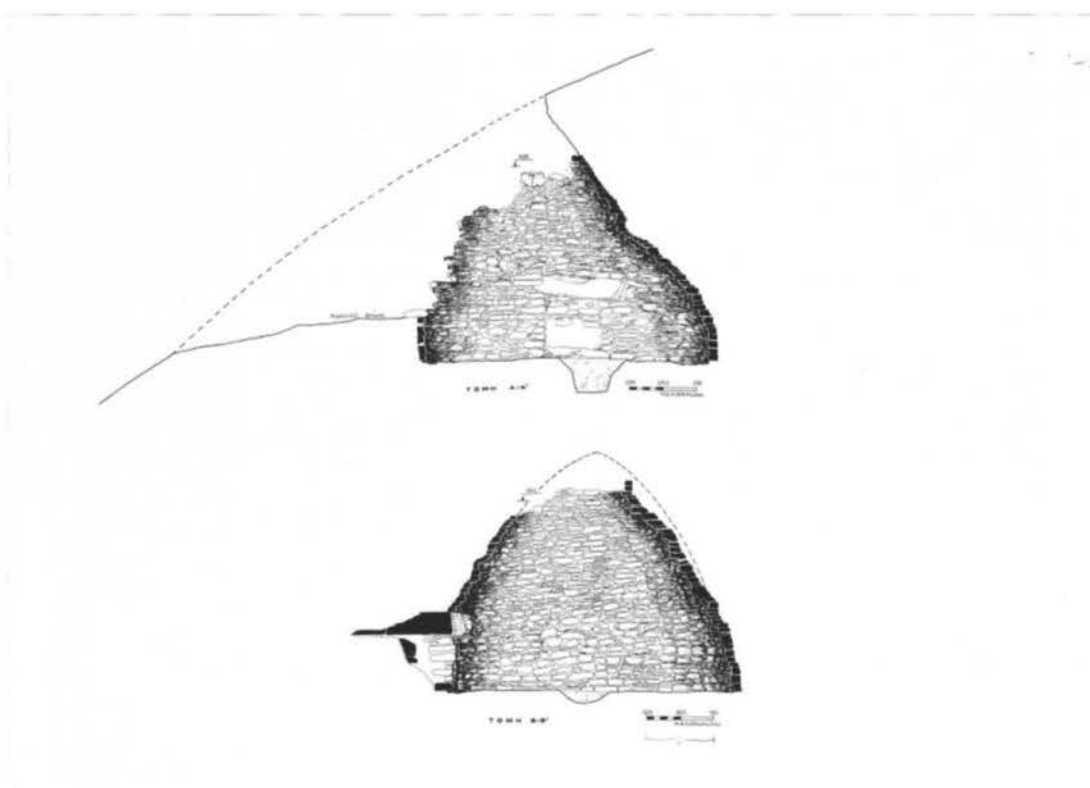
⁸ Papadimitriou 2001, 164–165.

⁹ Moschos 2000.

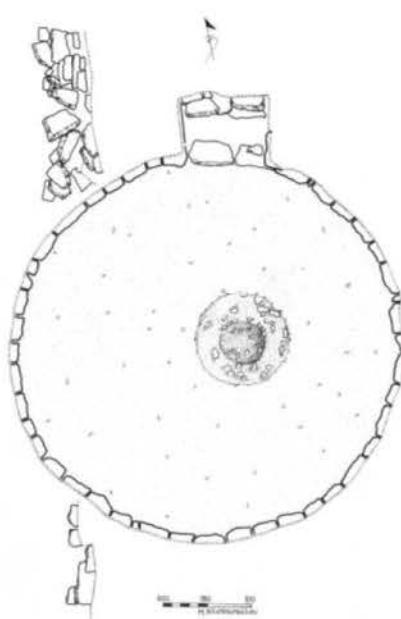


FIGS. 2-3.
Mygdalia hill.
The apsidal
tomb.

Dishonouring the dead



FIGS. 4-5. Mygdalia hill. The tholos tomb.



FIGS. 6-7. Mygdalia hill. The tholos tomb.

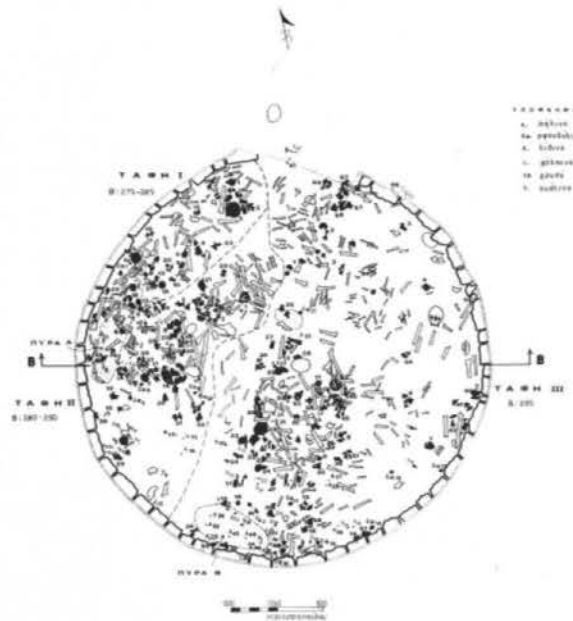


FIG. 8. Mygdalia hill. The tholos tomb.

The Mygdalia hill (Petroto) tholos has a circular chamber approximately 4.30 m in diameter, second in size in Achaia after Tholos A at Pharai. Its w side was destroyed by the construction of a country road. It was built of roughly-cut, rectangular stones of local limestone, placed in irregular rows. (FIGS 4, 5). Its roof has collapsed but we can estimate its height to have been 3.70–3.80 m. The key stone from the roof (which was found on the floor) was a large rectangular slab 0.93 x 0.52 x 0.15 m in size. The low entrance (h. 0.70–0.80 m, w. 0.90 m) was on the N side and the dromos runs parallel with the slope, it does not cut vertically into the slope as is usually the case (FIGS. 6, 7). Traces of retaining walls outside the tholos are still visible. The Mygdalia tholos and the other tholoi in Achaia belong to the group of tombs in NW Greece which are of small size and whose dromoi lead directly to the chamber without a *stomion*. Part of the dromos is covered with slabs. A tumulus made of river-bed stones had covered the vault.

The floor was very disturbed, the skeletal material and the finds were shattered and scattered all around (FIG. 8). A pit, also disturbed, as well as cleansing fires were also located. It took painstaking efforts in the field and in the storerooms to collect some 115 half-complete pots, belonging to the types typical of the period, namely decorated pottery, including closed shapes such as jars (FIG. 9), alabastra (FIG. 10), squat jugs (FIG. 11), handle-less jars, a stirrup jar, a straight sided alabastron; also open shapes like the Vapheio cups (FIG. 12) and shallow cups, undecorated or monochrome Mycenaean pottery, Grey Ware (FIG. 13) and coarse cooking ware that continued elements of the Middle Helladic tradition. A clay figurine of proto-Phi type has painted arms and hands. Some minor objects such as a golden hair spiral, pins, a ring and knives made of bronze, a stone pendant, and a whetstone, along with amber beads, semi-precious stones, glass and faience complete the picture. The finds are assigned to LH IIB–IIIA1, taken here as a single phase, something very common in tomb material which also applies to settlement strata. A few may date also to LH IIA and to the transitional LH IIIA1–2 phase. The majority of the finds seem to have been made locally, only a few may be imported from the Argolid or elsewhere. The provincial character of the grave assemblage is evident. Painted vases comprise only half of the total amount of pottery while palace style jars, tinned goblets, the latter known from the monumental chamber tomb at Voudeni, in the Patras area,¹⁰ are absent.



FIG. 9. Mygdalia hill. Grave furnishings of the tholos tomb.

¹⁰ Kolonas 1988, 169–170, CMS V Suppl. 1B 153–155.

Dishonouring the dead



FIGS. 10-11. Mygdalia hill. Grave furnishings from the tholos tomb.



FIGS. 12-13. Mygdalia hill. Grave furnishings from the tholos tomb.

We will now follow the afterlife of the Mygdalia tholos. First of all the dry-stone walling of the entrance was found violated, so we may assume that the plundering and destruction took place in the Mycenaean period, before

Dishonouring the dead

the collapse of the vault. Then the original floor was found covered with a layer of soil and small stones, 10 cm thick, which probably filtered through the still intact roof. On this layer was found the only intact burial (FIGS 14, 15). The dead man was laid on his back. His knees were found bent in opposite directions, so that he was probably buried with his legs bent upwards and the decay of the body brought them to the present position, as known from Grave Circle B at Mycenae.¹¹ His skull had rolled onto his chest. Animal bones were found around his head. The absence of other grave furnishings makes it difficult to date this burial but animals are known to have been deposited in graves in the Mycenaean period and are reported also from the tholos tomb at Kallithea in Achaea.¹²



FIG. 14. Mygdalia hill. Photograph of burial above the floor level of the tholos tomb.

¹¹ Mylonas 1973, 256–258 pls. 33, 129, 138.

¹² Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1995, 120; Hamilakis 1996, 162.



FIGS. 14–15. Mygdalia hill. Plan of burial above the floor level of the tholos tomb.

The history of the tholos gets darker. The fill in its interior became literally a pile of river-bed stones, fallen from the now collapsed roof (**FIG. 16**). Among them human skeletons, maybe 30–40, in poor condition, betrayed the use of the tomb as an ossuary. Animal bones were also observed. At the depth of 1 m from the top we have a built grave 0.95 x 0.90 m, using the E wall of the tholos and the area below it for some further secondary burials (**FIGS 17, 18**). There was insufficient material to support any date for these burials. There was only one sherd of a Hellenistic kantharos decorated in the ‘West Slope style’ of the second half of the 3rd century BC.¹³ To the same period may belong some fragments of roof tiles. It is far-fetched to speak of a hero cult, a practice almost unattested in Achaea,¹⁴ owing possibly to the prevailing political and social conditions. It would be tempting to have such an example during the Hellenistic period, the time of the Achaean league (280 BC). The revival of a cult of the dead in Messenia¹⁵ as a consequence of its independence from the Spartans in the 4th century BC, is commonly proposed to explain the fill in tholos tombs where skulls and bones and tiles are mixed with the supposed offerings.

¹³ Patsiada 1983, 166–167: 80–82 fig. 16, pl. 60c.

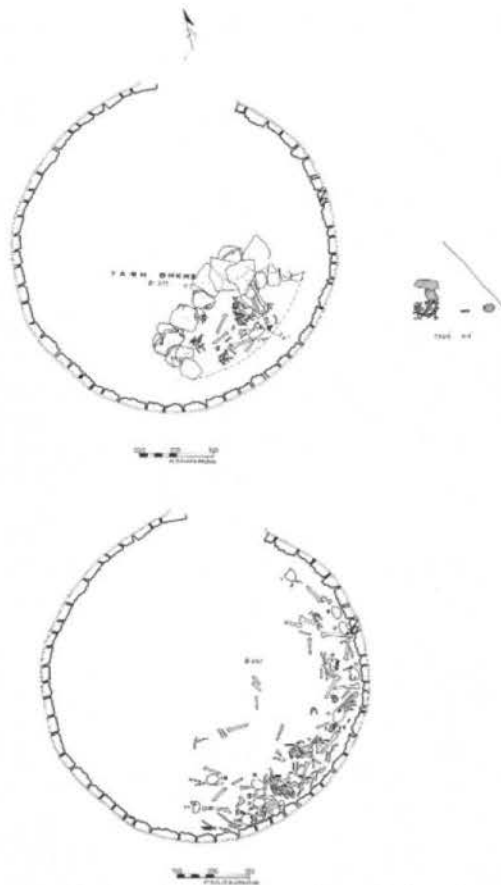
¹⁴ Antonaccio 1995, 66–68.

¹⁵ Alcock 1991, 447–467.

Dishonouring the dead



FIG. 16. Mygdalia hill. The interior fill of the tholos tomb.



FIGS. 17–18. Mygdalia hill. The interior fill of the tholos tomb.

THE THOLOS TOMBS AT PHARAI AND KALLITHEA

Tholos tombs A and B at Pharai are 3.90–4.10 m and 5.20 m in diameter respectively. They were excavated in 1956 at a site between the villages of Katarraktis and Rodia in the area of Pharai. The use of three toponyms in literature has led to misunderstandings about the provenance of the important assemblage¹⁶ found outside tomb B, comprising a silver goblet decorated with figure-of-eight shields in repoussé, bronze bowls (one decorated with spirals and arcs), a bronze sword of late type A with incised decoration on the shoulder, a bronze dagger with silver-plated rivets, a razor, a knife and a long spearhead. The bronze inlaid dagger with three dolphins on each side is the only one of its kind found outside Mycenae and Pylos.¹⁷ What we have here is clearly an elite warrior burial, specifically of the early Mycenaean period. Three fragmentary and completely defaced clay vases found in the area close to the hoard were dated originally by the excavator to the LH IIIA–B period. This date, followed in later literature, has been the reason for classifying these tombs among the LH IIIA–B class (that is, the palatial period), which does not convey the right impression.¹⁸ Moreover if we look closely at these vases,¹⁹ a three-handled jar, a handle-less jar and a three-handled alabastron (**FIG. 19**) and compare them with the Mygdalia material it is evident that they should be dated no later than the LH IIIA1 period.



FIG. 19. Pharai, Achaea. Pottery found outside tholos tomb B.

¹⁶ Wright 1995, 77–80.

¹⁷ Papadopoulos 1978–1979, 57–59, 151ff, Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1999, 278–79; Giannopoulos 2008, 41–46, fig. 10.

¹⁸ Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 81.

¹⁹ Papadopoulos 1978–1979, 211, figs 120i, 126h, 132g.

Dishonouring the dead

Concerning the tomb's afterlife, in his report the excavator spoke repeatedly of a thoroughly plundered grave, its chamber filled with rectangular stones fallen from the roof, the key stone among them, animal bones, fragments of roof tiles, all dated by him to the "early Christian era".²⁰

Of the Kallithea tholos it is claimed that its use covered the span from "LH I to LHIIC" through to the Protogeometric period but the tomb remains virtually unpublished.²¹ In his preliminary report the excavator spoke of successive strata of rather disturbed human burials. Animals were also deposited, including a horse's skull in the lower level. The illustrated material, such as the alabastron with rock pattern and lily and an unpainted kylix, may be dated to LH IIB–IIIA and the bronzes found on the floor, such as a pin, a knife and tweezers may fit well in this period.²² The alleged LH I material may be similar to the finds of the Mygdalia Tholos and chamber tombs in Achaea, like the one at Vrysari, near Kalavryta,²³ where material such as Grey Ware is not unknown in a LH IIB–IIIA1 context. A further argument for dating the tomb to the same period as the other Achaean tholoi is the similarity of construction and the fact that the chamber tomb cemetery in the same area also dates from LH II onwards.

The condition of the tholos or tholos-like tombs of Messenia is usually deplorable, pithoi and tile fragments and stones, along with sherds, are intermingled²⁴ but no real hard evidence or detailed publications are provided for the actual state of the tombs and whether such fill was actually in honour of the dead. At least one case in Messenia however is what we would call a proper reuse of a tholos tomb.²⁵ It is Tholos 1 at Tragana, its main use dated LH II–IIIA2, palace style jars and tinned kylikes being among the finds. There were two pits cut in the floor. In pit II the individual buried was furnished with a gold hair-spiral, jugs and a one-handled bowl on a high base (**FIG. 20**) all dated to the late LH III C period.²⁶ This pottery, thought to be missing, has recently been identified in the storerooms of the Prehistoric Collection of the National Museum while the small finds and other pottery from the Tragana tholos were transferred to the Chora Museum in 1983.

²⁰ Zapheiropoulos 1957, 115.

²¹ Papadopoulos 1987, 69–72 pls. 58–63.

²² Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1999, 277.

²³ Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1999, 271–273, fig. 12, 13.

²⁴ Korres 1981–1982, 418–420.

²⁵ Cavanagh & Mee 1978, 35.

²⁶ Kourouniotis 1914, 102ff, figs. 6, 11–12, 19–20; Mountjoy 1999, 304, 311, 357–358.



FIG. 20. Tragana, Messenia. Pottery found in pit II of the tholos tomb 1.

The presence of tholos tombs in Achaea speaks of the rise of local rulers, who established themselves in Western Achaea, at a time when a similar state of affairs is attested in the Argolid and Messenia. At the end of LH IIIA1 or early LH IIIA2, that is the beginning of the palatial period, these tombs were abandoned and plundered, not to be used, at least in a respectful way, again. This is a common phenomenon in the Mycenaean world, from Thessaly to Aetolia and the Peloponnese. It is worthy of note that tholos tombs have not been found in eastern Achaea and the area of Aigion²⁷ which, according to Homer's Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* B 574–575) belonged to the kingdom of Mycenae. New tholos tombs, on a rather grandiose scale, were now to be built for the kings of Mycenae or Orchomenos and the tholos tomb at Nichoria is the only exception in Messenia in the LH IIIA2 period.²⁸

Destructions, though not necessarily abandonment, were witnessed at settlement sites, whether future palatial sites or not, at the same period, in Mycenaean Greece, Aigion being one of them.²⁹

In Achaea tholos tombs provide additional evidence that the transition from the pre-palatial to the palatial period and the Mycenaean *koine* may not have been uneventful but it rather had its victims. Achaea continued to

²⁷ Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2010.

²⁸ Davis *et al.* 1997, 420–421.

²⁹ Catling 1991, 7; Deger-Jalkotzy 1996, 723–724; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1999, 279.

Dishonouring the dead

flourish in the palatial period³⁰ but we see once more the rise of a new elite warrior class³¹ much later on, in the LH IIIC period, after the fall of the palaces.

³⁰ Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1993.

³¹ Papazoglou-Manioudaki 1994; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 157–161; Giannopoulos 2008, 202 ff.

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Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki
National Archaeological Museum

List of illustrations

- FIG. 1. Overview of the Mygdalia hill in the Patras area, Achaea.
- FIGS. 2–3. Mygdalia hill. The apsidal tomb.
- FIGS. 4–8. Mygdalia hill. The tholos tomb.
- FIGS. 9–13. Mygdalia hill. Grave furnishings of the tholos tomb.
- FIGS. 14–15. Mygdalia hill. Burial above the floor level of the tholos tomb.
- FIGS. 16–18. Mygdalia hill. The interior fill of the tholos tomb.
- FIG. 19. Pharai, Achaea. Pottery found outside tholos tomb B.
- FIG. 20. Tragana, Messenia. Pottery found in pit II of the tholos tomb 1.

CHAPTER 29

HERODOTUS' LIST OF THE THREE HUNDRED¹

ANNALISA PARADISO

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

“And in that struggle” – says Herodotus in 7.224 – “fell Leonidas, having proved himself an excellent man, and with him other famous Spartiates, whose names I learnt as those of men who showed themselves worthy, and moreover I learnt all Three Hundred”.² In this emphatic and very dense sentence, Herodotus expresses his judgement about Leonidas, when he tells us of his death, and about the warriors who died with him. Leonidas was ἄριστος; to a lesser degree, certain others were ὀνομαστοί, yet others were evidently less well known. He claims to have gathered information about these ἄξιοι men, indeed, to have gathered information about all the Three Hundred. The emphasis, here, covers a logical contraction of his thought: he declares that he has gained information, however this information apparently concerns only their names (ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα) and even all the names, not their deeds (ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων). Herodotus claims to know all these warriors' names, but clearly he does not quote them all. On the other hand, he knows evidently something else, not simply their names but also the last deeds or sayings of six of them, good or bad: Dieneces, Alpheus, Maron, Eurytus, Aristodemus and Pantites. Where did Herodotus derive his information from? A written list, that is an official record, or only oral sources? Did he see an official list like that inscribed on a stele in the 2nd century AD and described by Pausanias in book 3.14? Can we deduce anything from the very form of Herodotus' declaration?

¹ I am grateful to James Roy, who has read the manuscript, providing valuable comments, and to Olivier Gengler, who has drawn my attention to some specific points of the question. Responsibility for what I have written is of course mine alone.

² Hdt. 7.224.1 καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος, καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἁξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων.

ORAL TRADITIONS

Certainly, Herodotus investigated in Sparta, where he travelled and could listen to and gather the memories of the Three Hundred which were still alive.³ This is implied by such verbs as λέγεται and φασί at §226.1, introducing Dieneses' reputation of ἀριστεία and one of his famous aphorisms. λέγονται is said about the second 'prize' (ἀριστεία), the excellence of the Spartans Alpheus and Maron at §227. The stories of Aristodemus and Eurytus, in fact two variants of the same story, are introduced by λέγεται at §229.1 and by λέγουσι at §230; Pantites' story, suicide because of survival, is introduced by λέγεται at §232. The oral character of the source is particularly evident for the brilliant saying of Dieneses: to a Trachinian who had told him, before joining battle with the Medes, that the enemies were so many, that when they shot with their bows, the sun would be hidden by the arrows, he replied that the battle would be fought in the shade, not in the sunshine (§226).⁴ But which were these oral sources? Official sources or family ones or, more generally, public opinion? Even granted that family memories were of course still alive for the direct descendants of the Three Hundred (chosen moreover by Leonidas among those Spartiates who had children)⁵ the negative examples of Aristodemus, the 'trembler', and Pantites the suicide seem to me not to involve, for them at least, a family, that is to say 'private', source. Last, a further question: if the Three Hundred all died, except Aristodemus and Pantites who were the only survivors among them as they did not take part in the battle, who were the informants who brought to Sparta the last news that was elaborated to become oral traditions on the *aristeia* of the dead? Who was present at the last fight, besides the Lacedaemonians and the Thespians who died as well, and whose dead bodies, to the number of 4000 altogether, Helots included, were discovered by the Persians after the battle of Artemision?⁶

PAUSANIAS' STELE

Some have thought that Herodotus could know and look at a casualty list, an official list of the dead warriors in Sparta, like that later inscribed on a stele and described in the 2nd

³ Herodotus' journey to Sparta (cf. 3.55) is dated before 440 by Jacoby 1913, col. 274 (following Kirchhoff 1878², 49ff.), who however founds this hypothesis on Herodotus' silence as to the transfer of Leonidas' bones forty years after the battle of Thermopylai, attested by Pausanias 3.14.1.

⁴ This apophthegm will be successful: it will be attributed to an anonymous Spartan by Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.42.101, and Valerius Maximus 3.7 *ext.*8, and to an anonymous Greek *strategos* by the *scholion* to Aeschylus, *Persians*, hyp. 2, ll.92–3 Dähnhardt. It is attributed to Leonidas by the *scholion* to Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 1084a, col.2 Koster. Cf. also Frontinus 4.5.13, Plutarch, *Apophthegmata Laconica* 225b, Stobaeus 3.7.45, *Suda* λ 272, s.v. Λεωνίδης, *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 391. See also Lucian, *Rhetorical praecepts* 18.

⁵ Hdt. 7.205.2.

⁶ Hdt. 8.25.2, with Hunt 1998, 31–2 on the fighting Helots. On the destiny of the Thebans, who had betrayed the Greeks, v. Herodotus 7.233. For a literary analysis of the last stand, see Lombardo 2005, 173–92.

Herodotus' list of the three hundred

century AD by Pausanias.⁷ Others, like Richard Ball, have denied it, underlining the oral character of Herodotus' inquiry on the Three Hundred, implicit in the verb *πυνθάνομαι*, repeated twice.⁸ In book 3.14 of his *Periegesis*, Pausanias records a stele giving the names and patronymics of the Three Hundred. It was erected in Sparta, in the same place where were the graves of Pausanias, the regent, and of Leonidas, whose bones were apparently removed to Sparta – so the *Periegete* says – 40 years after the battle, so in 440.⁹ We read in Pausanias 3.14.1: τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ Πausανίου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγησαμένου μνημῆμά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Λεωνίδου – καὶ λόγους κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λέγουσι καὶ τιθέασιν ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ πλὴν Σπαρτιατῶν ἄλλω γε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι –, τὰ [δὲ] ὅστ' αὐτοῦ Λεωνίδου τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἀνελομένου ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν τοῦ Πausανίου. κεῖται δὲ καὶ στήλη πατρώθεν τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχουσα οἱ πρὸς Μῆδους τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀγῶνα ὑπέμειναν, that is '(as you go westwards from the market-place there is a cenotaph of Brasidas son of Tellis. Not far from it is the theatre, made of white marble and worth seeing.) Opposite the theatre is the tomb of Pausanias, who commanded at Plataea, and there is a second, that of Leonidas. Every year they deliver speeches over them, and hold a contest in which no-one may compete except Spartans. Pausanias took the bones of Leonidas from Thermopylae forty years afterwards. A slab has been set up with the names, and their fathers' names, of those who stood firm in the struggle at Thermopylae against the Persians'. Was the stele placed on Leonidas' grave, as How and Wells thought, adding however that it could be older than the tomb itself?¹⁰ Was it set up in 440 or before?

The passage is problematical, and the text of chapter 14.1 is certainly corrupt: the very date and the name of the Spartan personage – 'Pausanias', without patronymic – who organized the transfer of Leonidas' corpse do not harmonize, so that we have to emend either the number or the name or both. Neither the regent nor Pausanias II can have decided to bring back to Sparta Leonidas' bones forty years after the battle, as the former was already dead in 440 (he died some time after 471/0 and before 465/4 according to Massimo Nafissi)¹¹ whereas the latter was too young, at most about seven years old, at that time, when he reigned nominally instead of his exiled father Pleistoanax, but under the regency of his uncle Cleomenes.¹² Several attempts have been made to emend either the

⁷ See Valckenaer 1763 in Schweighäuser 1817, 6/2 56; Stein 1908⁶, 4 218; Macan 1908, 231; How & Wells 1936 (1912), 2 230; Burn 1962, 421; Nafissi 1991, 306 n.127; Richer 1994, 57; Cartledge 2006, 159; Low 2006, 106 n.49; Moggi 2007, 15, n.70. Clairmont 1983, 223 and Prandi 1990, 54 n.22 think of a casualty list inscribed on stone, seen by Herodotus either at Sparta or at Thermopylae.

⁸ Ball 1976, 1–8. See also Hignett 1963, 148, n.3.

⁹ As to the corpse of Pausanias, dead outside the temple of Athena Chalkioikos, Thucydides 1.134.4 reports that the Spartans wanted at first to throw it into the *Kaiadas*, then decided to bury him nearby. Finally they brought back his body where he had died, after a Delphic oracle. Thucydides adds that, still at his time, the grave lay in the *προτεμένισμα* of the temple of Athena Chalkioikos, as attested by some inscriptions. On the probable, later transfer of the grave near Leonidas' tomb, see Nafissi 2004a, 174, n.76.

¹⁰ How & Wells 1936 (1912), 2 230.

¹¹ Nafissi 2004, 61–2.

¹² Pausanias II reigned nominally during the exile of Pleistoanax (lasting from 445 until 427), and then from 408 to 395/4, after his father's death. In 427 he was too young (of course from a military point of view) to command for Thucydides 3.26.2, and his uncle Cleomenes did it instead of him. According to Schaefer 1949,

name of the king or the dating. To save the name of Pausanias II, C. H. Roberts was obliged to modify the number 40 into 80, so dating the transfer of the bones to 400, during the period of the effective reign of that king.¹³ But the mention of Pausanias II without a patronymic would be odd in the *Periegete*, who normally avoids confusion between different, homonymous personages, and differentiates accurately the two men called Pausanias (the regent and Pausanias II) when he introduces the latter in 3.5.1.¹⁴ In our passage, anyway, the name of Pausanias in the genitive, involving ambiguities as lacking in a patronymic which could distinguish him from Pausanias the regent, is certainly corrupted if coupled with both numbers 40 and 80, as in both cases it asks for a further integration, that is precisely the patronymic, to identify 'Pausanias' more clearly as the son of Pleistoanax. Even if weak – as uneconomical, needing two textual interventions – Roberts' proposition is, in my opinion, the only possibility of attributing the paternity of the operation to Pausanias II. On the contrary, the suggestion of integrating ἀνελομένου ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν <Παυσανίου τοῦ Πλειστοάνακτος> τοῦ Παυσανίου, proposed by Schubart in his 1889 edition, preserves more clearly the identity of the king ('son of Pleistoanax, son of Pausanias the regent') but does not solve at all the problem of Pausanias' age in 440, and therefore can be absolutely dismissed. The suggestion by W. R. Connor of including ἀνελομένου ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν <Κλεομένου> τοῦ Παυσανίου is by far better, as it is plausible and simple.¹⁵ Cleomenes may have realised the transfer of Leonidas' bones as a regent: the textual solution however does not impose itself from a grammatical point of view,¹⁶ and also because any other member of the Agiad clan, such as for instance Aristocles, another son of Pausanias, could have done it.¹⁷

The most economical proposition, instead, is that of Karl Otfried Mueller, developed and followed by A. Podlecki and others. Choosing a minimal textual intervention, he proposed to correct M (40) into Δ (4), so attributing the transfer of the bones to Pausanias the regent, who would have realised this political operation four years after the battle, that is in 477, when coming back from Byzantium as recalled by the Spartans, at the time of his own juridical difficulties rather than just after it, and within an explicit strategy of self-defence, in order to confute an accusation of Medism put against him at the trial held at

col.2578, he was probably born shortly before 447, but for White 1964, 140–52, esp. 141 and 149, he can hardly have been born much before c.445, rather in 444–440. If so, in 440 he was 4 years old or even less.

¹³ Eighty years after the battle: C. H. Roberts, quoted by Corbett 1949, 107. See also Meyer 1954, 584.

¹⁴ Connor 1979, 22–3.

¹⁵ Cleomenes: Connor 1979, 24, who also gives a *résumé* of the different textual propositions at p. 21.

¹⁶ Connor 1979, 23 and nn. 9–10 analyses the article which precedes the name of Pausanias in the genitive absolute ἀνελομένου ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν τοῦ Παυσανίου: according to him, it can be the trace of something which has fallen out of the text before the evidently patronymic τοῦ Παυσανίου, something like the name of one of the regent's sons, for instance Κλεομένου. It is true, as Connor says, that the *Periegete* normally avoids the use of the article before a personal name which is the subject of a genitive absolute or, even more generally, that he does not always employ the article with the second and subsequent occurrences of personal names. However, we find at least one other instance of this usage in book 3, at §3.6 – pointed out by Connor himself – where we read ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ Λίχα Ορέστου τὰ ὅστ' ἀνεζήτουν. This occurrence of course weakens the necessity of transforming Pausanias' name into a patronymic in §14.1, adding Κλεομένου before τοῦ Παυσανίου.

¹⁷ On the Agiad clan surrounding Pausanias II, see Dimauro 2008, 81ff.

Herodotus' list of the three hundred

Sparta.¹⁸ Within this minimal textual reconfiguration, 'Pausanias' without patronymic (in ἀνελομένου ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν τοῦ Πausανίου) appears in the transmitted text as the third, impeccable, mention of a character who has just been referred to twice. The first time the character is identified at the beginning of the chapter, and explicitly introduced as Πausανίου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγησαμένου, that is Pausanias the regent.¹⁹ The second time, the regent is again implicitly hinted at in ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, where there is reference to the *logoi* and the *agones* occurring every year in honour of both Pausanias and Leonidas, buried together.²⁰ At his third mention in a few lines, 'Pausanias' – without a different patronymic – can only be the same person already referred to, the leader at Plataea, that is the regent, not anyone else. Not Pausanias II, whose name would need an explicit patronymic, to distinguish him from his grandfather the regent.²¹ The exchange of M with Δ (40 and 4) being very easy²² – we can only notice, and add, that the last one is certainly the simplest and most economic textual solution, requiring no emendation at all of the name of the personage. Of course, it is not the definitive one as, like other suggestions, it does not impose itself. Any other hypothetical identification of the character (for instance, with Cleomenes rather than with Pausanias II) is not more certain at all and asks for a less economical textual intervention, even though of course it cannot be completely excluded. The intervention would concern the name τοῦ Πausανίου, to be considered as a patronymic (but of Cleomenes or someone else?). Apparently there are further elements for or against the emendation of the date. On one side, the date of 440 is supported by the silence of Herodotus as to the Spartan destination of Leonidas' bones, that he seems not to know after telling us some important details on his corpse. According to him, in fact, the Greeks had to reconquer, during the fight, Leonidas' body which had been taken by the Persians (7.225.1). He also says that, after the battle, Leonidas' head was cut off and

¹⁸ Mueller 1844, 2² 488, n.40 ('ich corrigire bei Paus.3.14.1 τέσσαρσιν für τεσσαράκοντα, welches ich mit der Zeit durchaus nicht reimen kann'). See also Frazer 1913, 1 576; Podlecki 1968, 275, Asheri 1998, 82 and Coppola 2008, 131–7, who thinks that the number τεσσαρακοστῶ at §13.1 may have induced the scribe to write the wrong τεσσαράκοντα at §14.1. The hypothesis is astute, but the two numbers are two Valla-edition pages apart. On Pausanias' recall to Sparta in the spring of 477, see Loomis 1990, 492.

¹⁹ Cf. Paus. 3.5.1, where the regent – already qualified at §4.9 as the son of Cleombrotos who led the Spartans at Plataea – is reintroduced as Πausανίου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγησαμένου, to distinguish him from Pausanias II. Cf. also Paus. 3.17.7, where the regent himself is introduced the first time as Πausανίου τοῦ περὶ Πλάταιαν ἡγησαμένου, and then with the simple name.

²⁰ On these later *logoi* and *agones*, cf. IG V (1) 18–20 (SEG XI 460, cf.565), and IG V (1) 559 and 660, with Ziehen 1929, col.1515–6, and Cartledge & Spawforth 1989, 192–3.

²¹ 'Pausanias' without patronymic cannot have been antonomastically used, in §14.1, for Pausanias II on the ground of a comparison with another passage of the *Periegete*, that is 3.5.1 Πλειστοάρχος μὲν οὖν ὁ Λεωνίδου νεωστὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρεληφώς ἐτελεύτησε, Πλειστοάναξ δὲ ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Πausανίου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγησαμένου· Πλειστοάνακτος δὲ ἐγένετο Πausανίας. οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀφίκετο ὁ Πausανίας κτλ. (so Dimauro 2008, 74). Here, in fact, the identity of Pausanias II is at first introduced by his father's name Πλειστοάνακτος, then confirmed and reinforced by οὗτος ... ὁ Πausανίας. Nor could the indication of forty years be interpreted as 'a rounded figure for a reign or a generation', that is the whole reign of Pausanias II (Ball 1976, 2). The number in fact is too precise whereas the *Periegete* normally employs the formula ἐπὶ with genitive to date generally to the reign of some king (v. for instance, in book 3: 3.2.1, 3.2.5, 3.2.6, 3.3.4, 3.3.5 *et al.*), or the genitive of the name with βασιλεύοντος (3.3.1).

²² See Ronconi 2003, 87 and 155–65.

impaled by the order of Xerxes (7.238.1 and 9.78.3). His corpse was then presumably buried at the site, together with the other Three Hundred (7.228.1).²³ But Herodotus' 'ignorance' is a typical *argumentum ex silentio*. On the other hand, if the transfer of the body and eventually the setting up of the stele had been realised in the 440s, Sparta would have honoured its heroes at Sparta only forty years after the battle, while the text of Pausanias mentions, at 3.12.9, a shrine consecrated to Alpheus and Maron, two of the bravest Three Hundred, the second best Spartiates.²⁴ This shrine, which was certainly private, would presumably have been built soon after 480, and so 40 years before the official celebration of Leonidas by the transfer of his bones, and of all the others by the stele.²⁵

So, out of these textual propositions, none of which is definitive while one of them is more economic and much stronger than the others, it is possible but not certain that Leonidas' bones were recovered by the regent four years after his death. The late association of the two historical characters, their cult and graves, goes back indeed to a previous time. It may go back ultimately to the very first half of the 5th century BC, when the regent was honoured also, some time after his death.²⁶ With the transfer of Leonidas' bones, the victor of Plataea may have stood once more as the avenger of Thermopylae.²⁷ Of course, Leonidas' remains could have been transferred even forty years afterwards: in this instance, however, some cult or honours must have been dedicated to him at Sparta, on the model of what happened in the case of Alpheus and Maron. As to the stele, the dating of its erection must be kept distinct from the ceremony of the transfer. The text, in fact, does not say that the stele was *on* the grave of Leonidas: it only says it was *there* (κεῖται δὲ καὶ στήλη κτλ.), so it may have been installed near Leonidas' tomb before or after its construction.²⁸ Pausanias' text does not impose the dating of the list to a later period: an earlier date is also conceivable. If it was the regent who moved the bones of Leonidas to Sparta in 477, the stele with the names of the Three Hundred could have been erected there most probably, but not necessarily, at the same time. At first sight, it seems less conceivable that the stele could have been erected many years after the transfer of

²³ Cf. Page 1996, 301–31. Great attention is paid by the ancient sources to Leonidas' corpse: according to another tradition, his body was opened and revealed a hairy heart: cf. Aristides of Miletus *FGH* 286 F20ac (Plutarch, *Minor parallels* 4Ab = *Moralia* 306d, Stobaeus 3.7.65, John Lydus, *Months* fr.5, with Vernant 1989, 35ff.). On Leonidas' funerals, surely celebrated with his *eidolon*, see Schaefer 1957, 223–33; Nafissi 1991, 309–13, and Richer 1994, 73–7. I do not know whether the stone lion which stood in Herodotus' day (ῥῶν) 'on Leonidas' (ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ – 7.225.1) was put on a separate grave for him at Thermopylae: the fact that Leonidas' bones could be identified four or forty years later would allow us to think of a personal tomb for Leonidas, but ideological and political reasons may have 'identified' his corpse even within the common grave of the Three Hundred. The lion may have been set up 'in honour' of Leonidas, not on his tomb: see Stein 1908⁶, 218.

²⁴ Alpheus and Maron were the second best warriors after Leonidas according to Pausanias, but the third best for Herodotus 7.226–7. For this reversal of priority, see Hodkinson 2000, 258.

²⁵ The shrine of Alpheus and Maron as their grave: Musti & Torelli 1991, 204. On the twins, see Farnell 1921, 363.

²⁶ Against the scepticism of Jacoby 1944, 43 n.23, see Prandi 1990, 61–3, and above all Asheri 1998, esp. 81–5.

²⁷ See Herodotus 9.78 with Asheri 1998.

²⁸ The stelai which recorded, at Marathon, the names of the Athenians fallen on the battlefield were on their grave (ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῶν): v. Pausanias 1.32.3. The 'memorials' of the Persian wars have been gathered by Asheri 2006, 350–76. ('Appendice II. *I memoriali greci delle guerre persiane*').

Herodotus' list of the three hundred

Leonidas. Indeed, it seems to me that Herodotus does not know of a list inscribed on a stele; on the other side, the list seen by the Periegete must have been copied, probably in the 2nd century AD, from more ancient, and even very ancient, models, accurately transmitted, as it records not only the names of the dead but also the patronymics. All this accuracy in transmitting 300 names plus 300 patronymics, that is 600 names (or a little less, if there were, among the names, the fathers of more than one warrior) can be founded only on an official record, subsequently transcribed in a written form, of course, even though transmitted orally at first. Clearly it is not conceivable that almost 600 names had been transmitted orally from the 5th century BC till the 2nd century AD: at some point, they must have been recorded in a written form. I imagine that they can have been transformed into a written list not long after the battle, simply because of those patronymics declaring the precision, and therefore the antiquity, of the operation, and also because of the need for an official record. It is quite possible that, soon after the battle, the Spartans had kept an archive record of the dead with their names and patronymics, which had been transmitted, in the form of an archival document or of a later stele, down to the time of Pausanias the Periegete.²⁹ On the other hand, it is not certain at all whether they also set up a stele at the same time: in my opinion, they did not erect one and Herodotus did not see it.

AN OFFICIAL LIST?

If we analyse Herodotus' textual formulation, his insistence on the fullness of his information, *in crescendo*, having recourse to some rhetorical devices (τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων, with the repetition of the verb ἐπυθόμην and, above all, the insistence on 'the names' and 'all the names') only shows, I believe, (a) that Herodotus conducted an oral inquiry on the warriors and looked for and probably consulted an official list, kept in the archives of Sparta, but did not see a stele with the inscription of the dead, and (b) that he modelled this expression on the paradigm of his oral inquiry. I cannot explain differently the emphasis upon ἀπάντων, 'all the names', and the structure of the sentence itself, suggesting the slow and progressive fulfilment of an intellectual (or more precisely scientific) aim, not the easy viewing of a list exhibited in public. He probably did not necessarily need a record of the names in order to learn all of them, as that kind of social and private memory was still alive in Sparta when he travelled there. In any case, a complete list ought to have been officially fixed some time after the battle, with the names of the dead and their patronymics, and it is possible that he visited the archives in search of it and that he did find that document. It seems to me more difficult to assume that a list with all the names and the patronymics had appeared suddenly some centuries later, without reproducing any previous, that is very ancient, model. So, I prefer to explain the emphasis laid upon ἀπάντων, 'all the names', by imagining Herodotus' inquiry on an

²⁹ On the Spartan archives, *anagraphai*, v. Plut. *Ages.* 19.9.

official record of the dead, fixed in Sparta, not at Thermopylae, as the verb ἐπιθόμην leads me to think, with its oral nuance, referring therefore to an inquiry made at Sparta.

At §224, Herodotus is saying that he succeeded in obtaining information about all of the Three Hundred. I think he looked at a list: certainly he did not limit himself to this, and did not exploit it much, as he transmits only a few names. Certainly he must have gone around to ask his informants, to question other people, and he gathered his material, judged it, selected it and finally inserted the most interesting stories in his work – but not all the stories or memories, as appears from §226.2, where he tells us that he knew something else about Dieneces, other aphorisms, but does not relate them, so exposing himself to the later reproaches of Plutarch.³⁰ On the other hand, he certainly reports all the material at his disposal, which is full of information, on the parallel stories of Aristodemus and Eurytus, paradoxically not the best warriors: the first version of their absence from the battlefield; a variant of the story; and finally his own opinion on the reason why the Spartans became angry with Aristodemus, relating elements of a rich and articulated debate, held at Sparta on that question.³¹

ORAL SOURCES

If an official record provided Herodotus with the names, he supplemented the written sources with oral ones. Or, rather, he complemented the oral sources, which were perhaps not many on the deeds of every warrior, with a full record of at least all the names, very probably with those patronymics which he does not normally quote after the names of the best or 'worst' ones.³² Can the list have been a useful introduction to the next stage of research, a fast guide to further inquiry about the dead? Can it have orientated the historian in his tour around private and, above all, public circles at Sparta? Indeed, the oral memories so gathered appear poor in Herodotus' book 7, not only as some decades had passed after the battle, but also as all the warriors had died, and only some deeds and sayings may have been transmitted up to the outflanking movement by Ephialtes but hardly after it. If he employs the archival list, Herodotus certainly does set a high value on it (through the emphasis he uses in the text), as it assures the completeness of the information – even if he does not quote the names in full (for the simple reason that his work is something more than a list of documents). Generally speaking, Herodotus does not overvalue his sources, often simply quoting in full the 'documents' he employs, even the most useful, particularly the lists and the inscriptions he exploits.³³ As Stephanie West has written, "we may suspect that his information derives from inscriptions more often than he admits": a historian who pays attention to performances certainly prefers the

³⁰ Plutarch will reproach Herodotus for not having recounted more about the *τολμήματα* and the *ῥήματα* of the Three Hundred, proposing to do it himself in a *Life of Leonidas* he was probably never to write (*Mor.* 866b).

³¹ Analysis of the two variants in Paradiso 2002, 163–9.

³² Only Alpheus and Maron are identified by their patronymic, 'sons of Orsiphantes' (§227).

³³ See Herodotus 2.100–2, with its Egyptian genealogies, and 8.85.2, with the list of the commanders who seized Greek ships at Salamis.

Herodotus' list of the three hundred

possibilities offered by vivid, oral memories to documents.³⁴ Surely, a public elsewhere in the Peloponnese, away from Sparta, or in Great Greece, might have been very interested to hear a reading of all the names, and it is not to be excluded that Herodotus did read them in full outside Sparta.³⁵

WHICH ORAL SOURCES?

As to the nature and quality of Herodotus' oral sources on the exploits of the dead, we notice, as mentioned above, that they are few in number and probably all referred to the moments preceding the arrival of Ephialtes with the Persians and the final actions. The list seems not to have been a guide to Herodotus' oral inquiry, as he did not exploit it in full. In fact, he speaks of about only six of the Three Hundred, four of whom died in battle while the last two survived, that is Dieneces, Alpheus and Maron, Euritus, and the 'tremblers' Aristodemus and Pantites. Dieneces' aphorism is even uttered before he joined the battle (§226.1). Euritus is said to have entered the battle soon after the outflanking movement (§229.1). Instead, Herodotus' information becomes more and more sparse and summary in §224, after the betrayal and the outflanking stratagem by Ephialtes following Leonidas' death, as if there was no more information on the last acts of the battle.³⁶ The oral sources still available forty years later covered the six Spartans I have mentioned, the four who died and Aristodemus and Pantites who survived and whose names were perhaps on a list of the warriors but not, of course, on a stele for the dead. On the nature of these oral sources we can make some deductions from a comparison between §§224–233 of book 7 and §§71–75 of book 9. After the description of the battle of Plataea, Herodotus reviews the warriors and judges their ἀριστεία, at first the barbarians, then the Greeks; at first the infantry, then the cavalry, finally single warriors.³⁷ In doing so, he exploits his Spartan sources, important and rich, and integrates them with non-Spartan information about the *aristeia* of the Greek allies and of the barbarians, criticizing here and there some of them and adopting a personal point of view. Among the barbarians, he says, the best ones at Plataea were the Persian infantry, the Sacian cavalry and Mardonius; among the Greeks, the Tegeates and the Athenians, and above all the Spartans (9.71.1). The same structure is evident in 7.224 and 226 where, after judging the *aristeia* of Leonidas and of the

³⁴ Cf. West 1985, 303.

³⁵ Ball 1976, 6.

³⁶ Before the last acts, some deserters took the news of the encirclement by Idarnes and Ephialtes: v. 7.219.1, where the *hemeroscopoi* are also mentioned. Normally, people assist a military event outside the battlefield: see the *παράγενόμενοι*, those who had been present at the battle of Plataea, mentioned by Herodotus 9.71.3. Even Xerxes watched some acts of the battle of Thermopylae from a distance, probably from a nearby hill: 7.212.1. He will do the same at Salamis: v. 8.90.

³⁷ Same structure in 8.17, where the *aristeia* of the battle of Artemision are attributed at first to the Egyptians among the barbarians, then to the Athenians among the Greeks, and to the Athenian Cleinias, the son of Alcibiades. The *aristeia* of the battle of Salamis are attributed only to the Greeks, that is to the Aeginetans and then to the Athenians, and, among the single warriors, to Polycritus of Aegina and to the Athenians Eumenes of the demos of Anagira and Aminias of Pallene in 8.93. The judgement expressed on the Corinthian Adeimanthos in 8.94 seems different, and it is contested. See also 8.123–4.

other Spartan *onomastoi*, Herodotus writes a short martyrology at first for two Persian warriors who were also *onomastoi*, two sons of Darius, Abrocomes and Hyperanthes (§224.2). Then, after an account of the encirclement and the end of the battle, he compares the *aristeia* of the Spartans and the Thespians, and of the single warriors, in a final balance. Spartans and Thespians *were* equally ἄριστοι; among the individuals, however (ὅμως), the winner *is said to have been* the Spartan Dieneces (§226), followed by the second prize, the Spartans Alpheus and Maron, and by the Thespian Dithyrambus (§227), in a choice that Herodotus only seems to approve but does not actually accept, supporting indirectly the reasons of Thespian heroism even when dealing with the prevalent pro-Spartan tradition, that is comparing the *objective* equality of the two peoples (Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιέων τοιούτων γενομένων) with the *tradition* of Spartan superiority (ὅμως λέγεται ἀνὴρ ἄριστος γενέσθαι Σπαρτιήτης Διηνέκης).³⁸ In 9.71.2, Herodotus' own choice assigns the victory in the individual competition for the *aristeia* at Plataea to the Spartan Aristodemus, the trembler of Thermopylae, who ἄριστος ἐγένετο μακρῶ at Plataea: after him, he lists the Spartans Poseidonius, Philocyon and Amompharetus, who all ἠρίστευσαν. However, Herodotus tells us this was not the Spartan *palmarès*, as the Spartans did not recognize Aristodemus' superiority on the battlefield because he wanted to die like a hero to expiate his own guilt at Thermopylai; his case was different from Poseidonius', who had fought as a hoplite, in order to survive (§71.3).³⁹ So, Poseidonius was better than Aristodemus according to the Spartans. Of all the warriors who fought at Plataea, the most famous, the ὀνομαστότατοι (§72.1), according to them, were Poseidonius, Philocyon, Amompharetus and Callicrates, who were publicly honoured, not Aristodemus, who enjoyed no honours. The Spartan Callicrates indeed died away from the battlefield, as he was only wounded during the battle. However, he gained a kind of *aristeia*, because of an aphorism he uttered to the Plataian Arimnestus, when he was wounded and carried away, as Herodotus records in 9.72.2: he said he did not regret dying for Greece, but he regretted not having performed any deeds of value. At 7.226 Herodotus had recorded another aphorism, by Dieneces, about the number of the enemy's arrows which would cover the sun and so enable the Spartans to fight better. In 9.73–5 Herodotus moves on to the Athenian winner of the ἀριστεία, Sophanes, giving two variants of the story and also some biographical details about his life after the battle of Plataea, as he had done in 7.231 regarding Aristodemus' later life.

FROM THERMOPYLAE TO PLATAEA

The formal structures of 7.224–232 and 9.71–75 have striking affinities. In both contexts Herodotus gives an account and eventually judges the qualities of the two camps, Greeks and barbarians, then he mentions the best warriors among the Greek allies and among the barbarians. The official qualities required to win the competition for the *aristeia* are, evidently, participation in battle and military excellence but also, even though to a minor

³⁸ Cf. Vannicelli 2007, 316–8.

³⁹ Even for Aristodemus, Plataea was his own revenge of Thermopylae.

Herodotus' list of the three hundred

degree, rhetorical skills.⁴⁰ For the Spartans, Poseidonius is the winner at Plataea, not Aristodemus, since Poseidonius has fought like a good hoplite, not like a hero, in order to survive and not die. At Thermopylae, Leonidas is beyond competition because of an oracle predicting that either a Heraclid king would die or else the city of Sparta would be destroyed (7.220.3–4); after him, however, the winner is Dieneces, also because of the magnificent answer he gave to a Persian warrior. At Plataea, Callicrates was not the *aristos*, however he is recorded for a brilliant answer he gave to an ally. This is the Spartan official list of the winners, not the Herodotean one. Herodotus comes in to explain or to correct the official position above all of the Spartans as to the attribution of the *aristeia* or of *oneidos* and *atimia*. He places himself at a critical distance from the tradition when he criticizes it. When he records the story of Aristodemus and Eurytus, he openly explains what, for him, were the true reasons why the Spartans became angry with the former. They would have accepted that Eurytus and Aristodemus both come home, since both had been sent out of the line by Leonidas; or that Aristodemus alone come home if he alone was ill; but not that Eurytus die in battle while Aristodemus was missing from the fighting (7.229.2). Further on, in 9.71.2, the historian records first his own opinion about the superiority of Aristodemus at Plataea, then the official judgment, which give the prize to Poseidonius, an opinion which he attributes cautiously to Spartan envy.

CONCLUSIONS. THE ROLE OF THE *LESCHAI*

To sum up, Herodotus seems to employ, in this section of book 7, both written and oral traditions, probably an official list of the Three Hundred and certainly public, rather than family, memories – as the ‘tremblers’ stories lead us to believe – setting a high value on the last ones but without omitting to criticise them, in order to give voice to his own opinion even against public opinion, or rather against the tradition, which he compares with the ‘facts’. As to these oral sources, we can perhaps reconstruct their content, nature and location more precisely. Herodotus mentions a *λέσχη*, a ‘conversation’, a public discussion which was held soon after the battle of Plataea among the *παράγενόμενοι*, those who had been present at the battle (9.71.3). As K. W. Nitzsch and more recently Jean Ducat have pointed out, this was evidently his source about the official prizes given in Sparta to the warriors after Plataea, an almost semi-official source.⁴¹ What was a *lesche*? A discussion and therefore a meeting, according to Sophocles.⁴² Herodotus employs this noun also in book 2, where it refers to a conversation, a discussion at the oracle of Ammon between two men from Cyrene and king Etearchus about the sources of the Nile (§31.1). In Sparta, however, *lesche* was a technical term meaning a place of public, evidently official or semi-official, discussion among the elders of the town, attended also by younger men. In the *leschai* old people met to talk or to examine newborn babies. A *lesche* was essentially a

⁴⁰Also Plutarch will judge it important to report not only *τολμήματα* but also the *ῥήματα* of the Three Hundred (*Mor.* 866b). On the concept of *aristeia*, especially in Herodotus, cf. Pritchett 1974, 283–6. See also Di Donato 2003, 43–96 = Di Donato 2006, 35–52.

⁴¹ Cf. Nitzsch 1872, 246–8; Ducat 2005, 205–16.

⁴² *Soph. Ant.* 159–61.

place and also what happened in that place, a public discussion on serious subjects, assigning praise to the bravest warriors or blame to those who had betrayed the hoplite ideals, so criticizing the true bases of Spartan ideology.⁴³ We may suppose that Herodotus attended a *lesche* in Sparta. And that he exploited – and integrated with Persian, genealogical information – exactly the kind of public, semi-official and oral sources he may have heard there, about the *aristeia* not only of the Spartans but also of *all* the men who fought at Thermopylae, Greeks and barbarians, and about the moral and social punishments reserved for the worst Spartans. In fact, even when speaking of, and praising, the Thespians who died as well, Herodotus reports (and indirectly criticizes) a point of view which is still Spartan, and which asserts Spartan superiority at least when comparing single warriors; such superiority makes Spartans and Thespians equally *aristoi*, but attributes military excellence to the Spartan Dieneces over the Thespian Dithyrambus. Herodotus sets aside certain space even for the worst Spartans, reporting a public debate on their acts and omissions, and expressing his own opinion on them and on that debate, that is, on what motivated their punishment. The punishment imposed on Aristodemus and probably on Pantites is described by Herodotus and involves the refusal of fire, normally offered by the neighbours, the deprivation of human contact, as nobody was allowed to speak to him, and the branding (perhaps for the first time) of the victim with the name of *tresas*, ‘trembler’, i.e. a coward. These constituted a form of *oneidos* and *atimia* which was also a judicial punishment requiring a public, official decision, therefore taken by the assembly and probably also discussed and commented upon in a *lesche*.⁴⁴ This is the meaning and nature of Herodotus’ own ‘list’ in book 7.224ff.: a critical review of different levels of *aristeia*, from the highest to the lowest, deserving different honours and punishments, prizes and reproaches. These choices, and the concept itself of a ‘choice’, have also influenced, I think, the formulation of §224.1 which we have analysed here – καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος, καὶ ἕτεροι μετ’ αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τρηκοσίων – with its different levels of praise, its list of three different ‘prizes’ attributed to the best warriors, Leonidas being the best one of all; then other people, qualified as *onomastoi*, whose names Herodotus was later able to learn by enquiry because they were men of worth; finally the rest of the Three Hundred, all of whose names Herodotus later learnt by enquiry.

⁴³ Plut. *Lyc.* 16.1, 25.1–2, Paus. 3.14.2, with Flower & Marincola 2002, 234, and Vannicelli 2006, 267. Cf. also MacDowell 1986, David 1991, 97–100, Nafissi 1991, 318–27; Richer 1994, 59, and Buxton 1994, 40–4.

⁴⁴ On these punishments, cf. Ducat 2005, 205–16, and Ducat 2006, 1–55.

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CHAPTER 30

AGAMEMNON'S DEATH IN SENECA

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Agamemnon was one of the main mythological characters of Peloponnesian antiquity, whose life and death constituted a beloved source of inspiration for several exponents of Greek and Roman literature.¹ Further support for this view is offered by the great number of literary sources which deal with the story of Agamemnon; a fact, which justifies the existence of several versions about a number of events in the hero's turbulent life, above all his tragic end.² Agamemnon's death is described by the main exponents of Greek and Roman tragedy;³ and although it is a very significant episode, modern scholars have failed to offer a detailed examination of it and its role in the Roman tragedy. The aim of this paper is to examine the way in which Seneca treats Agamemnon's death in his tragedy *Agamemnon*. Comparison and parallel reading of corresponding descriptions drawn from earlier Greek literary tradition (i.e. Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides) will allow us to trace similarities and differences regarding the death of the hero and thus form a fuller judgment of its role in the Roman tragic play.

The first reference in Greek literature to Agamemnon's murder is to be found in Homer. The *Odyssey* frequently refers to the story of the House of Atreus and more specifically to Agamemnon's death, which is summarily described by different characters in the poem. These brief descriptions simply testify to the tragic event, which took place on the day of Agamemnon's return from Troy, rendering Aegisthus as the chief culprit of the murder and implying that Clytemestra was also involved (cf. *Od.* 1.35–6, 3.193–4, 234–5 and 303–4).

On the other hand, more details about the murder are to be found in the analytical descriptions of the event, as told by Menelaus and Agamemnon himself. Menelaus quotes Proteus' prophetic words, which are actually a detailed description of Agamemnon's murder. Following Proteus' prophecy, as soon as Aegisthus was informed of Agamemnon's arrival, he set about making preparations, giving the impression that they were intended to honour the king's return. However, he also gathered twenty men who helped

¹ Cf. e.g. Grimal 1986, 472.

² See e.g. Grimal 1986, s.v. *Agamemnon*.

³ Cf. Aesch. *Ag.*, Soph. *El.*, Eur. *El.* and Sen. *Ag.*

him and his companions to kill Agamemnon during the meal (*Od.* 4.524–37). Menelaus' narrative enriches the foregoing brief references to the murder by informing us both about the location and the time (*δειπνίσσας Od.* 4.535) as well as the manner (*λόχον Od.* 4.531) of the crime. The significance of these details, however, is not only that they offer further information about the circumstances of the hero's death; they also mirror the ambush of Telemachus by the suitors (*Od.* 4.657–74)⁴ and more generally the murder of the suitors which also takes place during a meal in the end of the *Odyssey* (cf. *Od.* 22.8 ff.). In other words, Agamemnon's murder foreshadows the events that will follow in the *Odyssey*, significantly contributing to the development of the plot and increasing the suspense felt by the audience.

The second detailed description of Agamemnon's death is found in the conversation between Odysseus and Agamemnon in the underworld. Odysseus seeks to learn the reason for Agamemnon's premature death. Agamemnon describes his murder in great detail, explaining that it was caused by a fatal sword blow to the chest (*βάλλον ἀποθνήσκων περὶ φασγάνῳ Od.* 11.424), while he was having a meal (*δειπνίσσας Od.* 11.411) with his companions (*περὶ δ' ἄλλοι ἐταῖροι/ νωλεμέως κτείνοντο Od.* 11.412–13) inside the house of Aegisthus (*οἰκόνδε καλέσσας Od.* 11.410). Agamemnon accuses not only Aegisthus, to whom the fatal blow is attributed (*ὥς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ Od.* 11.411), but also Clytemnestra,⁵ who is further accused of having planned the crime (*οἶον δὴ καὶ κείνῃ ἐμήσατο ἔργον ἀεικέες, κουριδίῳ τεύξασα πόσει φόνον Od.* 11.429–30) and murdered Cassandra (*οἰκτροτάτην δ' ἤκουσα ὅπα Πριάμοιο θυγατρός,/ Κασσάνδρης, τὴν κτεῖνε Κλυταιμνήστρη δολόμητις/ ἀμφ' ἐμοί Od.* 11.421–3).

Agamemnon's narrative introduces further information concerning the circumstances of the hero's murder and for that reason it is not accidental. Homer intentionally sets Agamemnon to describe his own murder, thereby offering to the audience the most convenient witness of the crime scene; while, on the other hand, he manages to justify Aegisthus' punishment which was mentioned by Zeus in the beginning of the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 1.35ff.). Moreover, Cassandra's death is the new piece of evidence in the circumstances of Agamemnon's murder. This evidence differentiates not only this narration from the above descriptions of Agamemnon's death, but also changes the image which has hitherto existed of Clytemnestra's character. Clytemnestra is now credited with Cassandra's death and her participation in

⁴ Cf. Hom. *Od.* 669–72 *ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι δότε νῆα θοὴν καὶ εἵκοσ' ἐταῖρους,/ ὅφρα μιν αὐτὸν ἰόντα λοχῆσομαι ἡδὲ φυλάξω/ ἐν πορθμῷ Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε παιπαλοέσσης,/ ὥς ἂν ἐπισμυγερώς ναντίλλεται εἵνεκα πατρός* where Antinous requests from the other suitors twenty men in order to ambush Telemachus, whilst returning to Ithaca.

⁵ Cf. Hom. *Od.* 409–10 *ἀλλὰ μοι Αἰγισθος τεύξας θάνατόν τε μόρον τε/ ἔκτα σὺν οὐλομένη ἀλόχῳ.*

Agamemnon's death in Seneca

the double murder (i.e. Agamemnon's and Cassandra's) is far from indirect. This fact is further indicated in the text itself, where the brief reference to Aegisthus is followed by certain actions carried out by Clytemestra (*Od.* 11.421-3, 429-30). Nonetheless, the different image given to Clytemestra's character with reference to Agamemnon's death is far from accidental. Agamemnon's answer concludes with the statement that Clytemestra's behaviour now burdens the entire female gender (*Od.* 11.432-4) and for that reason he warns Odysseus to be cautious with Penelope (*Od.* 11.441-3). However, he withdraws this warning, underlining Penelope's dedication in contrast to Clytemestra's treachery (*Od.* 11.444ff.). Therefore, Agamemnon's murder is a noteworthy mythological example which stresses the difference between Agamemnon's and Odysseus's fate, leaving the audience with the expectation that the latter's adventures will finally come to a safe end. Agamemnon's murder, in other words, is once again a substantial literary means used by Homer in order to contribute to the development of the plot.

Agamemnon's death did not fail to influence Greek drama, where the history of the House of Atreus was the central subject of several tragic plays.⁶ Among them, however, Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* possesses an eminent place. The play deals with Agamemnon's return from Troy and his tragic end, which is entirely based on the subject of the revenge of justice (i.e. Δίκη). Agamemnon must die for what was happened at the sack of Troy, for Iphigenia's sacrifice and most of all for what Agamemnon's father, Atreus had done to Thyestes. Thus, the murder constitutes a significant element which is closely associated with the plot of the play.

Agamemnon's arrival is followed by the prophetic words of Cassandra who sees all the crimes that lie within Atreus' House (*Ag.* 1072-330), openly speaking of a wife who murders her husband (θῆλυς ἄρσενος φονεὺς *Ag.* 1231), of Agamemnon's death (Ἀγαμέμνονός σέ φημ' ἐπόψεσθαι μόρον *Ag.* 1246) and finally of her own loss (κτενεῖ με τὴν τάλαιναν *Ag.* 1260). Cassandra enters the palace (*Ag.* 1295ff.) from where the cries of the murdered Agamemnon can be clearly heard (ὦμοι πέπληγμαι καιρίαν πληγὴν ἔσω *Ag.* 1343 and ὦμοι μάλ' αὖθις δευτέραν πεπληγμένος *Ag.* 1345). The opening of the gates confirms the murder since it brings the audience face to face with the gruesome spectacle of Clytemestra standing between two corpses (*Ag.* 1371ff.). This scene leaves not the slightest doubt regarding Clytemestra's guilt; and this fact is later confirmed by Aegisthus, who says that although he was not present at the murder, he was its main instigator (καὶ τοῦδε τὰνδρὸς ἡψάμην θυραῖος ὦν, / πᾶσαν ξυνάψας μηχανὴν δυσβουλίας *Ag.* 1608-9).

Aeschylus makes very clear the role of each character in the royal crime. Aegisthus' statement (*Ag.* 1608-9) limits his role in the murder, since he is

⁶ See above n. 3.

described as an accomplice who merely exults from a position of security after Agamemnon's death. Clytemnestra, on the other hand, is described as decisive and methodical in carrying out the murder. First, she posts a guard on the palace roof so that she may be informed in good time of her husband's arrival (*ᾧδε γὰρ κρατεῖ/ γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κέαρ* Ag. 10–11); and she delivers three different blows to Agamemnon in order to make sure of his death (*παίω δέ νιν δίς, κὰν δυοῖν οἰμώγμασιν/ μεθῆκεν αὐτοῦ κῶλα, καὶ πεπτωκότι/ τρίτην ἐπενδίδωμι* Ag. 1384–6), something which also shows Clytemnestra's hate of Agamemnon. Furthermore, the motives for the king's murder become very clear as well. They concern Clytemnestra's revenge for Agamemnon's sacrifice of Iphigenia in Aulis (*ἔθυσεν αὐτοῦ παῖδα* Ag. 1417) and for his extramarital relationships (*κεῖται γυναικὸς τῆσδ' ὁ λυμαντήριος,/ Χρυσήδων μείλιγμα τῶν ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ,/ ἧ τ' αἰχμάλωτος ἦδε καὶ τερασκόπος/ καὶ κοινόλεκτρος τοῦδε, θεσφατηλόγος,/ πιστὴ ξύνευνος, ναυτίλων δὲ σελμάτων/ ἰσοτριβῆς* Ag. 1438–43), two justifications which substantially play down the illegal erotic relationship between Aegisthus and Clytemnestra.

However, the tragic nature of Agamemnon's fate is not only highlighted by the fact that Agamemnon is murdered in a brutal manner by his own wife. Equally important tragic elements are the setting and timing of the crime, which takes place inside the victim's home, on the day of his triumphant return from Troy. Aeschylus lays special emphasis on the scene of the murder, which is specified even more precisely as being the palace bath (*τὸν ὁμοδέμνιον πόσιν/ λουτροῖσι φαιδρύνασα, πῶς φράσω τέλος;* Ag. 1108–9). This detail is an Aeschylean innovation, the use of which allows him not only to stress the transformation of the false climate of hospitality into the hostile and murderous home where Clytemnestra receives Agamemnon; it also enables Aeschylus to underline Agamemnon's disgrace, as one who escaped from the hands of the Trojans only to find death in the bath of his own house. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the bath was considered a usual setting for the murder of a king, since it is the only place where the victim is in a disadvantageous position and entirely unarmed.⁷ This is a significant detail which explains not only the success of Clytemnestra's difficult enterprise, but also why Agamemnon was incapable of reacting to Clytemnestra's murderous attack. Further support for this idea is offered by Aeschylus' addition of the murderous *chiton* that Clytemnestra offers to Agamemnon (*ἄπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον, ὥσπερ ἰχθύων,/ περιστιχίζω, πλοῦτον εἵματος κακόν* Ag. 1382–3), a garment without openings for the hands or head which entraps the victim, reducing the possibility of any response on his part. Agamemnon's murder, in other words, is not only the central episode on which the Aeschylean play is mostly based; instead, it is a crucial incident

⁷ Cf. Bremmer 1986, 418. See also e.g. Duke 1953–4, 326.

Agamemnon's death in Seneca

which develops the play's action whilst essentially emphasising Agamemnon's tragic fate.

After Aeschylus, Agamemnon's cruel murder is further described in a series of brief references found in tragedies by Sophocles and Euripides. There, the story is closely related to Agamemnon's descendants. Sophocles' *Electra* describes Orestes' return to Argos with the aim of avenging Agamemnon's murder. The plot of the play justifies the frequency of references to the murder, which is traced from the beginning of the tragedy. The prologue deals with Electra's grief at the tragic fate of her father, who escaped death in Troy only to fall dead, struck on the head (σχίζουσι κάρα) with an axe (φονίῳ πελέκει) by Aegisthus and Clytemestra (*El.* 92–9). Electra's emotional situation leads to a short dialogue with the Chorus out of which a more detailed description of the king's murder emerges (*El.* 193–208). Special emphasis is now laid on the time of the crime, which is the day of Agamemnon's return and more specifically during the meal which has been laid out in his honour (ὦ δειπνων ἀρρήτων *El.* 203). Furthermore, the murder weapon is yet another element which is highlighted. It is described through Agamemnon's cries when he was struck with an axe wielded by Aegisthus and Clytemestra (ὅτε οἱ παγχάλκων ἀνταῖα/ γενύων ὠρμάθη πλαγὰ *El.* 195–6), although their names are deliberately omitted (εἴτ' οὖν θεὸς εἴτε βροτῶν/ ἦν ὁ ταῦτα πράσσων *El.* 199–200) in order to overemphasise the terror which haunts Argos after Agamemnon's murder. Nonetheless, what calls for attention here is the phrase ἀνταῖα πλαγὰ, since it refers to a fatal blow delivered to Agamemnon's chest and not to the head. This is a detail which contradicts Electra's narrative (σχίζουσι κάρα *El.* 99). However, it is explained by the fact that it derives from Chorus who ignores the details of Agamemnon's murder, either because Chorus consists of Mycenaean women who cannot be aware of all the details of the royal crime; or because Chorus, having been terrified by both Aegisthus and Clytemestra, refrains from speaking in full detail concerning Agamemnon's murder.

Electra's conversation with the Chorus is interrupted by Chrysothemis, who is taking libations on Clytemestra's behalf to Agamemnon's grave. Electra reacts by pointing out to her sister that the libations actually come from their father's murderer; and she recalls in her mind the mutilation of Agamemnon's corpse by Clytemestra after the murder (*El.* 442–6). Electra's words offer yet another narrative of the crime; besides Aegisthus and Clytemestra's joint involvement in the murder, we are now informed concerning Clytemestra's role as an awful mutilator. Furthermore, the mutilation testifies to the degree of Clytemestra's hatred in seeking not only the king's death, but also his dishonour. On the other hand, such an action contains further symbolic significance, since it places the queen among those murderers who mutilated their victims believing that by so doing they reduced the dead person's strength, so that he or his *eidolon* would be unable

to take revenge on them;⁸ and finally it is also an action which characteristically describes Clytemestra as decisive and methodical in carrying out Agamemnon's murder.

Clytemestra's mutilation of the body (*ἐμασχαλίσθη* *El.* 445), the murder weapon (*πελέκει* *El.* 99) and the fact that Aegisthus and Clytemestra carry out the murder together are what characterises the Sophoclean crime scene. These differences are closely associated with the fact that Agamemnon's murder is not the main episode of the plot in the Sophoclean tragedy. The crime is merely an event which belongs to the past and the reference to it furthers the development of the plot by reminding the audience of Agamemnon's tragic death; given that this particular incident enhances the hate which the audience feels for Aegisthus and Clytemestra, while it also prepares them for Orestes' following murderous revenge. Moreover, the joint participation of Aegisthus and Clytemestra in the crime and, above all, the narration of bloodcurdling details (i.e. the mutilation of the body) reinforce the shared feeling of revulsion and disgust towards the culprits, thus justifying even more strongly Orestes' matricide.

The murder is described in a similar way by Euripides in his *Electra*. There, the plot remains the same as the one developed by Sophocles, dealing as it does with Orestes's deadly punishment of Aegisthus and Clytemestra. The references to Agamemnon's death are brief and designed in such a way that the audience gradually recalls in mind the tragic event through a series of specific details; first, the scene is set in the palace (*ἐν δὲ δώμασιν θνήσκει* *El.* 8) and more specifically the bath (*λουτρά πανύσταθ'* *El.* 157), then the murder weapon (*πελέκεως* *El.* 160) is identified as an axe⁹ and finally the time is fixed as the day of Agamemnon's return from Troy (*ἐκ Τροίας ὁδου* *El.* 161f.).¹⁰ Furthermore, there are also certain references (*El.* 8–10, 85–7, 122–4 and 151–67) which stress the common participation of both Aegisthus and Clytemestra in the crime, something which is also found in the Sophoclean crime version. Nonetheless, a crucial difference remains in the Euripidean version. Three of the foregoing references make clear that the main culprit of the murder was actually Aegisthus and that Clytemestra was merely an accomplice (cf. Eur. *El.* 8–10 *ἐν δὲ δώμασι/ θνήσκει γυναικὸς πρὸς Κλυταιμῆστρας δόλῳ/ καὶ τοῦ Θυέστου παιδὸς Αἰγίσθου χερί*, 85–7 *πράσσονθ' ἅ πράσσω δεῖν' ὑπ' Αἰγίσθου παθῶν,/ ὅς μου κατέκτα πατέρα . . . χή πανώλεθρος/ μήτηρ* and 163–7 *οὐ μίτραισι γυνή σε/ δέξατ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ στεφάνοις,/ Ξίφεσι δ' ἀμφιτόμοις λυγρὰν/ Αἰγίσθου λῶβαν θεμένα/ δόλιον ἔσχεν ἀκοίταν*). However, this

⁸ Cf. e.g. Frazer I 1921, 328 with further references.

⁹ For the complicated question concerning the murder weapon (sword or axe) used by Clytemestra to murder Agamemnon see e.g. Davies 1987, 65–75 and Prag 1991, 242–6 who offer further bibliography for the specific matter.

¹⁰ Cf. also Eur. *El.* 1151–2 *Ὁ σχέτλιε, τί με, γύναι, φονεύσεις φίλαν/ πατρίδα δεκέτεσι/ σποραῖσιν ἐλθόντ' ἐμάν;* and 1156–7 *ἅ πόσιν/ χρόνιον ἰκόμενον εἰς οἶκους*

Agamemnon's death in Seneca

particular detail is certainly not accidental; instead, it is deliberately used by Euripides whose intention is to emphasise Clytemestra's human side in comparison to Aeschylus and Sophocles.

Clytemestra's human side, however, collapses before Orestes' matricide. This scene (*El.* 1147–63) does not offer further details of Agamemnon's loss, since it merely repeats that Agamemnon fell dead on the day of his return (*ἄ πόσιν/ χρόνιον ἰκόμενον εἰς οἶκον* *El.* 1156–7), in the bath (*ἐν λουτροῖς* *El.* 1148), struck by an axe (*πέλεκυν* *El.* 1160). Nevertheless, it is the only scene where Clytemestra is characterised as the main perpetrator of the murder, something which is not a mere accident; instead, it is once again closely associated with Euripides literary intentions. Euripides transforms Clytemestra from accomplice into culprit of the crime trying first to evoke the revulsion of the audience towards Clytemestra in order to justify the following matricide and second to evoke their sympathy for Orestes whose action remains awful, though it is based on the revenge for his father's death. The second literary intention is also achieved by Agamemnon's final words. They are quoted in direct speech (*ὦ σχέτλιε, τί με, γύναι, φονεύσεις φίλαν/ πατρίδα δεκέτεσι/ σποραῖσιν ἐλθόντ' ἐμάν;* *El.* 1151–2) in order to emphasise the emotional situation of the victim, something which evokes even more strongly the audience's hate for the murderer (i.e. Clytemestra) and sympathy for dead king (i.e. Agamemnon) and his punisher (i.e. Orestes). In Euripides' *Electra*, therefore, Agamemnon's murder is not only an incident on which the development of the plot is based, but also a literary means used by the playwright for the description of the play's characters.

The Roman tragedians found the misfortunes of the House of Atreus a fruitful subject and dramatized many of the events from the turbulent lives of this royal family, something which the titles of the Roman tragedies confirm.¹¹ Yet, the fragmentary form in which Roman tragedy of the democratic period has come down to us results in Seneca being the only extant literary exponent of Roman tragedy.

The plot of the Roman play is the same with that developed by Aeschylus and deals with Agamemnon's return from Troy and his murder. The murder is clearly described by Cassandra, who sees in a state of prophetic trance everything that occurs inside the palace of Agamemnon (*Ag.* 867–74). There, a victory banquet has been laid out for the return of Agamemnon, who is lying on a Trojan purple robe, wearing Priam's royal cloak (*Ag.* 875–80). The Trojan garb causes the reaction of Clytemestra, who asks him to take off the enemy clothing and wear a chiton woven by her own hands (*Detrahere*

¹¹ See e.g. Liv. Andron. *Aegisthus*, Naev. *Iphigenia*, Enn. *Eumenides*, *Iphigenia*, Pacuvius *Orestes*, Accius *Aegisthus*, *Clytemestra* and Senec. *Agamemnon*, *Thyestes*. These works are preserved in fragmentary form but they are enough to confirm the interest of Roman tragedians in the House of Atreus.

cultus uxor hostiles iubet,/ induere potius coniugis fidae manu/ textos amictus Ag. 881–3). However, the royal robe in fact entraps Agamemnon, given that it actually constitutes a garment without openings for the arms or the head (*Mortifera uinctum perfidae tradit neci/ induta uestis: exitum manibus negant/ caputque laxi et inuuii cludunt sinus* Ag. 887–9). Aegisthus strikes the first blow, wounding Agamemnon in ribs (*haurit trementi semiuir dextra latus,/ nec penitus egit: uulnere in medio stupet* Ag. 890–1). Clytemestra, on the other hand, delivers the fatal blow by striking Agamemnon on the nape of his neck with an axe (*Armat bipenni Tyndaris dextram furens,/ qualisque ad aras colla taurorum prius/ designat oculis/ antequam ferro petat,/ sic huc et illuc impiam librat manum./ habet, peractum est* Ag. 897–901), while Aegisthus dismembers the body by accepting Clytemestra's assistance (*Nondum recedunt: ille iam exanimem petit/ laceratque corpus, illa fodientem adiuuat* Ag. 904–5).

Unlike Homer, Sophocles and Euripides but similar to Aeschylus the murder scene is placed in the final part of the Roman play, because this scene is the climax of the tragedy in both Aeschylus and Seneca's *Agamemnon*. Furthermore, the murder is for the first time announced by Cassandra. Seneca's choice is in entire contrast with all of the aforementioned accounts. In Homer the crime is narrated by several characters (i.e. Zeus, Nestor, Athena, Menelaus and Agamemnon); in Aeschylus the crime becomes evident from Agamemnon who screams whilst receiving Clytemestra's deadly attack; finally, in Sophocles the role of the narrator of Agamemnon's murder is given to Electra and Chorus, almost identical with Euripides, where the same role is given to Electra's husband (i.e. the farmer), Electra, Orestes and Chorus. Further attention, however, should be given to Aeschylus where Cassandra is also described announcing Agamemnon's death (Ag. 1072–330); but there, Cassandra's reference to the murder constitutes a prophetic delirium and not an eyewitness account as that which is described by Seneca (Ag. 867–74). However, the role of the crime's narrator is not accidental, since it enables Cassandra to watch Agamemnon's murder avenging him for the sack of Troy.

Moreover, the characters involved in the murder deserve further discussion. Seneca makes very clear that both Aegisthus and Clytemestra committed the murder, while he gives to each of those characters a specific role in the crime. Aegisthus and Clytemestra's joint participation in the crime is also underlined, either directly or indirectly, by Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides; here, however, the most crucial element is the mutilation scene. The action of mutilation is also found for the first time in Sophocles' *Electra*, something which could confirm that the Sophoclean *Electra* constitutes the model on which Seneca was based for the creation of the mutilation scene. Nonetheless, this scene is in accordance with the violent, frightening and often repellent details which the Roman tragedian stresses in

Agamemnon's death in Seneca

his tragedies.¹² Further support for this view is offered by the detailed description of the beheading, in which the head hangs from a small strip of skin while the torso spurts blood and the face retains the expression of the scream which the victim let out at the moment of his death (*pendet exigua male/ caput amputatum parte et hinc trunco cruor/ exundat, illinc ora cum fremitu iacent* Ag. 901–3). Finally, it is worth mentioning that the same scene serves Seneca's literary goals by offering a characteristic allusion to the mutilation of Thyestes' children, a fact which explains why Aegisthus and not Clytemnestra deals with the mutilation of Agamemnon's corpse.

Moving on to a more detailed examination of the Senecan version of Agamemnon's murder we focus our attention on three significant tragic elements: the crime scene, the timing of the murder and the murder weapon. Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides locate the crime inside the palace, while Aeschylus and Euripides are even more specific by placing it in the bath. Sophocles, on the other hand, locates the crime in the official banqueting hall. Homer constitutes the sole exception, given that it locates the murder in Aegisthus' house, where Agamemnon went after receiving an invitation. Seneca, however, clearly moves the murder scene from the bath to the official banqueting hall (*epulae regia instructae domo* Ag. 875), not because he is following either Homer's or Sophocles' version,¹³ but because death during a meal reflects first the sack of Troy and second the Banquet of Thyestes. Therefore, the crime scene serves the literary goals of Seneca who underlines that Agamemnon's murder is actually a double revenge episode for the fall of Troy and the loss of Thyestes.

The place of the murder is closely associated with its timing which is located during the meal, which was set for Agamemnon's return from Troy. Thus, the official meal is a significant crime element, since it makes very clear that the murder occurred on the day of Agamemnon's return from Troy. Homer first locates the murder on the day of Agamemnon's return, a detail which was also followed by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Seneca. Nevertheless, this particular similarity does not necessarily reveal the existence of a common prototype (e.g. Homer), given that the choice of the specific point in time is intentionally used by each of those authors and finally by Seneca in order to lay special emphasis on Agamemnon's tragic fate. Furthermore, Seneca locates Agamemnon's murder on the day of his return from Troy after ten years absence to compensate Cassandra and the Trojans for the ten-year Trojan war (cf. *Res agitur intus magna, par annis decem* Ag.867); the same line, on the other hand, contributes the development of the plot

¹² Cf. e.g. Mans 1984, 101–19. See also Van Zyl Smit 1987, 2–10.

¹³ It deserves mentioning that Homer locates Agamemnon's murder inside Aegisthus' house only at Agamemnon's narrative of his murder to Odysseus in the underworld (*Od.* 11.404–34). Both the foregoing Homeric accounts place the murder inside the palace and specifically inside the official banqueting hall (*Od.* 3.234–5 and 4.524–37). See also above p. 2.

since it links the choral with the fifth action of the play (cf. Ag. 865-7 *te duce concidit totidem diebus/ Troia quot annis/ Res agitur intus magna, par annis decem*), while it also underlines the revenge concept which runs throughout Seneca's *Agamemnon*.

Yet, Agamemnon's tragic fate is also stressed by the murder weapon. Both Homer and Aeschylus refer that the murder weapon was a sword in entirely contrast with both Sophocles and Euripides who identify it as an axe. Seneca refers that Agamemnon was killed by a doubled-edge axe (*bipenni*). Nonetheless, the axe cannot be either a Sophoclean or Euripidean influence; instead, its selection once again deals with macabre and explicit violent elements which we are used to trace often throughout the Senecan drama. Moreover, the use of a certainly heavy double-edge axe by a woman reinforces Clytemestra's hate for Agamemnon, something which is further confirmed by the macabre way with which Agamemnon dies (cf. Ag. 901-3).¹⁴ On the other hand, Aegisthus selects either a sword or a spear¹⁵ with which only wounds Agamemnon, since he is described being entirely scared (*haurit trementi semiuir dextra latus,/ nec penitus egit: uulnere in medio stupet* Ag.890-1). For Seneca, therefore, the murder weapon is not only a tragic element, but a literary means which is used for the description of both Aegisthus and Clytemestra's characters.¹⁶

Summing up the foregoing evidence certain conclusions may be drawn. The Senecan version of Agamemnon's murder clearly shows certain similarities with the earlier Greek literary treatments of the same incident. These similarities allow us to infer that the Senecan version of Agamemnon's murder should be closely based on the Greek tradition, especially if we take into account the conventional way in which Roman poetry was then written. On the other hand, Seneca should also be based on Roman tragedies,¹⁷ but the fragmentary form in which Roman tragedy of the democratic period has come down to us prevents certain conclusions from being reached, namely that *Agamemnon* was based on certain Roman tragedies of the democratic period. Moreover, the similarities with earlier Greek literary treatments of Agamemnon's murder do not reveal the existence of an original model. Instead, they clearly indicate that Seneca borrows fundamental tragic

¹⁴ Cf. Ag. 44-5 *Iam iam natabit sanguine alterno domus:/ enses secures tela*, where Thyestes' ghost pronounces the types of weapons which are going to be used for the Agamemnon's murder.

¹⁵ Cf. Ag. 45-6 *diuisum graui/ ictu bipennis regium uideo caput*, where the *grauis ictu* first shows a heavy murder weapon and second stresses the hate Clytemestra who bows with all her strength Agamemnon's neck.

¹⁶ Here, there is also found yet another crucial crime element which it is worth mentioning. Seneca retains the element of Clytemestra's murderous robe which constitutes an Aeschylean innovation in Agamemnon's murder. Nonetheless its use by Seneca is completely different; since it is now used in combination with the image of a trapped boar (Ag. 892-6) which is intentionally designed by Seneca in order to underline Agamemnon's vain attempt to escape.

¹⁷ See e.g. Theodorakis 2003, 28-32.

Agamemnon's death in Seneca

elements (the crime scene, the timing of the murder and the murder weapon); these elements, however, are further altered, modified and combined with others in order to be in entirely accordance with Seneca's literary intentions. Thus, they are not only associated closely with Agamemnon's murder; instead, they also deal with the description of the play's characters, the development or the denouement of the play's action, the interest and the feelings of the audience, the main concept of the play (i.e. revenge) and finally with the macabre and horrible scenes which characterise the Senecan tragedy. The result is Senecan tragedy which is not merely a copy of Greek tragedy, but a Roman interpretation of its Greek mythic material.

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CHAPTER 31

WORSHIPPING HEROES: CIVIC IDENTITY AND THE VENERATION OF THE COMMUNAL DEAD IN ARCHAIC SPARTA

NICOLETTE PAVLIDES

INTRODUCTION

The dead, whether legendary or real, were often thought of in antiquity as communal heroic personalities who represented and constituted part of the identity of a group or *polis*. In the case of Sparta, heroes became prominent recipients of veneration in the Archaic period, as attested by such cults as those of the Dioskouroi and Orestes. In this paper I consider the importance of heroes in the formation of a communal identity in Sparta between the 7th and 5th centuries BC, a time when classical Sparta's social system was gradually designed to produce an equal social class – the *homoioi* – achieved by a common educational system, the *syssitia*, and participation in the hoplite phalanx (Xen. *Lac.* 5.2–4, 6.1–8.1–3). In the first part of this paper I will attempt to demonstrate the importance of the collective consciousness which arose in Sparta during the Archaic period. I will do this by focusing on the evidence from burials and sanctuaries, since offerings found at both could have been used to display wealth and social status. It is to be observed that between the 7th and 5th centuries BC, when Sparta's social system was becoming more communal, burials were poor in offerings. This is contrasted with sanctuaries of the same period which were enriched with offerings. In the second part of the paper I will discuss the evidence of hero cult arising in Sparta from the 7th and particularly the 6th century BC. I hope to demonstrate that the rise of local hero cults displays a fundamental shift in Spartan religious and social consciousness away from the individualisation of the citizen and onto the local hero instead, as an exemplum of the new collective awareness of communal ideology. Lastly, I will examine the area of Limnai, a necropolis of the Geometric period, which is rich in heroic cults from the 7th century onwards. I will argue that the Archaic and later use of the area demonstrates its historical memory as an ancestral, heroic burial ground and place of communal consciousness.

ARCHAIC SPARTA, BURIAL AND CULT

Our literary knowledge of burial in Archaic Sparta comes primarily from Tyrtaios, who elaborates through one paradigmatic example the honours to be given to those who die in battle, fr. 12. 27–34:

“And if he falls among the front ranks, pierced many times through his breast and bossed shield and corselet from the front, he loses his own dear life but brings glory to his city, to his people and his father. Young and old alike mourn him, all the city is distressed by the painful loss, and his tomb and children are pointed out among the people, and his children’s children and his line after them. Never do his name and good fame perish, but even though he is beneath the earth he is immortal, whoever it is that furious Ares slays as he displays his prowess by standing fast and fighting for land and children”.¹

The above fragment discusses the death of a Spartan during the second Messenian war (635/625–610/600 BC)² and demonstrates the community’s post-mortem honours for the individual and his family. Tyrtaios claims that this man’s death in battle is honourable and that his grave will be visible and remembered for generations to come. Considering Tyrtaios’ words we would accordingly expect to find lavish 7th century BC burials in Sparta. The archaeological evidence, however, offers nothing comparable to the rich burials of the 8th century BC.³ One securely dated 7th century cist grave contained 2 *lakainai* (drinking cups) but no metal grave goods.⁴ Two ivory fibulae from the third quarter of the 7th century found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia depict *prothesis* scenes which may provide evidence for 7th

¹ Translation from Gerber 1999, 59.

² No scholarly consensus exists concerning the dates of the Messenian Wars. I follow Parker 1991, 25ff. who offers a full discussion of sources, scholarship and problems.

³ Earlier burials, from the 8th century BC show evidence of the deposition of valuable gifts for the dead, a trend seen elsewhere in the Greek world, see Morris 1992. For example, we have a number of Late Geometric cremations, 760–700 BC. Three of these are rich in burial offerings, such as a male burial with iron weapons (a sword and daggers) and bronze ornaments. A female burial south of the Acropolis included a large number of bronze cylinders and spiral rings, Raftopoulou 1998, 133, fig. 12.14–16. More recently another Geometric burial was discovered in the western part of the city with offerings of two iron pins and a bronze knob, Zavvou & Themis, 2009, 111, fig. 11.11. See also Raftopoulou, 1996–7, 272–82; Steinhauer 1972, 244–5; Christou 1997, 167–9.

⁴ Raftopoulou 1998, 133.

Worshipping Heroes in Archaic Sparta

century BC rites for the dead.⁵ Lastly, some scholars have interpreted the terracotta relief *pithoi* which commence ca. 625 BC as funerary,⁶ but there is no concrete evidence for this use.⁷

Instead, the display of material goods at this time seems to have been concentrated in sanctuaries rather than burials. The 8th century saw the building of a temple and an altar to (Artemis) Orthia⁸ and by the end of the century cult commenced at the Menelaion.⁹ Display of wealth shifted from burial to the sanctuaries of (Artemis) Orthia, the Amykalion, and the Menelaion which were all enriched with offerings.¹⁰ By the mid-7th to the mid-6th century BC Laconian sanctuaries were filled with ivories, bronzes and other votives.¹¹ Furthermore, Spartan pottery was exported abroad as finds from Etruria, Cyrene, Naukratis, Satara, Sicily and Samos indicate,¹² while Spartan bronzes were dedicated at Olympia, Delphi, Donona and even on the Athenian Acropolis.¹³ Alcman's choral songs composed for festivals in Sparta demonstrate a society's coming together to celebrate.¹⁴ At some point in the first quarter of the 6th century the second temple of (Artemis) Orthia was built; the famous throne of Apollo at Amyklai followed by the end of the century.¹⁵ These facts have led some scholars to believe that in the late 8th and 7th centuries BC, Sparta followed changes that occurred in other Greek poleis: display of wealth in burial (expressing a family and kin oriented society) diminishes, while with the rise of the *polis* the elite portray wealth in sanctuaries (emphasizing the community).¹⁶

Archaeological evidence thus provides the richest medium for comprehending Archaic Sparta. After Tyrtaios and Alcman we have no literary evidence for Sparta's social practices until Herodotos. From him we learn that the communal institutions of male daily life, such as the sworn divisions, the bands of thirty, the common meals, the Ephors and the council of elders, were all established by Lykourgos (Hdt. 1.65.2). Scholars agree to

⁵ Dawkins 1929, 210, pl. cii 2–3.

⁶ Nafissi 1991, 338–41.

⁷ Hodkinson 2000, 242 has his reservations since none have been found in burials, as emphasised by Steinhauer 1972, 144 n. 15.

⁸ Dawkins 1929, 6–8.

⁹ Catling 1976–7, 35.

¹⁰ Ivories from Orthia: Dawkins 1929, 203–48. For the Menelaion: Catling 1976–7, 34–42. For the Archaic and later material from the Amyklaion, see Buschor & Massow 1927, 32–3.

¹¹ Hodkinson 2000, 271–301; 1998, 93–118; Förtsch 2001, 34–7.

¹² Pipili 1987, 111–19.

¹³ Mattusch 1988, 62–3; Stibbe 2008, 37, n. 66.

¹⁴ Hutchinson 2001, 71–3, who dates Alcman roughly in the late 7th century BC.

¹⁵ For Orthia see Dawkins 1929; Stibbe 1996, 27, 253ff; Boardman 1963, 2–3. For the Amyklaion see Richer 2004, 79 with references.

¹⁶ Morris, 1987 studies the shift in quantity and quality of items deposited from burials to sanctuaries during the 8th century BC, emphasizing the sanctuaries' role in the creation of the polis during that time.

some degree that a collective enterprise was achieved by the age class system and the public way of life of the *homoioi*.¹⁷ The aforementioned fragment of Tyrtaios is the last reference to Spartan funerary practices until Aristotle's comment in his fragmentary *Polity of the Lakedaimonians* that graves are "modest and the same for all".¹⁸ In fact, graves from the Archaic and Classical period have only some pottery as burial gifts.¹⁹ Aristotle's comment and the virtual disappearance of any kind of individual commemoration from the archaeological record after the mid-8th century BC brings to mind Plutarch's claim (*Lyk.* 27.2; *Mor.* 238b) that the Spartan statesman Lykourgos abolished the pollution associated with death and burial. Apparently, he permitted the people to bury nothing with their dead, but only to enfold the body in a red robe and olive leaves and to treat all their dead alike. He also abolished inscriptions on memorials, except for those who had died in war, and also did away with mourning and lamentation. Approximately twenty-four *stelai* from the mid-5th through to the 1st century BC commemorate men who died in battle. They preserve neither patronymic nor ethnic, just the name of the individual and the fact that he died in war "ἐν πολέμῳ".²⁰ The individual's importance lies not in his personal identity, but what he has contributed to the community.

Archaic Sparta, therefore, displays evidence of its gradual organisation into a community, as exemplified by Tyrtaios' poetry, votives in sanctuaries, and the lack of elaborate burials. By the time of Herodotos this development seems to have been fully established. The evidence suggests that during the Archaic period a sense of collective consciousness developed in Sparta and it is against this background that we should see the formation of hero cults.

HERO CULT

¹⁷ Thuc. 1.6 talks about the attempt to minimize the impact of differences in wealth; see Hodkinson 2005 (esp. 223–38) for a discussion on the historicity of Sparta's social developments. For the *homoioi* see Cartledge 2001, 68–75; Powell 2002, 92 who claims that by educating the young communally and fostering weak family bonds, particularly in the first years of marriage, the Spartan state "expected to unify the fighting men and their seniors by diverting attention and affection from the family"; also Ducat 2006, 333ff. who sees only the last stages of the agoge as a state-directed preparation.

¹⁸ Arist. *Fragmenta*, in Rose 1966, no. 611.13.

¹⁹ For examples see Zavvou 1997, 19; Zavvou & Themis 2009, 113, 116, n. 60, fig. 11.19. In the summer of 2009 a number of Archaic and Classical graves were discovered in Sparta in the area which was Mesoa in antiquity. These burials had pottery as gifts, including *kantharoi*. I owe this information to Dr. Nigel Kennel who kindly shared it with me.

²⁰ Pritchett 1985, 243–6; Low 2006, 85–90. Compare this practice with Athenian 5th century public memorials where the names of the dead are listed according to tribe, Loraux 1986, 15–56.

Worshipping Heroes in Archaic Sparta

The archaeological and literary material relating to 7th and 6th century Sparta provides evidence for the commencement and popularity of a new kind of cult: the honouring of heroes.²¹ Now, for the first time, individuals of particular significance to the polis as a whole rather than the family were venerated for their achievements, be they military or political. Two forms of evidence will be examined in the following section: stone and terracotta reliefs dedicated to heroes and reliefs honouring the Dioskouroi.

Stone and Terracotta reliefs

Some of the best known examples of Laconian art appeared in the mid-6th century in the shape of stone reliefs. Generally interpreted as heroic, they depict a male and female enthroned couple seated side by side (FIG. 1).²² The male looks at the viewer and holds a *kantharos*, which he raises. The female, who is in profile, holds some kind of fruit in one hand while she lifts her veil in an *anakalypteria* gesture with the other. Behind the throne there is a snake, a common symbol of heroes in Laconia and elsewhere.²³ By the 5th century the female is removed from the scheme and there remains only the enthroned male; later an attendant appears in the scene.²⁴ One peculiar example appears to honour the ephor Chilon, who allegedly joined the Ephors to the kings as their counsellors (Diog Laert. 1.3.1), and was probably dedicated to him. It is a stone relief, dated to the 6th century BC, with a partial inscription [X]IAON in retrograde.²⁵

By the end of the 6th century BC the stone reliefs are joined by terracotta examples, which despite being of a cheaper medium follow the same iconography of a seated male with a *kantharos* (FIG. 2).²⁶ Other reliefs portray dyads or triads of standing figures.²⁷ The depiction of warriors begins

²¹ The cult at the Menelaion, honouring Helen and Menelaos was established by the end of the 8th century BC. Both the material culture and the literary sources, however, point to a cult that resembles the divine cults in Sparta, such as the one at (Artemis) Orthia see Wace, Thompson and Droop 1908–9; Catling 1976–7, 34–42. Literary sources: Hdt. 6.58–61, Isocr. *Encomion to Helen*, 66 and Pl. *Phdr.* 243A.

²² Andronikos 1956, 276–9; Stibbe 1992, 1–62; Salapata 1993, 189–97.

²³ Salapata 2006, 552.

²⁴ Salapata 1993, 191–3; Hibler 1993, 199–204 gives a thorough discussion of the iconography.

²⁵ IG V.1.244; Sparta Museum no.1005; Wace 1937, 217–20; Förtsch 2001, pl. 211. Currie 2005, 174ff. offers a good discussion of the evidence for Spartans heroising historical personalities.

²⁶ Salapata 1993, 189ff; 1992, 456, 295–327, 328–9.

²⁷ These votives appear earlier in Laconia but are quite different from those dedicated to heroes, see Dawkins 1929, 154–5 for examples from Orthia. One example dates from the 8th and one from the 5th century, the rest date from the 7th century BC. From the Menelaion again most are from the 7th century, Wace, Thompson, and Droop 1908–9, 117, fig. 2.2, 3.32, pl. vi. 28. For the standing figures possibly interpreted as worshippers or priestesses, see Salapata 1992, 235–272, 275, 277.

by the second half of the 5th century (FIG. 3.) while by the second half of the 4th century the rider and the banqueter appear in the scheme (FIG. 4.).²⁸ The iconography has been identified as typically heroic in comparison with other hero cults throughout the Greek world, such as at Taras, Troy, Knossos, Messene and Voidokilia in Messenia.²⁹ Since inscriptions on pottery from a deposit at Amyklai, which contained a large number of terracotta plaques, provides evidence that the deposit was dedicated to Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra, there is additional proof that the terracotta plaques were used as votives to heroes in Laconia.³⁰ It is important to emphasize that very few of these plaques have been discovered in any divine sanctuary in Sparta.³¹ Rather, their presence in sanctuaries dedicated to heroes suggests that they were appropriate for this specific kind of cult. Examples include the cult of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra, the 'Heroon' by the Eurotas³² the Chatzis plot, the Laskaris plot, one recently discovered in town square 98 (see below),³³ and many other deposits found all over the modern town of Sparta, Laconia and Messenia.³⁴ In general, owing to the work of the British School at Athens and the Greek Archaeological authorities over the last hundred years, deposits of terracotta relief plaques with heroic iconography have been unearthed throughout Sparta, thus indicating that heroa were probably common and widespread. These deposits are often associated with architectural fragments indicating that the cult site would probably have consisted of a small shrine.

²⁸ Salapata 1992, 144–6, 288, 328–9.

²⁹ Salapata 1992, 1993.

³⁰ Salapata 2002, 131–3, 146–51.

³¹ See n. 27.

³² Wace 1905–6, 288–94.

³³ Zavvou and Themis 1996, 123–5.

³⁴ The majority of these deposits are not published but brief excavation reports can be found in the various issues of the *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*. A partial list is in Salapata 1992, 159–79 and Flouris 2000, 131–48. See also Zavvou and Themis 2009, 116.1; Themelis 2000.



FIG.1. Stone Relief, Berlin, Pergamonmuseum 731. Stibbe 1991, fig. 5.



FIG. 2. Terracotta plaque of a seated male with kantharos from the deposit of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra at Amyklai, now in the Sparta Museum. Photo from Förtsch, R. 2001. *Kunstverwendung und Kunstlegitimation im archaischen und frühklassischen Sparta*. Mainz: Von Zabern. pl. 213.



FIG. 3. Terracotta Plaque of a warrior from the deposit of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra at Amyklai, now in the Sparta Museum. Photo author.



FIG. 4. Terracotta Plaque of a rider from the deposit of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra at Amyklai, now in the Sparta Museum. Photo author.

The Dioskouroi reliefs

The popularity of the cult of the Dioskouroi (Kastor and Polydeukes) in Sparta seems to have grown during the 6th century BC. The two heroes, legendary princes of the land, brothers of Helen and sons of the king Tyndareus, are closely linked to Sparta.³⁵ In his visit to the city Pausanias wrote about six places where the Dioskouroi were worshiped: they had a shrine at the Phoibaion, near the road that led from the city of Sparta to Therapne (3.20.2), a shrine in the city itself, not far from the Dromos, or running ground (3.14.6), and their statues were also set up near the beginning of the Dromos (3.14.7). Moreover, an altar was erected to them in the agora under the title Amboulioi (3.13.6), while Pausanias says that Polydeukes had a separate temple and that a spring was named after him (3.20.1). Lastly, Kastor had a separate monument erected in Sparta above his grave (3.13.1). Considering the profusion of literary evidence surrounding the Dioskouroi and Sparta one would accordingly expect to find architectural material confirming this. Unfortunately no remains have been found to confirm any sanctuary or shrine to them.³⁶ Rather, their importance is clearly revealed in about fifty reliefs dedicated to them, ten of which date to the Archaic and Classical periods.³⁷ The identification of these reliefs as dedications to the Dioskouroi is confirmed either by inscriptions and/or iconography. The twins are usually represented together, often holding spears (**FIG. 5.**). Sometimes two amphorae stand between them, sometimes the amphorae stand alone. Other times, the peculiar *dokana* (two wooden beams connected together at the top) represent the twins.³⁸ Much like the stone and terracotta reliefs the cult of the twin heroes seems to have become popular during the 6th century BC.

Beyond the archaeological evidence, literary sources also speak of honours to heroes: Herodotos (1. 67.1–68.6) tells us that the bones of Orestes were transferred in the middle of the 6th century from Tegea to Sparta in order to help in defeating Tegea in war.³⁹ Soon after, according to Pausanias (7.1.6–9), the bones of Orestes' son Teisamenos were also transferred.⁴⁰

³⁵ Their close connection to Sparta is attested early: in the *Iliad* 3.238 we are told that they come from Lakedaimon, while Pindar tells us in *Pythian* 11.61–2 that they dwell for one day beneath the earth at Therapne (where archaeological excavations have unearthed the temple of Menelaos and Helen) and the other day in Olympos. For the Dioskouroi at Therapne see also Alkman fr. 3.14.

³⁶ Kourinou 2000, 199–211 who identifies a Π shaped structure at Psychiko, about 1.5 km from Sparta as the Phoibaion in which the Dioskouroi were worshipped.

³⁷ Sanders 1993, 217–24.

³⁸ Sanders *ibid.* For the *dokana* see Plut. *Mor.* 478B.

³⁹ Boedecker 1993; Phillips 2003.

⁴⁰ Malkin 1994, 29–30; Leahy 1955.

Worshipping Heroes in Archaic Sparta

By the 5th century, the focus on communal personalities or events is also evident in the form of tributes to historical persons. In particular, the battle of Thermopylae was commemorated by the creation of a list of the Three Hundred dead (Hdt. 7.224). Later sources talk of the construction of a *heroon* to Leonidas (Paus. 3.14.1), and the celebration of an annual festival in his honour (Diod. Sic. 11.11.6).⁴¹ Other monuments celebrating Sparta's victories may also have been constructed during this time, as Pausanias (3.13.3) tells us of the Persian Stoa, built with the spoils of the Persian Wars.



FIG. 5. Dioskouroi Relief, Sparta Museum 575. Photo from Förtsch, R. 2001. *Kunstverwendung und Kunstlegitimation im archaischen und frühklassischen Sparta*. Mainz: Von Zabern. pl. 219.

In general the above evidence reveals that during the Archaic period the religious landscape of Sparta was greatly enriched with cults honouring

⁴¹ It is important to clarify that there is no evidence for an early festival or heroon to Leonidas and that his cult is probably a later development. In addition to Diodoros, an inscription dating from the reign of Trajan also mentions the Leonidea festival (IG V.1.19). Another dating from before the time of Nerva reveals that the festival included the athletic events of the *pangration* and wrestling (IG V.1.659).

heroes. The possibility arises that distinguished historical personalities such as Chilon may also have received honours. This, I believe, goes some way to reflecting the contemporary social change taking place in Sparta. Now the focus is on individuals of importance to the entire polis, such as Orestes or Agamemnon. This expands in the 5th century with the honouring of historical, almost contemporary, personalities such as Leonidas and the Persian War dead. This is part of the communal consciousness developing in Sparta at the time, and is more widely demonstrated through the construction of temples, their enrichment in offerings and the development of a communal way of life. While the commemoration of the individual through burial ceases to exist, societal areas that are of significance to the polis flourish and it is within this context that hero cult becomes popular in Sparta. Hero cults express this shift in importance from ties to the family and the individual to those persons and areas of society that were important for the entire polis. The honouring and commemoration of the long dead in Sparta, in the form of hero cult, emphasises the new civic identity developing in Sparta in the Archaic period.

LIMNAI, A GEOMETRIC BURIAL GROUND AND A HERO CULT AREA

Scholars have long discussed the use and importance of heroes in developing the identity of a group or polis. Various authors connect hero cult or tomb cult with the identity of the polis, and even with the identity of competing social groups within a specific region or polis.⁴² In general there is “the concept that a social group, however large incorporates a figure of the past, whether ancestor or hero, legendary or real into its own identity status and empowerment in respect to others.”⁴³ Naturally, heroes are of special interest to a polis because unlike the pan-Hellenic divine cults, such as those dedicated to Zeus, Artemis and Apollo, heroes were linked to a place and were mostly unknown outside their own polis.⁴⁴ Since the post-Homeric hero is by and large considered to be a mortal who, now dead, exercises a certain amount of influence over the living and is deemed worthy of veneration,⁴⁵ his cult was often (but not exclusively) concentrated around a tomb, thus contributing further to his localised nature. This nature was often the reason

⁴² Boehringer 2001; Whitley 1988; Morris 1988; Kearns 1989, 131–2; Polignac 1995, 128–49; Antonaccio 254–63; Mazarakis-Ainian 1999, 33–6; Bérard 1982.

⁴³ Bravo 2009, 22.

⁴⁴ There are exceptions of heroes, such as Herakles and Asklepios who were pan-Hellenic, their nature though is not strictly heroic and were often considered divine. See Ekroth 2007, 101.

⁴⁵ There are numerous studies on the definition of ‘hero’. See most recently Bravo 2009, 9–17; Ekroth 2007, 101–6; Boehringer 2001, 29–36.

Worshipping Heroes in Archaic Sparta

why the hero was important for a particular polis and subsequently played a part in its identity, sometimes being thought of as an ancestor, a founder, a protector, or a ruler from the polis' past.⁴⁶ Thus, we often hear of the significance of the locality of a hero's grave and how his cult formed around it. Pfister has identified over 400 hero tombs known in antiquity, some of which were sites of cult.⁴⁷

In the following section I will examine Limnai, an area of Sparta rich in earlier burials and hero cult. I will try to demonstrate that due to the area's tradition as a burial ground in the Geometric period, it may have contributed to the later popularity of hero cults there.

When Pausanias (3.16.6) visited Limnai he saw there the sanctuary of Lykourgos, behind which was the grave of Eukosmos, Lykourgos' son. Across from the sanctuary were situated two tombs: one was that of king Theopompos, a Eurypontid who reigned ca. 720–675 BC⁴⁸ and the other belonged to Eurybiades, the general in command of the Lacedaemonian warships at Artemision and Salamis. By the altar of the temple of Lykourgos Pausanias mentions the grave of Lathria and Anaxandra who were descendants of Herakles. Lastly, the *heroon* of Astrabakos was also located nearby. Although Pausanias' visit to Sparta is rather late for the period examined here, archaeological evidence shows that the area was full of hero cults from an earlier date.⁴⁹ A number of 7th century BC votive deposits which included terracotta plaques were found in the area, such as the 'Heroon' by the Eurotas,⁵⁰ the Bougadis plot,⁵¹ the Laskaris plot,⁵² the drainage ditch by the Eurotas⁵³ and the Niarchos plot.⁵⁴ These indicate that Limnai was an area rich in heroic cult from at least the 7th century BC onwards. This tradition continued into the Roman period when we find temples centred round an earlier grave, such as at the Stavropoulos plot⁵⁵ and the Ergatikos Katoikies.⁵⁶ Limnai, as shown by both the archaeological and literary evidence, was an

⁴⁶ Ekroth 2009, 121–2; Kearns 1989, 9–12.

⁴⁷ Pfister 1909–1912, 627–43.

⁴⁸ Cartledge 1979, 133–4; 344. Theopompos is referenced in Tyrtaios fr.5.1, Hdt. 1.65.5 and Arist. *Pol.* 1313a26f.

⁴⁹ For an earlier mention of the heroon of Astrabakos see Hdt. 6.69. For the possible earlier divine status of Lykourgos see Herodotos (1.65) and Aristotle (Rose 1966, fr. 534 after Plutarch *Lyc.* 31), where Lykourgos is said to have had a shrine and been sacrificed to as a god.

⁵⁰ Wace 1905–6, 285–8.

⁵¹ Steinhauer 1973, 164–80.

⁵² Dimakopoulou 1967, 198–9.

⁵³ Steinhauer 1972, 242, 245–51.

⁵⁴ Flouris 2000, 13–14, n. 38.

⁵⁵ Delivorias 1968, 1969.

⁵⁶ Steinhauer 1972, 245–51.

area where prominent figures from the Spartan past were honoured and venerated.

The reasons behind the popularity of Limnai as a 'host' to heroic cults from the 7th century BC onwards are difficult to determine. The area had long been of particular importance because of the cult of Artemis Orthia located there.⁵⁷ Various Geometric burials have also been unearthed in the region (see below). In Greek antiquity an area was often deemed sacred because of the existence of an older structure, such as Mycenaean remains. This was the case with both the Menelaion and the tomb of Pelops at Olympia.⁵⁸ At other times, older burials, such as Bronze Age tombs⁵⁹ or Geometric graves were places of later cults, as seen with the Underground shrine in Corinth⁶⁰ or the Heroon at the Crossroads, also in Corinth, which appear to have been built over Geometric graves.⁶¹ These shrines were not contemporary with the graves but, as the excavators report, the graves were later re-discovered and had the shrines constructed over them. In Athens the Triangular shrine was located in an area rich with Geometric graves, many of which have been discovered within a radius of about 30 m from the shrine.⁶² Athens has other examples, such as a stone pit containing 7th century BC votives located amidst Mycenaean burials north of the Altar of Ares;⁶³ the shrine at the northeast corner of the Agora again near Mycenaean and Proto-Geometric graves;⁶⁴ and the rectangular shrine below the Middle Stoa also amidst Mycenaean graves.⁶⁵ Other famous examples are the Triangular shrine at the West Gate at Eretria⁶⁶ and the evidence of rituals over a number of Early Geometric graves at Grotta on Naxos.⁶⁷

Excavations have demonstrated that the area of Limnai was in fact partly a Geometric necropolis. A Geometric pithos burial was unearthed at the 'Heroon' by the Eurotas,⁶⁸ a Geometric burial with a cairn of stones over it was discovered at the drainage ditch,⁶⁹ a similar Geometric grave was also

⁵⁷ See nos. 8, 10, 14.

⁵⁸ See Kearns 1992, 71–2 for the location of hero shrines.

⁵⁹ Boehringer 2001.

⁶⁰ Williams and Fisher 1973, 10–12, no. 12; Williams, MacIntosh and Fisher 1974, 3–4, no.1 pl.1; Pfaff 2003, 127.

⁶¹ Williams 1973, 6–12, fig. 2, 3, pl. 1–5; 1974, 1–6, fig. 1, pl. 1, who comments that the shrine could have been built to propitiate the person found at the grave who perhaps was seen as a hero or ancestor. See also Pfaff 2003, 128.

⁶² Wycherley 1970, 289–90; Lalonde 1980, 97–105.

⁶³ Thompson 1958, 148–53.

⁶⁴ Shear 1973, 360–9.

⁶⁵ Lalonde 1980, 98–105.

⁶⁶ Bérard 1970, 31, 69–71.

⁶⁷ Lambrinoudakis 1988, 235–46.

⁶⁸ Wace 1905–6, 293. This burial was discovered near a wall which may have belonged to the temenos of the cult site or another building nearby.

⁶⁹ See n. 53.

Worshipping Heroes in Archaic Sparta

excavated by some late Archaic walls,⁷⁰ and at the Karellas plot another Geometric burial was found marked with a cairn of stones.⁷¹ Moreover, various excavations report of Archaic burials, such as that by the Ergatikies Katoikies,⁷² Hellenistic burials, such as that by the drainage ditch,⁷³ and Roman burials, such as the one at the Stavropoulos plot.⁷⁴

It becomes clear then that Limnai had a long tradition as a burial area. As the above examples show, burial areas were often deemed sacred and frequently gave rise to later cults, often hero cults. This may help explain the reasons behind the prevalence of hero-cult shrines in the area. Limnai's tradition as an old burial ground may have conferred a certain 'sacredness' to the area and the burials may have been thought to have belonged to legendary ancestors. From the aforementioned examples we know that when an older burial was found it was protected and incorporated into the urban context. We are told in Euripides' *Medea* that the dead will be outraged if you disturb their graves. Medea says to Jason that she will bury their children with her own hand "taking them to the sanctuary of Hera Akraia, so that none of my enemies may outrage them by tearing up their graves" (1378–81).⁷⁵

With this in mind, let us now examine one of the more recently discovered cult sites at Limnai located again by an earlier burial.

*The cult site of Stauffert Street*⁷⁶

In 1996 a rescue excavation at Limnai in Sparta (Town Square no. 98) unearthed a Geometric burial with possible evidence for the formation of a cult at a later period (FIG. 6). The excavator reported that beneath two architectural phases a Geometric burial was discovered in which the deceased wore a bronze ring on their left hand.⁷⁷ The burial was covered with a stone plaque. Over this was heaped a pile of stones in which some Geometric pottery was found.⁷⁸ The pottery suggests that the burial was of the Geometric

⁷⁰ Steinhauer 1972, 244–5.

⁷¹ Flouris 2000, 4–5.

⁷² Steinhauer 1972, 247–8.

⁷³ Steinhauer 1972, 244–5.

⁷⁴ See n. 55.

⁷⁵ Translation by Kovacs (forthcoming).

⁷⁶ I am grateful to Dr. Christos Flouris for giving me access to his unpublished dissertation on the terracotta plaques found at the site.

⁷⁷ Flouris 1996, 123–5.

⁷⁸ For Geometric burials in Sparta marked with a pile of stones see above nos. 53, 70–71. The marking of a burial with a cairn of stones is common in many areas of Geometric Greece, see Coldstream 2003, 87, 180. The pile of stones over the Spartan Geometric grave on Stauffert street carries no resemblance to the one at Pikromygdalia, near Chrysapha on top of which

period. The importance of the site lies in the fact that over the cairn of stones (and continuing inside it in a circular opening) was found a votive deposit with material dating from the Early Archaic to the Hellenistic period. In particular, the excavation unearthed over 2500 fragments of terracotta plaques which follow the iconography of the votive plaques discovered in the deposits dedicated to Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra at Amyklai, the 'Heroon' on the Eurotas and many other examples discussed above. They depict standing figures, a seated male, a warrior, a rider and a banqueter.⁷⁹ Moreover, 800 terracotta figurines were found among the votives, both male and female, rendered standing, enthroned or reclining.⁸⁰ A fragment of an archaic terracotta akroterion was discovered, as were many lead figurines common to Laconian sanctuaries, including wreaths, hoplites, female winged figures, a lead snake⁸¹ and around 1500 miniature vases.⁸² Lastly, the excavator reports a fragmentary stone relief resembling the famous Chrysapha relief⁸³ and carrying the inscription [...]KEOΣ, which he sees as the ending of a name.⁸⁴ Beyond the quantity and variety of votives, the site is significant for two further reasons. First, there was evidence of a burned area near the Geometric burial at the level of the top of the cairn of stones (**FIG. 6**). This contained material from the deposit and fragments of animal bones. Secondly, three distinct architectural phases are apparent at the site: the earliest was formed of a row of stones parallel to the burial and according to the excavator marked the area. The second phase consisted of a room next to the burial and included pottery dating from the Archaic and Classical period (**FIG. 6 room A**). The third phase dated slightly later and seems to encompass the Geometric burial and the later deposit (**FIG. 6 room B**).⁸⁵

By examining the evidence presented above, it can be argued that the deposit belonged to a cult site that must have been located nearby and was active from the 7th century BC to at least the Hellenistic period. That the cult

the famous Chrysapha relief (Berlin Pergamon Museum no. 731) was reportedly found, Stibbe 1992, 7. The picture of the mound at Pikromygladia taken by Stibbe 1992, fig. 2 shows a much larger construction of stones similar to the three mounds found at Phonemenoi, near Agios Petros, at the borders of Sparta, Tegea and Argos, and identified with the Hermai mentioned by Pausanias 2.38.7, Stibbe 1992, 8–9, fig. 4.

⁷⁹ Flouris 1996, 123–5; 2000, 33–129. See also an example of a standing woman holding a *kantharos*, Flouris 2000, 130, no. 13465, pl. 120. A terracotta relief plaque depicting a seated woman with a *kantharos* is found at the deposit dedicated to Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra, Salapata 1993, 192.

⁸⁰ Flouris 2000, 17.

⁸¹ Flouris 2000, 18.

⁸² Flouris 2000, 17.

⁸³ Flouris 2000, 18.

⁸⁴ Flouris 2000, 69, n. 146. The inscription is too fragmentary to be able to make out a name.

⁸⁵ Flouris 1996, 123–5. No further information is known at this stage regarding the date of the second room.

Worshipping Heroes in Archaic Sparta

was heroic can be deduced from the many fragments of terracotta plaques found at the site and their typically heroic iconography. This cult may in fact have belonged to one of hero shrines seen by Pausanias in the area of Limnai.

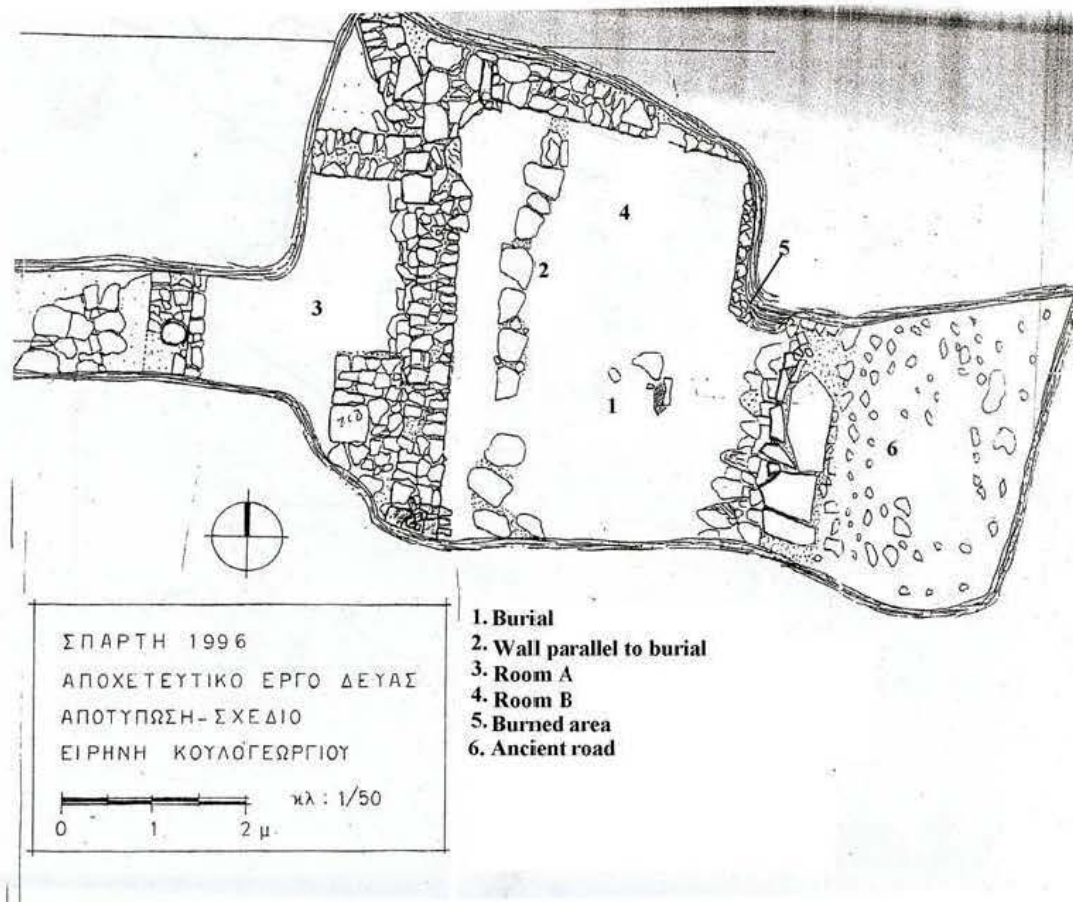


FIG. 6. Plan of the excavation of town plot 98 on Stauffert St. Photo modified from Flouris, C. 2000. *I Pinakes fittili dell' area di Limnai a Sparta: apsetti Tecnici e Iconografici. Il loro Collegamento coi Culti Eroici*. PhD Diss. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale. pl. 4.

Further information concerning the cult can be gleaned from the burned area located near the burial and at the same level as the top of the cairn of stones. Because the burned earth included material from the deposit as well as animal bones it is possible that we have here evidence of animal sacrifice. In fact, among the votive terracotta plaques one peculiar fragmentary example depicts a woman leading a ram, probably to an altar or temple.⁸⁶ This may depict part of the cult ritual. Moreover, the significant number of drinking cups found within the deposit, such as *lakainai* and *kantharoi*, perhaps provides evidence for drinking.⁸⁷ Rituals of animal

⁸⁶ Flouris 2000, 130, no. 13470, pl. 120.

⁸⁷ Flouris 2000, 17, pls. 12–16. For another possible example of drinking over an earlier grave in Sparta see the Zaimis plot in town plot 5 in Sparta, Raftopoulou 1998, 134.

sacrifice accompanied by feasting and drinking are seen widely throughout the Greek world, with many specific examples relating to hero cults.⁸⁸ Most notably, the Heroon at the West Gate at Eretria, built ca. 700 BC over earlier graves, had pits near the structure which were full of ash, animal bones, figurines of riders and females, and fragments of pottery, which could have been parts of drinking vessels.⁸⁹ Another example is the Heroon at the Crossroads at Corinth, which was in use from the late 6th to the 2nd century BC and appears to have been built over four Proto-Geometric graves. Among the finds of terracotta figurines of riders, horses, lions, banqueters and small stelai with snakes, females holding doves and seated females, were two round pits containing ash, some bone and a little pottery.⁹⁰ Feasting and sacrifice has also been observed to some extent in the later honouring of the dead at Mycenaean tholos tombs,⁹¹ except in Messenia where the tombs feature this custom most prominently.⁹²

In general, recent scholarship has demonstrated that sacrifice and feasting were regular activities at hero shrines and were similar to the sacrificial rituals at divine cults.⁹³ The burned deposit near the Geometric burial at Sparta probably follows similar traditions to the kind offered to heroes. It would also be tempting to say that the cairn of stones, with its circular opening in which were deposited votives of the same type as found on top, may have been a place where libations were poured.⁹⁴

The importance of this site, however, lies in the burial under the deposit. As discussed above, it is not unusual for cults to form around earlier graves, whether the dead were considered heroes, ancestors or both. In the example at Limnai, it is pertinent to emphasize that the deposit was laid in the Hellenistic period directly over the burial and continued into the cairn of stones. This may in fact be the time when the deceased was discovered. It is possible, however, that the knowledge of an old burial was there from the start and this is why a cult was formed in the 7th century BC. Still, the possibility remains that it was discovered later, at a time when the second architectural phase was built and was designed to encompass the burial.

⁸⁸ For further examples and types of altars at hero shrines see Ekroth 1999, 117–27.

⁸⁹ Bérard 1970.

⁹⁰ See n. 57.

⁹¹ Antonaccio 1995, 249.

⁹² See Boehringer 2001, 311–18.

⁹³ Ekroth 2002, 140–69; 2009, 131 n. 68 with previous bibliography. This is unlike earlier theories regarding sacrifice at hero cults which relied on Roman and Byzantine literary sources and claimed that there was a holocaust sacrifice of the victim without dining afterwards. This theory supported a clear difference between chthonian and Olympic sacrifice which recent work has proven invalid.

⁹⁴ Burkert 1985, 158; for libations in openings see Riethmüller 1999, 135–8, n. 56 with further bibliography.

CONCLUSION

I hope to have demonstrated that the popularity of hero cult in Archaic Sparta was part of the gradual ideological shift of the polis into the communal areas of life, be they religious, military or political. Heroes, who by their nature were legendary figures of the past, became personalities of particular significance to the polis as a whole and were venerated for their achievements. Because of this they became part of, and in turn influenced, the collective consciousness and civic identity developing at the time. Within this context Limnai provides an example of an area rich in earlier burials which became prominent in hero cult from the Archaic period onwards. It is possible that the memory of the area as an ancestral burial ground or the rediscovery of earlier graves may have been the reasons behind the large numbers of heroic cults in Limnai. The civic identity that was developing in Sparta from the 7th century onwards could have been enhanced by the veneration of earlier burials, such as those to ancestors or heroes. Lastly, the cult site on Stauffert Street exemplifies in some detail the gradual formation of the Spartan sacred landscape by providing new evidence for not only the formation of a hero cult alongside an earlier grave but also the rituals that were conducted around such cults.

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Worshipping Heroes in Archaic Sparta

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List of illustrations

FIG.1. Stone Relief, Berlin, Pergamonmuseum 731. Stibbe 1991, fig. 5.

FIG. 2. Terracotta plaque of a seated male with kantharos from the deposit of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra at Amyklai, now in the Sparta Museum. Photo from Förtsch, R. 2001. *Kunstverwendung und Kunstlegitimation im archaischen und frühklassischen Sparta*. Mainz: Von Zabern. pl. 213.

FIG. 3. Terracotta Plaque of a warrior from the deposit of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra at Amyklai, now in the Sparta Museum. Photo author.

FIG. 4. Terracotta Plaque of a rider from the deposit of Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra at Amyklai, now in the Sparta Museum. Photo author.

FIG. 5. Dioskouroi Relief, Sparta Museum 575. Photo from Förtsch, R. 2001. *Kunstverwendung und Kunstlegitimation im archaischen und frühklassischen Sparta*. Mainz: Von Zabern. pl. 219.

FIG. 6. Plan of the excavation of town plot 98 on Stauffert St. Photo modified from Flouris, C. 2000. *I Pinakes fittili dell' area di Limnai a Sparta: apsetti Tecnici e Iconografici. Il loro Collegamento coi Culti Eroici*. PhD Diss. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale. pl. 4.

CHAPTER 32

A CHILD'S REMEMBRANCE OF LIVING THROUGH THE NAZI ATROCITY AGAINST THE '118 SPARTANS' IN AUTUMN 1943

LEONIDAS PETRAKIS

INTRODUCTION

It is well documented that the Nazis committed many horrific acts of violence against civilians in occupied Greece during World War II. The ferocity and brutality of the German occupiers intensified greatly as the Resistance was strengthening in 1943, and the capitulation of Italy forced them to assume sole responsibility for the Occupation. In their open warfare against the civilians they had the eager participation of Greek collaborators. Kalavryta, Kandanos, Distomo are well documented and known cases of Nazi brutality, but the atrocity against the Spartiates in the autumn of 1943, although extensively documented,¹ is less well known.

The intent of this paper is not to retell that atrocity against the Spartiates, but rather to share my remembrances of the horrific events as I lived them as a youngster, and as I still remember them decades later. Although very young at that time, I have a very clear recollection of the associated reign of terror, the curfews, the *bloka* (blocking-off streets or coffee shops to sweep and pick up hostages), the night time raids with help from masked collaborators who pointed houses of potential hostages, their transportation out of Sparta after briefly being detained in the municipal prison, the execution of the 118 hostages, their burial, and the devastating effect on the entire town. These I detailed in my memoir of the period, and my recounting here is based on that publication.²

THE COMING OF THE GERMANS AND THE MARTYRDOM OF THE 118 SPARTIATES IN NOVEMBER 1943

I was six years old when the Germans came to Greece in April 1941. Our first encounter with them was when German dive-bombers were searching out

¹ Glendis 1979.

² Petrakis 1997.

Leonidas Petrakis

retreating British troops, who were trying to reach the coast to be evacuated. After the first air raid we left the city for nearby villages, and on our way we met and talked with British soldiers who were hiding under the plane trees by the riverside or under the bridges. The Italians, who had been held prisoners in the high school for boys, were initially responsible for the administration of occupied Sparta, but the Germans returned in 1943. The famine during the exceptionally harsh winter of 1941-2; the curfews; the incidents of the budding Resistance movement; my school (second elementary near the ruins of the ancient acropolis and theatre) being taken over by the occupiers which forced us to hold first grade classes in the basement of a building across the Menelaion hotel while they broke our desks by throwing them from the roof for use as fire wood; the periodic executions; the terror of encountering the *Tagmatasfalistes*, men of the Security Battalion (indistinguishable in their uniforms and weapons from the Germans as they would set out from Sparta for joint operations against the Resistance *antartes*, burning and looting their villages; the clandestinely received BBC news that adults would whisper to one another; the requirement that we leave unlocked our front doors so patrols could enter at will and inspect who was in a house at any particular moment (I was in my bed one midnight when a soldier lifted my blanket shining a torch into my eyes as I trembled in terror); their taking over houses and restricting the owners to part of their homes: all these formed a kaleidoscope of impressions that to this day remain vivid.

The coming of the Germans into the city in formation was particularly fear-inducing. They stopped near the Eurotas bridge, and then marched, menacing in perfect formation, to the Menelaion hotel. We used to make fun of the Carabinieri laughing behind their backs and recalling the Sophia Vembo derisive songs, but the Germans filled us with terror. And despite the successes of the allies and of the Resistance, we were numb, especially when rumours came that the Germans had set a ratio of fifty Greeks to be executed for every one German soldier who would be killed.

This is how I remembered those events.

Things had become very difficult by late summer of 1943. The more successes the Resistance had in the country and the Allies on all fronts, the harsher and more vindictive the Germans and their collaborators – now wearing German uniforms - became.

In November another disaster struck. The *antartes* had been setting up ambushes and conducting raids against the Germans. After an ambush near our town, the Germans announced reprisals, and set up roadblocks arresting people in the streets and in the coffee houses. They instituted an even stricter curfew. Terrified, we shut ourselves inside our houses and kept watch from behind the closed windows. Around midnight we saw soldiers and a few civilians wearing

A child's remembrance

masks. There was also barba-Yiannis, the tavern-keeper, without a mask. They arrested the young pharmacist next door and the high school teacher across the street. Uncle Nikos climbed over the back yard wall and jumped in barba-Stamati's garden, escaped and joined the Resistance.

They arrested 119 people, mostly men, but some women and at least one boy. They took many who were in the Resistance, but also people who were not, but had been falsely accused because of personal grudges. The following day many people assembled outside the prison where the hostages had been taken. They were pleading, crying, asking for information. What was to happen to the hostages? Late in the afternoon the police ordered everyone away from the prison, but relatives were allowed to bring clothing and food; and they were told that the Germans would interrogate and then decide separately for each hostage.

A couple of days later the Germans took the hostages in three lorries to Tripoli (some said Athens) for 'interrogation'. We rushed to the main road leading out of the city, to the same spot where we had seen the arrival of the German troops earlier.

Military trucks full of soldiers appeared and then the three lorries with the hostages standing like cattle on the way to the slaughterhouse. The Germans and Security Battalion recruits did not let us get close to the convoy and everyone was trying to find their loved one from far away with eyes full of tears.

Late in November all hostages, except one, were massacred by the Germans in the most savage way.

That November morning I went up to the bishopric for the morning *syssition*. Two neighbourhood kids and I arrived early. We found Mrs. Fotini and the other women tearful and agitated. Instead of preparing the *syssition*, they were huddling together, saying the names of the hostages who had been executed.

The 118 were executed near the *Chani* at Monodentri. They were killed to teach us all a lesson, even those not active in the Resistance, for we were only Greeks after all, our lives were cheap and did not count, the only thing that counted was the new order of things, what the Führer had decreed - explosions, plunder, setting fire to churches and crops, and since many still resisted or refused to cooperate or would not inform on their compatriots, then they deserved the gallows and the execution squad, in a ratio of fifty Greeks to one German, despite the fact that they were innocent people, women and children, old people, they were not humans, just numbers, necessary only to fulfil the ratio set by the German General Command.

But for Mrs. Fotini and the other women and for all of us the martyred hostages were relatives, friends, neighbours. That was why the women were reciting the names, one by one, of all those killed—the heroic doctor and the

Leonidas Petrakis

woman teacher, the four brothers and the son of our priest and that splendid man the pharmacist next door, who played the guitar and sang beautifully during summer evenings.

On the day before the massacre, we saw additional German soldiers leaving hastily. Among them was young Willy, just out of high school, a machine gunner, he lived in the confiscated house across the street. Before leaving for the killing field he oiled his machine gun in front of us, silently, with great attention, as if he was preparing it for a mystical rite.

A few days later, young Willy told several of us kids who had gathered around him as he was again oiling his machine gun, many details about the killing. The hostages had been taken to Monodentri around midnight and they were left in the lorries until daybreak. At that time they marched them to the little meadow next to the road. They turned on the lorry headlights so that little Willy and every other butcher could see them well. The hostages started singing the National Anthem and the officer in charge gave the order and they started with the machine guns. "This drank a lot of blood again", he told us pointing to his machine gun. He said it matter-of-factly without any emotion. The machine guns were firing, Willy told us, for several minutes. Then the officers went and shot each hostage in the back of the head, the coup-de-grace, as he called it.

My two friends and I took to our heels without waiting to get our morning milk. On the way we told anyone we ran into,

--They killed the hostages by the *Chani* at Monodentri!

We were the first ones to hear the news, so we became the bearers of tragic news. We ran furiously with bated breath and brought the message of death. We stopped at the coffee houses and delivered it and took to our heels again. To all the passers-by we told the news as we kept on running. Some did not hear our words, but understood our message.

I got to our house and found mother beside herself with worry about where I was. She had heard the wretched news already, because it had spread like a whirlwind, like a blaze, throughout the whole city.

Suddenly we heard Mitsos shouting to Mrs. M. that they had killed the hostages including her son. Her hearing was not good, so Mrs. M. cupped her hand around her ear to hear. Mrs. K. also came out, put her finger in front of her lips biting it in an expression of disaster. She stopped Mitsos from repeating the terrible news to the poor mother, who was unaware that she had already been touched by death. Later they told Mrs. M. that her son was not dead, but that he had been sent to a labour camp and after the war he would return to Greece. They started writing letters to her, supposedly from her son, and they read them to her and told her that the news was that he was coming back.

A child's remembrance

The day the Germans executed the hostages they issued an order prohibiting circulation from one pm until the next morning, because they were to bring the dead to have them buried.

In the afternoon the funeral convoy arrived. There were three lorries like the ones that had taken them a month earlier. I was sitting by the window numbly waiting. The three lorries passed and I saw the dead from very close up. This time they were not standing packed as when they had been taken from the prison, but they were piled one on top of the other like slaughtered sheep, lifeless, bloody bodies, with heads smashed by the coup-de-grace shots. The Germans dug two big trenches across from my grandmother's grave and threw in the dead bodies from the lorries.

I don't know how we endured all these ordeals. I don't know what more we have to suffer. Is this martyrdom of ours ever going to end?

SUBSEQUENT RELATED EXPERIENCES

In the summer of 1946 I spent a few days in Monodentri with relatives who kept their sheep and goat flocks very close to the killing field. I went with my sister from Sparta to the *Chani* at Monodentri by bus, and we were met there by our relatives. I was overwhelmed thinking of the events that had taken place in the shallow field nearby less than three years earlier.

In 1965 while visiting Greece from the US for the first time on our way to Sparta we stopped at the Monument directly across from the shallow killing field. We brought flowers and we read the names of the dead. The Spartiates, never forgetting their dead, had honoured the fallen heroes of 1943 by erecting a simple but imposing monument.

In 1970 we found ourselves again in Sparta, this time arriving over the Taygetos passage from Kalamata with our young children. Friends advised us, on account of the junta of the colonels, not to stop at the Monument or at least to be careful not to be seen paying our respects. Of course we stopped there, but the Monument this time had clearly been neglected. There were broken pots, but also dried flowers: Spartiates or passers-by, at the risk of incurring the wrath of the junta authorities, had obviously continued to bring flowers and to remember the sacrifice of the dead there. The Simonides couplet at Thermopylae would apply equally well at Monodentri.

Leonidas Petrakis

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CHAPTER 33

THE SPARTAN ROYAL FUNERAL IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE¹

ANGELIKI PETROPOULOU

INTRODUCTION

The public honours granted to Spartan kings on their death are known from Herodotus, Xenophon and Plutarch. Herodotus (6.58) gives an account of the practices concerning the announcement of a king's death, the imposition of mourning, and the burial of a king's image, should he have died in battle. In doing so, he draws parallels between Spartan royal funerary customs and similar practices of the "barbarians of Asia," of whom he mentions once by name the Persians (6.59). On the other hand, Xenophon (*Lac. Pol.* 15.8–9) compares the honours granted to Spartan kings in their lifetime to those paid them on their death. Honours paid in life did not greatly exceed those accorded private individuals, whilst posthumous honours were exceptional τιμαί with which the Spartans honoured their kings ὡς ἡρώας. Finally, according to Plutarch (*Ages.* 40.3) it was a Spartan custom to bury on the spot men of ordinary rank who died abroad, but to bring home the bodies of their kings. Our aim in this paper is twofold. We shall first (I–II) re-examine all the customs described by Herodotus and Plutarch in the hope of gaining a better understanding of their religious nature and political significance. Then (III) we shall compare customs related to compulsory mourning with similar practices of the Persians, who have been always more or less understood to be the 'barbarians of Asia'.

I. HERODOTUS' ACCOUNT OF THE SPARTAN ROYAL FUNERAL

The funerary honours accorded their kings by the Spartans (Hdt. 6.58.1–3) arise from a series of measures of which the aim is: (1) to proclaim the king's death

¹ This paper has greatly profited from a short stay (August 1–16, 2009) at Trinity College in Cambridge, thanks to the kind invitation of Dr. R. D. Dawe, whom I also thank here.

throughout the state and to avert pollution from the city of Sparta; (2) to impose mourning upon every Spartan and *perioikic* household, which is effected both through self-defilement of men and women and through attendance at the funeral both by all Spartans that have defiled themselves and by a certain number of the *perioikoi* (and helots) who have likewise defiled themselves and have come in order to mourn for the deceased king; and (3) to ensure that no business is transacted in Sparta and no king succeeds to the throne until the period of mourning is over. As we shall see, all ritual acts or other customs related to these measures have no parallel in the funerary practices observed for common Spartans singly or collectively during the Classical period, no matter how high their rank was.

Proclamation of a king's death in Laconia

The news of a king's death is announced throughout Laconia by horsemen, *ἵππῆες περιαγγέλλουσι τὸ γεγονὸς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Λακωνικὴν* (6.58.1). Although the Spartan state had in its service heralds (*κήρυκες*), to whom Herodotus refers at 6.60,² horsemen (*ἵππῆες*) are obviously employed on this occasion, because the news is to reach all of Laconia as quickly as possible. The only *ἵππεις* known during the first three quarters of 5th-century Sparta are a corps of 300 picked men (*λογάδες*) who protected the Spartan king in battle.³ However, these *ἵππεις*⁴ fought on foot around the king during the Classical period,⁵ and, according to Strabo,⁶ they did not raise horses. Each year the oldest five⁷ of these Spartan 'horsemen' were discharged (Hdt. 1.67.5) and served as

² For a herald's service to a king on campaign, see Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.7.

³ Their activity in war or peace is attested until 362 BC, the earliest instance (Hdt. 1.67.5) going back to about mid 6th century. See also Hdt. 6.56, 8.124.3 (escort of Themistocles); Thuc. 5.72.4 (battle of Mantinea in 418); Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.9–10 (conspiracy of Kinadon in 398), 5.1.33 (Agis' march to Tegea in 387), 6.4.14 (battle of Leuctra in 371). They are noted as *δορυφόροι* at Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.8. According to Lazenby (1985, 53) only a hundred of these *ἵππεις* formed the king's royal bodyguard on campaign (Hdt. 6.56). The remainder probably marched with the rest of the army and were stationed with the king in the battle line. See Scott 2005, 235.

⁴ I.e. Spartan citizens recruited by the *ἵππαγρέται* from the ten youngest age-classes (they were picked on merit). See Xen. *Lac.* 4.3, cf. Plut. *Lyc.* 22.4. (an Olympian victor selected to fight by the king). See also Hodkinson 1983, 247.

⁵ See Spence 1993, 2.

⁶ See 10.4.18: *τοὺς δὲ* (i.e. *Λακεδαιμονίους ἵππεις*) *μὴ ἵπποτροφεῖν*.

⁷ Lazenby (1985, 53 and n. 28 on p. 182) has cast doubt on the number (five) attested by Herodotus.

The Spartan royal funeral

ἀγαθοεργοί ('good workers'):⁸ namely as 'commissioners sent on foreign service'⁹ for tasks such as the discovery and 'repatriation' of the body of Orestes (Hdt. 1.67–68). Whenever speed was important, they could of course borrow horses from Spartan horse owners in accordance with a 'property borrowing mechanism',¹⁰ which allowed a non-owner of horses to arrive quickly at the place he wished.¹¹ To judge from the Spartan cavalry¹² at Leuctra, which depended entirely upon horses borrowed from rich Spartans who raised horses,¹³ the above mechanism worked primarily for the benefit of the state.¹⁴ However, Strabo's statement¹⁵ that the Spartan ἵππεις did not raise horses, is possibly a misleading generalization, for the *agathoergos* Lichas, at least, who discovered the presumed skeleton of Orestes,¹⁶ belonged to one of the wealthiest Spartan families, whose Olympic chariot victories probably resulted from the continuous breeding of horses.¹⁷

Ritual beating of cauldrons in the city of Sparta

The announcement of a king's death was the sign that certain ritual acts were to be performed, the aim of which was the aversion of pollution from the city of Sparta and the imposition of mourning upon free adult members of every Spartan and Laconian household. First comes what is understood to be a purificatory ritual performed in the streets of Sparta: married¹⁸ women move around all of Sparta beating on cauldrons as they do so, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν γυναικες περιουῶσαι λέβητας κροτέουσι (6.58.1). A. B. Cook,¹⁹ on the evidence of a couple of scholia on Theocritus, which rely on Apollodorus' *Περὶ θεῶν*,

⁸ See Lazenby, *ibid.*

⁹ See LSJ s.v. ἀγαθο-εργία 2.

¹⁰ To use Hodkinson's 2000, 312 phraseology.

¹¹ See Xen. *Lac.* 6.3.: ὁ γὰρ... ἢ ταχύ ποι βουλευθεὶς ἀφικέσθαι, ἣν πον ἴδη ἵππον ὄντα, λαβὼν καὶ χρησάμενος καλῶς ἀποκαθίστησιν. According to Hodkinson 2000, 200 "The borrowing of horses appears as an impersonal matter, involving no prior arrangement between the two parties."

¹² The earliest Spartan cavalry consisting of 400 horsemen was raised in 424. See Thuc. 4.55.2.

¹³ See Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.10–11: τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον πονηρότατον ἦν τὸ ἵππικόν. Ἐτρεφον μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἵππους οἱ πλουσιώτατοι.

¹⁴ For the limited nature of the borrowing of private property for communal use, see Hodkinson 2000, 200–201.

¹⁵ See above n. 6.

¹⁶ See Hdt. 1.68.

¹⁷ On the victories of Arkesilaos and his son Lichas (the son and grandson of the *agathoergos* Lichas) in the second half of the 5th century, see Hodkinson 2000, 313 and table 12 on p. 308.

¹⁸ As Cartledge 1987, 333 first noticed.

¹⁹ See Cook 1902, 14–6 (cited already by How & Wells, 1928, 87 *ad* 58.1; cf. Scott 2005, 247).

suggests that the beating of bronze was employed in all kinds of purificatory ritual, because bronze “was regarded as pure (‘purifying’)²⁰ and an averter of pollution”; and that this practice was customary at funerals, τὸν δὲ χαλκὸν ἐπήχουν . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς κατοικομένοις, as in the case of a king’s death among the Spartans.²¹ On the other hand, the sound produced by clashing or hitting bronze warded off chthonic powers, cymbals, bells and other percussion instruments or objects being used as prophylactic items.²²

In Sparta a considerable number of bronze bells and cymbals, dedicated to Athena Chalkioikos²³ and to Artemis Limnatis²⁴ respectively, were probably of cultic use, although we do not know for what purpose they were employed.²⁵ However, bronze λέβητες, i.e. bowl-like vessels with round bottoms probably used for cooking,²⁶ served as cinerary urns among the Greeks.²⁷ The funereal beating on these urns by the Spartan women, who used them as drums, was certainly prophylactic or apotropaeic; it was intended to avert the pollution of the city arising from the presence of the king’s corpse, otherwise the women would not have circulated around the whole of Sparta.

Funerary pollution regularly affected the house where death had occurred and those coming out²⁸ or entering it,²⁹ i.e. the close relatives and mourners or friends of the dead. A good example is attested from Argos.³⁰ The hearth of a house in which someone has died is extinguished and new fire brought from next door after mourning is over. Thereafter the mourners sacrifice a victim to Apollo and take a piece of meat³¹ from the god’s priest, in return for barley, which they roast at home in the new fire. At Ioulis, on the day after the funeral,

²⁰ See FGrH 244 F110: ἐπειδὴ ἐνομιζέτο καθαρ<τικ>ὸς εἶναι καὶ ἀπελαστικός τῶν μασμάτων .

²¹ See *ibid.*: καὶ παρὰ Λάκωσι βασιλέως ἀποθανόντος εἰώθασι κρούειν λέβητα.

²² They appear as such on bronze votive hands. See Cook 1902, 16.

²³ See Hodkinson 2000, 277 and fig. 14.

²⁴ See IG V¹ 225–6 and 1497 (cited by Cook 1902, 16, n. 5). See also the archaic bronze statuette of a female votary with cymbals, from the temple of Artemis Orthia, in Fitzhardinge 1980, 97 and fig. 124.

²⁵ The bells may have had a musical purpose. See Hodkinson 2002, 293 and n. 39.

²⁶ See Richter & Milne 1935, 10.

²⁷ See LSJ s.v. λέβης IV (especially Aesch. *Cho.* 686). A broad bowl-like bronze *lebes* containing the remains of a noble Eretrian warrior is in Blandin 2010, 320, pls 3–4.

²⁸ See Parker 1983, 35.

²⁹ See Bendlin 2007, 180.

³⁰ See Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 296 f–297 a.

³¹ Called by the Argives ἔγκνισμα, see *ibidem*.

The Spartan royal funeral

the house is purified and a sacrifice is made of offerings burned in the hearth fire.³²

Pollution seems likewise to have affected a Spartan house visited by death; for mourning did not come to an end until sacrifice was made on the twelfth day to Demeter,³³ which meant that pollution was no longer a barrier between man and the gods.³⁴ Yet the pollution caused by the death of a Spartan king was not simply a private affair restricted to the royal residence; for it seems to have been capable of affecting the entire city of Sparta.³⁵ Since in Greek religious thought the conduct of a king with regard to sacred matters can cause pollution affecting the city, as is the case with Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*,³⁶ the death of a king too can cause pollution with a similar effect. It is not out of place to mention here that the Spartan ephors were prepared to take prophylactic measures against those kings regarding whom they received celestial signs indicating transgression of the divine law.³⁷ To this end, the ephors employed celestial³⁸ divination, i.e. the *inductive* (or *deductive*)³⁹ divination of sky omens.⁴⁰

³² See IG XII, 5.593 A 17–8: καὶ θύη θύεν ἐφίλλοιτο. The offerings are called θύη, a word appearing in plural, which means either burnt offerings or incense. See LSJ s.v. θύον II (θύος). Cf. Garland, 1985, 44. See also Toher 1991, 164–5.

³³ See Plut. *Lyc.* 27.2.: χρόνον δὲ πένθονος ὀλίγον προσώρισεν, ἡμέρας ἔνδεκα τῇ δὲ δωδεκάτῃ θύσαντας ἔδει Διμήτρι λύειν τὸ πάθος.

³⁴ As Parker 1983, 66 has pointed out, it seems that “the real barrier that pollution sets up is not between man and man but between man and gods.”

³⁵ The sprinkling of the Spartan agora with chaff, which is attested by Heraclides Lembus (373, lines 26–8, Dilts) but goes back to Aristotle (fr. 611.10, Rose), seems to be a purificatory ritual, though the role of chaff is better understood in connection with the winnowing fan. For the latter point, see Burkert 1985, 76.

³⁶ A case of incest and patricide, i.e. two taboos representing the life-and-death attitudes of the Greeks towards familial blood, which is sacred, “and one must neither procreate with it nor destroy it.” See Daw’s 2006, 78–9 discussion of the word *μίασμα* ad 97 and his quotation from T. P. Howe (*TAPA* 93 [1962] 124–43), who is in turn quoting Lévy-Bruhl (*Primitives and the supernatural* [New York 1935]). For the untouchable sanctity of taboo, see Parker 1983, 328.

³⁷ Plut. *Cleom.* 11.3.

³⁸ Which was practiced by the Babylonians *par excellence*; the *Enūma Anu Enlil* compilation of 7,000 sky-omens having been inscribed in the 7th century, but incorporating material from much older times. See Barton 1994, 11.

³⁹ See on the subject, Bonnechere 2007, 150–3 (celestial divination is not treated). Cf. Koch-Westenholz 1995, 10, who distinguishes between provoked and unprovoked omens, i.e. celestial signs.

⁴⁰ In eighth-century Babylon the taking of sky-omens took priority over those revealed by extispicy, the welfare of the state and the king (as *persona publica*) being their concern. See Koch-Westenholz 1995, 13, 19; cf. Barton 1994, 13. The ephors’ celestial divination, though aiming at checking the efficiency of royal power in the 3rd century, as Richer 1998, 176 has remarked, is similarly concerned with the welfare of the Spartan state.

Angeliki Petropoulou

Every eight⁴¹ years they selected a clear and moonless night and in silent session observed the heavens. Should a star shoot across the sky from one place to another,⁴² they judged that their kings had committed some religious offence and suspended them from their office,⁴³ until such time as an oracle from Delphi or Olympia should come to the aid of the kings.

Obligatory self-defilement of Spartans and 'perioikoi'

Next comes the obligatory self-defilement of two free persons, a man and a married woman, in every Spartan and *perioikic* household, the penalty for failure to comply being a heavy fine: ἐπεὰν ὦν τοῦτο γένηται τοιοῦτον, ἀνάγκη ἐξ οἰκίης ἐκάστης ἐλευθέρους δύο καταμιαίνεσθαι, ἄνδρα τε καὶ γυναῖκα· μὴ ποιήσασι δὲ τοῦτο ζημίαι μεγάλαι ἐπικέεται (6.58.1). In other words, every single Spartan and *perioikic* household was to go into mourning, for 'being polluted' was a kind of metaphysical suit of mourning.⁴⁴ As for those mourning within, they were to be two adults, i.e. persons of full status of either sex, most probably the *pater familias* and his wife,⁴⁵ who were obliged to pollute themselves with signs of defilement, *καταμιαίνεσθαι*. In the private sphere of mourning the relatives of the dead king did obviously the same, i.e. they befouled themselves, not because they were forced to, but in sympathy with the deceased.⁴⁶ However, although the term *καταμιαίνεσθαι* ('befoul oneself')⁴⁷ is always interpreted in relation to *μίασμα*, of which the meaning is either defilement or pollution ('that which defiles'),⁴⁸ there is no agreement as to the manner of defilement.⁴⁹ Cartledge, for example, translates *καταμιαίνεσθαι* as "to don mourning

⁴¹ On Plutarch's "δι' ἑτῶν ἑννέα", which is translated as "every eight years", see Carlier 1984, 294, n. 323 and Richer 1998, 155 ff. (mainly 166–74, and particularly p.169, n. 95). The *octaeteris*, in use at Babylonia already in the 6th century BC, was a borrowing. See Richer 1998, 169, n. 98.

⁴² Richer 1998, 187–91 argues that the passage refers to the heliacal rising of Sirius from an invisible part of the sky to another visible one.

⁴³ On the deposition of Leonidas II by the ephors in 243–2, on the pretext that one of them had seen a shooting star, see Plut. *Cleom.* 11.4–5. See also Carlier 1984, 295 and Richer 1998, 176–9.

⁴⁴ See Parker 1983, 41, 64. Cf. Scott 2005, 248.

⁴⁵ See below.

⁴⁶ See Ath. 15.674 a. Cf. Parker 1983, 64, "pollution is a transposition of this sympathetic befoulement to the metaphysical plane," and n. 107.

⁴⁷ See Powell 1938, s.v. *καταμιαίνομαι*.

⁴⁸ See LSJ s.v. *μίασμα*. I, II.

⁴⁹ See Nafissi 1991, 287, n. 45.

The Spartan royal funeral

apparel,"⁵⁰ while recently Scott refers to "cutting or tearing the hair or face or clothes, and throwing dust on oneself."⁵¹

In fact, from Homer down to Lucian there were several ways of befouling oneself: refraining from washing,⁵² dirtying one's clothes,⁵³ rolling oneself in earth or dung,⁵⁴ rubbing or shedding dung or earth or ashes upon the head,⁵⁵ cutting or tearing the hair⁵⁶ tearing or cutting the face or the neck or the breast with one's nails,⁵⁷ tearing one's garments,⁵⁸ and, finally, wearing black clothes.⁵⁹ Yet most of these modes of defilement are merely expressions of the spontaneous reaction to the death of someone intimately connected with the mourner.⁶⁰ In the *Iliad*, only the cutting of men's hair, which takes the form of sacrifice,⁶¹ constitutes ritual defilement that has a bearing on the public aspect of funeral, i.e. the *ekphora* and cremation of the corpse, during which ritual defilement is practiced;⁶² while throughout antiquity the cutting of the mourners' long or short hair and/or the wearing of black clothes⁶³ are either imposed or permissible modes of defilement, which render those mourning recognizable.⁶⁴ In contrast, the laceration of flesh (*ἀμύσσειν*, or *φοινίσσειν*)⁶⁵ is occasionally forbidden by

⁵⁰ See Cartledge 1987, 104.

⁵¹ See Scott 2005, 248.

⁵² See *Il.* 23.42–6.

⁵³ See *Il.* 18.25. See also Sokolowski 1955, 16.6 (wearing of squalid mourning garment banned).

⁵⁴ See *Il.* 18.26 (earth); 22.414 and 24.163–5, 640 (dung). Cf. Lucian, *Luct.* 12 (rolling oneself on the ground).

⁵⁵ See *Il.* 24.163–5 (dung); *Od.* 24.316–7 (ashes) and Eur. *Supp.* 826–7, 1160 (ashes); Lucian *Luct.* 12 (earth).

⁵⁶ See *Il.* 23.135–6, 141 (cutting); *Od.* 4.197–8 and 24.46 (cutting); *Il.* 24.710–12 (tearing); Aesch. *Cho.* 6–7, 168 and 172–3 (cutting); Eur. *Andr.* 826 (tearing); Pl. *Phd.* 89b (cutting); Luc. *Luc.* 12 (tearing).

⁵⁷ See *Il.* 19.284–5. See also Eur. *Andr.* 826–7, *Suppl.* 76–8, *Hel.* 1089 (see also Garland 1985, 141–2); Luc. *Luc.* 12; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 608f.

⁵⁸ See Sappho (fr.140a Lobel-Page); Lucian (see previous note); Peek 1955, 1159.9–10. The tearing of garments was much more common among the Hebrews (see the O. Testament, *Lev.* 10.6, 21.10; *Jer.* 41.5; *Job* 1.20) and the Persians (see text below and n. 167) than among the Greeks.

⁵⁹ See *Il.* 24.93–4, the only Homeric mention of it (see Richardson 1993, 286–7); Aesch. *Cho.* 10–12; Artem. 2.3, lines 22–5. The Argives (Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 270 f) and the people of Gambreion (Sokolowski 1955, 16, 9) were exceptions: they wore white or grey mourning garments. Cf. Polyb. 30.4.5.

⁶⁰ On the Homeric epics, see Andronikos 1968, W 1–2, 11. On later practice, see Peek, n. 58 above.

⁶¹ See Petropoulou 2006, 20 and nn. 204–5; cf. Reiner 1938, 45 and n. 5 (with earlier bibliography).

⁶² See *Il.* 23.134–6 and 140–1.

⁶³ Both in private and public mourning, see Brill's *Neue Pauly* s.v. "mourning dress."

⁶⁴ Black or dark clothes were visible expression of grief or mourning, see Pekridou–Gorecki 1989, 123.

⁶⁵ Practiced by a slave in the Homeric epics, see *Il.* 19.284–5.

archaic legislation⁶⁶ and persists only in the privacy of the home, as is suggested by both literary and visual evidence.⁶⁷ In particular the cutting of men's hair was sometimes imposed on occasions of public mourning resulting from military defeat and disaster⁶⁸ or from the death of a victorious war leader.⁶⁹ Regularly, however, both men and women wore black clothes and cut their hair on occasions of either private or public mourning.⁷⁰

Mourning in black is attested by Pausanias (4.14.4) as a Spartan custom. It was imposed on the helots of Messenia, i.e. both men and women, who were obliged to come to the *ekphorai* of the Spartan kings dressed in black: *ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκφοράς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν ἐσθῇτι ἤκειν μελαίνῃ*. Pausanias here cites Tyrtaeus (fr. 7 West) and his passage is in certain respects confused;⁷¹ but his reference to *couples* of helots, i.e. "mourning men and married women" who participated in the funerals of the Spartan kings suggests that his information about the colour of the mourning garment may be correct. For down to Herodotus' time those obliged to attend the Spartan royal funerals were similarly (married) 'couples' of mourning Spartans and *perioikoi*. After all, the wearing of black mourning clothes was a prevalent Greek custom, as we have already seen. There remains little doubt that the garments of the king's relatives were black. The free Spartans and *perioikoi* who were obliged to attend the funeral were evidently dressed in the same fashion. And since black garments and freshly cut hair were complementary mourning practices among the Greeks, it is also very likely that both the king's relatives and these free Spartan citizens and *perioikoi* 'defiled themselves' by cutting their hair. The adult Spartan citizens, who are well known from several sources to have worn long hair,⁷² presumably cut it short. It is less easy to determine how the married Spartan women defiled themselves; for,

⁶⁶ See below and n. 77.

⁶⁷ On visual evidence, see Shapiro 1991, 631. The tearing at or lacerating the flesh no longer appears on Attic white lekythoi. See idem, 650.

⁶⁸ See Hdt. 1.82.7 (cf. Pl. *Phd.* 89c) and 6.21.1. Cf. Plut. *Lys.* 1.2. (political defeat resulting in the expulsion of the Bacchiadae).

⁶⁹ E.g. that of Patroclus or Achilles in the Homeric epics (see above n. 56) and centuries later of Pelopidas, see Plut. *Pel.* 33.3–4 (*κεῖρασθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς*).

⁷⁰ See Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.8; Isae. 4.7; Plut. *Mor.* 609b. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 215–7, 425–7; *Tro.* 279; *Hel.* 1087–8; *IA* 1437–8. For visual evidence on the female mourners' short cut hair, see Shapiro 1991, 650 and figs. 18–19. See also the loutrophoros of the Kleophrades Painter (Louvre, CA453) in Arias [1962], pll. 126–8.

⁷¹ The reference to the funerals of other dignitaries, *καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τέλει*, is certainly wrong. For the problems of this passage in its context, see Scott 2005, 249 (with earlier bibliography).

⁷² As contrasted to the ephebes whose heads were closely cropped, see David 1992, 12–13. See also Hodkinson 2000, 226.

The Spartan royal funeral

upon marriage, they had their hair cut off close to the head, and they were expected to wear it short thereafter;⁷³ unless they defiled themselves by cropping their hair close, as the Athenian men did as they mourned the victims at Arginoussai, described by Xenophon as ἐν χρῶ κεκαρμέντοι.⁷⁴ On the other hand, hardly anything is known of the hairstyles of the *perioikoi*.⁷⁵ In general, one thing is certain, no matter whether the mourner's hair was short or long, it was cut in any case as a sign of mourning. For, as Plutarch puts it, mourning brings about a reversal of the familiar and ordinary.⁷⁶

Funerary defilement at royal funerals seems to be an exception in late Archaic and Classical Sparta. For, though in Athens Solon had specifically forbidden the practice of lacerating the flesh,⁷⁷ funerary defilement of all kinds had been abolished in Sparta. The measure is attributed to Lycurgus, περιεῖλε δὲ καὶ τοὺς μiasμούς;⁷⁸ yet it is evidently part of the changes brought about by the development of Spartan funerary practices, which is placed by Nafissi in the context of the transformation of a seventh-century aristocratic society into the classical Spartan polis, i.e. about mid sixth-century.⁷⁹

Compulsory attendance and lamentation at a king's funeral

In addition to the Spartans, a certain number of the *perioikoi* were forced to attend the funeral from all over Laconia, ἐκ πάσης δεῖ Λακεδαίμονος, χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων, ἀριθμῶ τῶν περιοίκων ἀναγκαστοὺς ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἰέναι (6.58.2). The Spartans, i.e. the couples subjected to defilement from every Spartan household, were evidently all required to be present at the funeral; while only a certain, undefined number of the equivalent couples of the *perioikoi* were forced

⁷³ See David 1992, 17.

⁷⁴ See Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.8. The phrase πένθιμος κουρά refers to the close cropping of hair as is suggested by the phrase ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ πρὸς φθεῖρα κείρεσθαι τὴν πένθιμον κουράν, see Poll. *Onom.* 2.29. Cf. the cutting of the Spartan bride's hair in Plut. *Lyc.* 15.3: τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἐν χρῶ περιέκειρεν.

⁷⁵ See David 1992, 19–20. He has suggested that the relatively short hair of a bronze statuette showing presumably a *perioikos*, may reflect the hair-style characteristic of his perioecic status (see photograph in Fitzhardinge 1980, 99, fig. 126).

⁷⁶ See Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 267 a.

⁷⁷ See Plut. *Sol.* 21.6: ἀμυχὰς δὲ κοπτομένων...ἀφείλεν. For Solon's funerary legislation, see Alexiou 2002, 15. As Toher 1991, 162–3 and Shapiro 1991, 630 have pointed out Solon's legislation is concerned with the conduct of women in the home and in public. See also Stears 2008, 143.

⁷⁸ See Plut. *Quest. Graec.* 238 d1 (*Apophthegmata Laconica*).

⁷⁹ See Nafissi 1991, 338–41 and Hodkinson 2000, 242, who argues in favour of a date before mid-sixth century on the basis of the extant visual record.

to come to Sparta, evidently fewer than the Spartan couples. Helots, mentioned by Herodotus for the first time in the next phrase, were also included in the gathering of Spartans and *perioikoi*. They were presumably “representatives from each of the Helot families working the domains of the deceased king together with perhaps a token couple from each of the other *klaroi*.”⁸⁰ The helot couples were no doubt fewer than the *perioikic* ones. The reason the helots were not mentioned earlier in the text is, I think, due to the fact that Herodotus laid emphasis on the imposition of mourning upon free persons, not upon slaves. Compulsory attendance by men and their *wives*, i.e. “married” couples, “who lamented at the funerals of their Spartan masters” is indirectly attested as early as Tyrtaeus (fr. 7 West): δεσπότας οἰμώζοντες, ὁμῶς ἄλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοί. There remains little doubt that those defiled and attending the funeral of a Spartan king as mourners were “married” couples.

In fact, those participating in the royal funeral represented all sections of the population, their numbers being seemingly in proportion to their social status: a couple from every Spartan household, a smaller number of couples of *perioikoi*, and even fewer helots. As Richer⁸¹ has aptly remarked, the importance of a royal death for the Lacedaemonian community in general is demonstrated by the great number of participants and the duration of mourning.⁸²

After the *perioikoi*, the helots and the Spartans all gathered in their thousands in one spot, both men and women zealously beat their brows and lamented profusely, constantly declaring that the king who has just died was the best they ever had, τούτων ὧν καὶ τῶν εἰλωτέων καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐπεὰν συλλεχθέωσι ἐς τὸν τόπον πολλὰ χιλιάδες, σύμμιγα τῇσι γυναιξὶ κόπτονται τε τὰ μέτωπα προθύμως καὶ οἰμωγῇ διαχρέωνται ἀπλέτῳ, φάμενοι τὸν ὕστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενόμενον τῶν βασιλέων, τοῦτον δὲ γενέσθαι ἄριστον (6.58.3). Herodotus is vague concerning the place where the gathering and lamentation take place. Reiner⁸³ has suggested that this public lamentation was part of the *prothesis* of the deceased king, and that it was held in the open. However, both gathering and lamentation are mentioned in connection not with the *prothesis* but the *ekphora*: i.e. the formal procession from the place of *prothesis* to the grave, as the phrase ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἰέναι (‘to attend the funeral’)⁸⁴ suggests. It is, therefore, more likely that Herodotus is referring to the gathering of the *perioikoi*, the helots and the

⁸⁰ As Cartledge 1987, 333 has suggested.

⁸¹ See Richer 2007, 249.

⁸² On this point, see below.

⁸³ See Reiner 1938, 50, n. 1.

⁸⁴ See *LSJ* s.v. κῆδος 2b.

The Spartan royal funeral

Spartans in the royal cemetery.⁸⁵ At the public funeral of the war dead in Athens, the ritual lamentation of the dead by their female relatives and the funeral oration are held at the place of burial, i.e. in the Kerameikos.⁸⁶

However, in sharp contrast to Classical mourning practices, at Spartan royal funerals men and women not related to the king by *anchisteia* lamented without restraint⁸⁷ and behaved in the same ritual manner. They beat their forehead passionately, *κόπτονται τε τὰ μέτωπα προθύμως*. Their behaviour was reminiscent of non-Greek expressions of great grief, which is always attested in connection with male mourners.⁸⁸ However, the beating of the mourner's head on the ground or of the breasts (*στέρνα τυπτόμενα*) with the hands is still practiced in Lucian's time, by women and men respectively.⁸⁹ With regard to the dirge (*οἰμωγή*), it obviously contained a refrain⁹⁰ (*φάμενοι τὸν ὕστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενόμενον τῶν βασιλέων, τοῦτον δὲ γενέσθαι ἄριστον*)⁹¹ which probably alluded to a *canto funebre ufficiale*⁹² exalting the deceased king in a kind of *laudatio temporis acti*.⁹³ An indirect reference to such eulogies is presumably made by Xenophon in his portrait of *Agesilaus*.⁹⁴ Finally, it should be noted that the public lamentation at a Spartan king's funeral was a funerary practice that was exceptional for Sparta. The funerals of all other Spartans were probably held in silence,⁹⁵ given that both mourning (*πένθη*) and lamentation (*ὄδυρμοὶ*) had been completely prohibited in the period of transformation of funerary customs in the 6th century.⁹⁶

⁸⁵ The graves of the Eurypontids lay in the village of Limnai, near a sanctuary of Dictynna; those of the Agiads were situated on a site called Theomelida in Pitane, close to a shrine of Asclepius. See Paus. 3.12.8 and 3.14.2.

⁸⁶ See Thuc. 2.34.4, 6. Cf. Cartledge 1987, 334. He places the mourning of the Lacedaemonian men and women during the *ekphora* and at the graveside.

⁸⁷ For the restrictions on lamentation in funerary legislation, see Toher 1991, 160–6, and 168, Shapiro 1991, 630, Stears 2008, 141–2, and Hodkinson 2000, 246–7.

⁸⁸ See Hdt. 2.121 δ.2; Arr. *Anab.* 7.24.3 (*τύπτεσθαι τὰ τε στήθη καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα*); Plut. *Alex.* 30.3 (*πληξάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν*)]. Cf. Priam in the *Il.* 22.33 (*κεφαλὴν δ' ὃ γε κόψατο χερσὶν*) and the citizens of Erythrai forced to mourn for their tyrants, below.

⁸⁹ See Luc. *Luct.* 12; [Plut.] *Cons. Ad Apoll.* 114 f; Peek 1955, 1159, 9–10.

⁹⁰ Which is a constituent of the ritual lament, see Reiner 1938, 30–5 and Alexiou 2002, 13.

⁹¹ For the importance of the *aristeia* in Spartan life, which was a quality acquired by the king after his death, see Richer 1994, 58–62.

⁹² As Nenci 1998, 227 (ad 58.16–7) has suggested.

⁹³ The eulogy of the deceased, as an important component of the *γόος*, also appears in *Beowulf*, see Reiner 1938, 62–3.

⁹⁴ See Xen. *Ages.* 10.3: *ἀλλὰ γὰρ μὴ ὅτι τετελευτηκῶς ἐπαινείται τούτου ἔνεκα θρήνόν τις τοῦτον τὸν λόγον νομισάτω.*

⁹⁵ See Nafissi 1991, 285.

⁹⁶ See Plut. *Mor.* 238d (*Instituta Laconica*); see also Hodkinson 2000, 246–7 and text above.

Closing of the Spartan marketplace and postponement of the ἀρχαιρεσίη

We are told that for ten days after a king had been buried, the marketplace was closed for business and there was no ἀρχαιρεσίη, for this was a period of mourning, ἐπεὶ δὲ θάψωσι, ἀγορὴ δέκα ἡμερέων οὐκ ἴσταται σφί οὐδ' ἀρχαιρεσίη συνίχει, ἀλλὰ πενθέουσι ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας (6.58.3). The phrase ἀρχαιρεσίη συνίχει denotes "the sitting of an electoral assembly",⁹⁷ but is usually taken to mean that public business is suspended, with reference to the day-to-day activity of the ephors.⁹⁸ However, since the plural *archairesiai* refers to the elections of magistrates,⁹⁹ the singular, which appears only here,¹⁰⁰ is used, I think, for the 'choice' of the member of the royal family, who has legitimate claims to succeed the deceased king. Though there was a clear vertical system of succession in Sparta, succession disputes were not rare. And they were most likely resolved by the Gerousia and Ephors in combination.¹⁰¹

A case in point is the succession of Agis II (in 400 BC) by his half-brother Agesilaus ahead of his son Leotychidas, whose parentage was suspect.¹⁰² Agesilaos was chosen as king¹⁰³ "when the days were purified,"¹⁰⁴ i.e. on the eleventh day after Agis' burial. It was only then, when communion with the gods had been restored, that the installation of the new king could be accompanied by the traditional dances and sacrifices.¹⁰⁵ Naturally, the 'impurity' and inauspicious character of the days of mourning are responsible both for the closing of the marketplace and the postponement of the royal succession. For, in accordance with an established Greek custom, private and public activity stopped on days which were regarded as μὴ καθαράι and nefandous (ἀποφράδες).¹⁰⁶ With regard to the length of the overall mourning period for a Spartan king, it certainly exceeded that of private Spartan mourning, which was eleven days.¹⁰⁷ As

⁹⁷ See Powell 1938, s.v. ἀρχαιρεσίη (συνίχει).

⁹⁸ See, e.g., recently Scott 2005, 250. Millender 2002, 10 speaks of the suspension of political activity.

⁹⁹ See examples cited by LSJ s.v. ἀρχαιρεσία, mainly Arist. *Pol.* 1281b.33 (ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας... τῶν ἀρχόντων).

¹⁰⁰ See previous note.

¹⁰¹ See Cartledge 1987, 110–13.

¹⁰² See Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.1–4, Ages. 1.5; Plut. *Lys.* 22.3–5. See the excellent discussion of these texts by Cartledge 1987, 111–14.

¹⁰³ See Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.4: Ἀγησίλαον εἰλοντο βασιλέα.

¹⁰⁴ See Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.1: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠσιώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι, καὶ ἔδει βασιλέα καθίστασθαι....

¹⁰⁵ Mentioned by Thucydides (5.16.3) in connection with the return of Pleistoanax.

¹⁰⁶ So-called in Athens, see Luc. *Pseudol.* 12 and Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.12; Pl. *Leg.* 800 d.

¹⁰⁷ See above, n. 33.

The Spartan royal funeral

Cartledge¹⁰⁸ has pointed out, it will have taken at least three to four days from the announcement of a king's death until the gathering at Sparta of those forced to attend the funeral. In other words, the complete mourning period for a Spartan king would have been at least fourteen days, i.e. two weeks.

II. THE REPATRIATION OF THE KINGS' BODIES: A *SINE QUA NON* FOR A SPARTAN ROYAL FUNERAL

The honours described by Herodotus constitute the salient features of the public aspect of Spartan royal obsequies, which were fundamentally different from those of the other Spartans in yet another respect. No matter where the kings died, custom required that they be buried at home. Plutarch (*Ages.* 40.3) is explicit on the matter. It was Spartan practice that, whilst when men of ordinary rank died abroad, their bodies were given funerary rites and buried on the spot, the bodies of their kings were brought home, ἔθους δὲ ὄντος Λακωνικοῦ, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐπὶ ξένης ἀποθανόντων αὐτοῦ τὰ σώματα κηδεύειν καὶ ἀπολείπειν, τὰ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων οἴκαδε κομίζειν. Plutarch's description of the custom introduces us to the theme of the burial of Agesilaus, who died peacefully in Cyrene at the age of eighty four, in 359 BC. They enclosed his dead body in melted wax and brought it back to Sparta. Xenophon (*Ages.* 11.16) stresses the fact that Agesilaus received a 'royal burial' in his homeland.¹⁰⁹

The information given by Plutarch is confirmed by other evidence. The body of the Spartan king Agesipolis, who died of fever in 381 BC while on campaign in Macedonia, was repatriated and received a 'royal burial' at home (*Xen. Hell.* 5.3.19). Yet even if a king died on the battlefield, the Spartans fighting around him did their utmost to recover his body and carry it back to Sparta for burial. Thus, when Kleombrotos was mortally wounded at the battle of Leuktra, in 371 BC, the Spartans around him were able to pick him up and carry him off while he was still alive.¹¹⁰ In discussing the death of Kleombrotos, Pausanias (9.13.10) explains that among the Lacedaemonians it was regarded as utterly disgraceful to allow the body of the king to fall into the hands of the enemy. On the other hand, both literary and archaeological evidence indicate that burial on the spot or in nearby territory and accompanied by the same funerary ceremony,

¹⁰⁸ See Cartledge 1987, 333. Cf. the period of several days decreed by the Syracusans for the preparation of the funeral of Timoleon and the assembling of *perioikoi* and foreigners in *Plut. Tim.* 39.2.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *Diod. Sic.* 15.93.6.

¹¹⁰ See *Xen. Hell.* 6.4.13; *Diod. Sic.* 15.56.1.

Angeliki Petropoulou

was practiced for all other Spartans dying abroad, no matter how high their rank or whether they died in peace or war.¹¹¹

Ekphora of an 'eidolon' and burial in a cenotaph

Herodotus (6.58.3) recorded that if a king died in battle, the Spartans made an effigy of him and carried it to the grave on a magnificently decked bier, ὃς δ' ἄν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθάνῃ, τούτῳ δὲ εἶδωλον σκευάσαντες ἐν κλίνῃ εὖ ἐστρωμένη ἐκφέρουσι. Given the established practice of repatriating the king's body, Herodotus is here referring to the circumstances in which the body was not retrieved from the enemy.¹¹² In fact, this was the case of Leonidas, whose death is described by Herodotus at 7.225.1. When Leonidas fell at Thermopylai, a fierce struggle rose over his body between the Persians and the Spartans. The Persians intended to mutilate Leonidas' body in accordance with their own custom,¹¹³ but the Spartans refused to disgrace themselves by letting the king's body fall into enemy hands. Thus the Spartans drove back the enemy four times and Leonidas' corpse was not mutilated until all Spartans lay dead (Hdt. 7.238.1).

In view of all this, it has been persuasively argued by Schaefer¹¹⁴ that the construction of the king's *eidolon*, which was carried to the grave on a magnificently decked bier, was an innovation made for Leonidas; and that the *eidolon* in question was in fact a life-size and lifelike effigy, which functioned as a substitute (for the body). In fact, no other king prior to Leonidas is known to have fallen into enemy hands, at least not since Messenia had come under Spartan rule.¹¹⁵ After Leonidas, the only other king whose corpse was not retrieved was Archidamos III,¹¹⁶ the son of the Agesilaus mentioned above,¹¹⁷ who reigned in the mid-4th century. Archidamos was slain at Mandonion in 338

¹¹¹ For the latter ones, see Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.14–15: the Spartan dead at Leuctra, including a polemarch and one of the king's companions with his son, were interred *in situ* under a truce. Cf. examples cited by Pritchett 1985, 243–4 and Cartledge 1987, 337. However, warriors from the wealthy elite were to some degree differentially honoured in military burials abroad. See Hodkinson 2000, 256–9.

¹¹² Cf. Hodkinson 2000, 262. For those following Schaefer, see Toher 1999, 114 and n. 2.

¹¹³ See on this point Petropoulou 2008, 15 and n. 131. "Xerxes was more angry with Leonidas, while he was still in life, than with any other man" (Hdt. 7.238.2).

¹¹⁴ See Schaefer 1957, 223–33.

¹¹⁵ The Agiad Teleklos, killed by the Messenians before the subjugation of Messenia, is placed in 825/24–786/85. See Poralla 1985, 117–8. Nothing is known about the fate of his body. See Paus. 4.4.2–3.

¹¹⁶ As Toher 1999, 114, n. 4 first remarked.

¹¹⁷ For his genealogy and vita, see See Poralla 1985, 33–4.

The Spartan royal funeral

BC by the Messapioi, an Italian tribe. They refused to surrender his body, in spite of the great sums of money promised by the Tarentines, to whose aid Archidamos had come.¹¹⁸ Thus his corpse was not buried, a fact attributed to the wrath of Apollo, whose Delphic sanctuary had been seized and looted with the aid of the Spartans during Archidamos' reign (Paus. 3.10.5).¹¹⁹ Archidamos was, according to Pausanias (6.4.9), the only Spartan king known not to have been buried at Sparta: *καὶ βασιλέων μόνος τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ δηλὸς ἐστὶν ἀμαρτῶν τάφου*. Thus no life-size and lifelike effigy of Archidamos will have been carried to a royal grave constructed to house it, as had presumably happened in the case of Leonidas. The Spartan aid in the seizure and looting of the Delphic sanctuary had apparently made Archidamos a *persona non grata* for burial at home, for no king was supposed to transgress divine law. In all likelihood it was his family who sent a statue of him to Olympia, this being the only image of a Spartan king to be set up outside the borders of Lacedaemonia.¹²⁰

To return to Leonidas, Richer¹²¹ has argued that three successive funerary ceremonies were held in his honour: (1) He was initially buried at Thermopylai; (2) in the absence of his body, the Spartans conferred funerary honours on his *eidolon*; and (3) forty years later, the Spartans, having returned to Sparta with his bones, erected a tomb intended to house them, which Pausanias saw in the proximity of the theatre (3.14.1).¹²² However, there is no evidence whatsoever that Leonidas' decapitated body¹²³ was buried either together with the other Spartans or separately, i.e. at the place where a stone lion stood later "in his honour"¹²⁴ (Hdt. 7.225.2). As Macan noted, "the body of Leonidas was not buried there (i.e. at Thermopylai) at all, but beheaded, impaled, and exposed."¹²⁵ We should not forget that until the victory of 479 the Greeks had no opportunity of

¹¹⁸ See Theopompos of Chios in *FGrH* 15 F 232 (=Athen. 12 536 c/d); Plut. *Agis* 3.3; Diod. Sic.16.63.1–2.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Diod. Sic. 16.63.1.

¹²⁰ For the way Pausanias himself accounts for the setting up of Archidamos' statue in Olympia, see 6.4.9.

¹²¹ See Richer 1994, 73–6.

¹²² It is not within the scope of this paper to examine the problems concerning the date on which the bones of Leonidas were transferred to Sparta. See Richer 1994, 74 and n. 135. The theatre was situated on the slopes of the Acropolis hill of Sparta, below the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos. See Waywell et al. 1988, 97–111.

¹²³ By order of Mardonius and Xerxes the Persians cut off and impaled the head of Leonidas, see Hdt. 7.238.1; 9.78.3.

¹²⁴ I follow Connor 1979, 25 and nn. 15, 19 (and most commentators) in translating so the phrase *ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ*. Pritchett's 1985, 168 deduction that Leonidas was buried in a separate tomb, because his bones were later moved to Sparta, rests on the assumption that the bones transferred there were actually the remains of Leonidas. Cf. Nafissi 1991, 312 and n. 152.

¹²⁵ See Macan 1908, 335 *ad* 228.

recovering the dead at Thermopylai.¹²⁶ By then there were certainly only bones left, the decomposing corpses having become the prey of birds sooner or later. It was probably after the battle of Plataiai that the Amphictyons erected the stele with the famous epitaph,¹²⁷ which, however, neither mentions Spartans by name nor makes any explicit or implicit reference to Leonidas. The lion, which is a pun on the name of Leonidas, was evidently set up later.

Consequently, before the transference of Leonidas' supposed remains to Sparta, there was but one funeral ceremony held by the Spartans in honour of Leonidas, namely, the carrying out and burial of his *eidolon*, as described by Herodotus with reference to the funeral of a king who dies in battle. One must assume that the grave to which the *εἰδωλον* was carried, instead of being a real tomb, was merely a cenotaph, such as the one Telemachos was advised to build for the king of Ithaka, should the king no longer be alive.¹²⁸

Cenotaphs excavated in archaic and classical Greece and Italy occasionally contain as substitutes for missing bodies crude stone statuettes, or a large stone, around which offerings are placed, and, in one case, a clay bust inside a pot.¹²⁹ On the evidence of normal burials lacking a body, Kurtz and Boardman assume that the whole burial ritual may have been carried out perhaps only "when the body was missing and no rites had been performed elsewhere."¹³⁰ The cenotaph, in which was eventually buried the "life-size"¹³¹ effigy of the Spartan king, seems to have been an exceptional funerary practice in Laconia. For, although cenotaphs were presumably erected there, as the so-called EN ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ stelai suggest, which have been interpreted in connection with them,¹³² these cenotaphs bear only an apparent resemblance to the Spartan royal cenotaph in question. The cenotaphs and the EN ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ stelai were *monuments commemorating* (μνημεῖα) deceased Spartan men who had died in a foreign battle and were buried on the spot.¹³³ In sharp contrast, the cenotaph to which the 'well decked bier' bearing the king's effigy was carried, seems to have served as the *grave* of a king who had missed the rite of burial, because his body had fallen into the hands of the enemy.

¹²⁶ See Robertson 1983, 81.

¹²⁷ See Hdt. 7.228.2.

¹²⁸ See *Od.* 1.289–91; 2.220–223. See also Andronikos 1968, W 34. Similar cenotaphs were required for other heroes whose remains could not be identified. See Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 258.

¹²⁹ See Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 179 (Schiff's grave in Thera) and 259 (a late-6th century Athenian grave and the Classical pot 'burial' at Locri in South Italy), cf. 100.

¹³⁰ See Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 258.

¹³¹ As Schaefer 1957, 228–9 has suggested.

¹³² See Hodkinson 2000, 249–51. The earliest stelai are dated to the 5th century.

¹³³ See *ibidem*, 251–54.

The Spartan royal funeral

Toher, however, has argued that Herodotus simply says that “an εἶδωλον was present in the funeral of any Spartan king who had died in battle, without any stipulation as to the availability of the corpse;”¹³⁴ and that, once we accept that the *eidolon* did not serve as a substitute, comparative evidence demonstrates that it had important symbolic significance,¹³⁵ like the images of Roman emperors, which were displayed at their funerals.¹³⁶ It is true that life-size and lifelike images (εἰκόνας) depicting Spartan kings, were made during their lifetime or after their death and occasionally set up at sanctuaries.¹³⁷ Yet, apart from Leonidas, only two Spartan kings (Kleombrotos and Archidamos III)¹³⁸ are known to have been slain on the battlefield during the Classical period,¹³⁹ of whom one, Archidamos III, was not actually buried. This means that Herodotus’ generalization concerning the *eidolon* is based on the particular case of Leonidas, in which the *eidolon* served as a substitute, as Schaefer has rightly argued.

The only parallel to this sort of ‘royal substitute’ that I know of, is perhaps to be found in Cypriot archaeology. A most remarkable cenotaph excavated at Salamis in Cyprus has been identified with the cenotaph of the family of the last king of Salamis, who incinerated themselves together with their palace in 311/10 BC. Life-size clay statues were found burned, having been fastened in place by the use of sixteen holes around the pyre. The statues are portraits (εἰκόνας) of old and young men and women. The remains of the pyre contained only offerings, but no human bones.¹⁴⁰

Religious as well as political and social considerations presumably necessitated an exceptional funeral, in which a substitute for the body of Leonidas was carried out and buried in a cenotaph. Leonidas’ body had been decapitated and exposed by the Persians, without the Spartans being able to repatriate it in order to offer to it the final honours. Leonidas’ head was still fixed on a stake,¹⁴¹ when Xerxes’ visitors came from Euboea to view the unburied corpses of those opposing the Persian king;¹⁴² among them were the bodies of the

¹³⁴ See Toher 1999, 115.

¹³⁵ See *ibidem*, 115–18, 126.

¹³⁶ See the so-called ἀνδρείκελον (of wax) raised above the bier (ἀνέσχε τις ὑπὲρ τὸ λέχος) of Julius Caesar (App. *B. Civ.* 2.20.147); the lifesize wax image standing on the bier of Augustus and his other two images on chariots (Cass. Dio 56.34.1); the absent image from the head of Germanicus’ bier (Tac. *Ann.* 3.5); the wax image standing on Marcus Aurelius’ bier (Hdn. 4.2.2).

¹³⁷ See the statue of Archidamos III, set up at Olympia, above and Plut. *Ages.* 2.2.; cf. *Quest. Graec.* 215 a (*Apophthegmata Laconica*). See also Cartledge 1987, 342.

¹³⁸ See Richer 1994, 72–3.

¹³⁹ With regard to the earlier times, see above n. 115.

¹⁴⁰ See Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 258.

¹⁴¹ See Hdt. 7.238.1 and above.

¹⁴² See Hdt. 8.24–25.1.

Angeliki Petropoulou

Three Hundred Spartans fallen around Leonidas. The only way to honour the heroic king with a 'royal funeral,' i.e. in his own homeland, was to build a cenotaph among the royal graves of the Agiads,¹⁴³ to which they carried a richly decked bier with Leonidas' life-size and lifelike effigy standing on it. Leonidas' funeral was certainly attended by all Spartans. Among them were presumably the relatives of the Three Hundred, whose bodies had not yet been accorded funerary rites or any sort of burial at Thermopylai.¹⁴⁴ Thus, even on the occasion of a national disaster, the carrying out to the tomb of a bier with a royal substitute on it served the function of uniting all Spartans at a single funeral.

From a religious point of view, the *eidolon* was necessary to attract the soul of the unburied king to the grave (cenotaph) and through it to the underworld. For the soul, known as *psyche*, which was called an *eidolon* from the moment it left the body,¹⁴⁵ did not descend to Hades until the corpse had been burned and/or buried, a belief that goes back to Homer.¹⁴⁶ Yet to argue that the *eidolon* was employed to attract to Sparta the 'protective power' of Leonidas¹⁴⁷ is a different matter, not confirmed by the evidence.

A story based on the belief of the protective power of the body of Alexander the Great is indicative.¹⁴⁸ Alexander's followers were arguing about the succession while his body lay unburied, until Aristander of Telmessus told them what the gods had supposedly said to him: the land that received Alexander's body, the earlier habitation of his soul, would be blessed and unconquered for ever. Alexander's generals then begin to quarrel, each one wishing to carry off the prize to his own kingdom. The story continues with the report that when Ptolemy stole Alexander's corpse and hurried with it to Alexandria, he was pursued by Perdiccas. There was a struggle over the corpse, but Ptolemy checked Perdiccas by means of a stratagem: he constructed a likeness (*εἶδωλον*) of Alexander,¹⁴⁹ clad in royal robes and a shroud of considerable quality, set it on one of the Persian carriages and decked out the bier magnificently with silver, gold, and ivory; Alexander's real body he sent ahead without luxury and formality by a secret and little-used route. When Perdiccas seized the imitation corpse and the elaborate carriage, he stopped his pursuit, under the impression that he had acquired the prize. It is too late when he realised he had been deceived.

¹⁴³ See above n. 85.

¹⁴⁴ Leonidas chose his 300 men among the Spartans who had sons living, see Hdt. 7.205.2.

¹⁴⁵ See Burkert 1985, 195. Cf. Richer 1994, 77–8.

¹⁴⁶ See Rohde 1925, 18–9. Cf. Petropoulou 1988, 484–5.

¹⁴⁷ See Richer 1994, 79 ff.

¹⁴⁸ See Ael. VH 12.64.

¹⁴⁹ See Ael. VH 12.64, lines 32–33: *εἶδωλον γὰρ ποιησάμενος ὅμοιον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ*.

The Spartan royal funeral

The story suggests that the protective power of the king lay in his actual physical remains and not in his *eidolon*, i.e. the life-size and lifelike effigy. This was why forty years after Thermopylai, the Spartans transferred Leonidas' (supposed) relics to a grave in Sparta,¹⁵⁰ as they had done earlier with Orestes' bones.¹⁵¹ By this time, however, Leonidas had certainly been heroized and his name inscribed on his tomb, as was also the case with the hero of Plataiai, Pausanias, as we shall see below. Because of Leonidas' heroization, the names of the Three Hundred who had died heroically around the king, also became known in visible form for the first time at his tomb. Our witness to this is Pausanias, who saw both the names and patronymics inscribed on a stele erected there.¹⁵² The source of information was evidently some official list on which had been written the names of the 300 men chosen by Leonidas himself, all being fathers of living sons (Hdt. 7.205.2).¹⁵³ As for the tomb, in which Leonidas' remains were placed, it was situated not among the other royal Agiad graves,¹⁵⁴ but close to the tomb of Pausanias, the hero of Plataiai. In accordance with a Delphic oracle,¹⁵⁵ the latter's bones had been also transferred to a grave bearing his name,¹⁵⁶ at the spot where he had died, in front of the sacred precinct (*temenos*) of Athena Chalkioikos.

III. SPARTAN AND ACHAEMENID ROYAL PRACTICES OF COMPULSORY MOURNING

"We should not be too concerned about Herodotus' belief that the Spartans got their funeral rite for their kings from Asiatic practices. This is probably only a deduction based on the evidence for embalming the Spartan kings who had died away from the community and a reflection of the prejudice held generally among classical Greeks that excessive mourning was characteristic of barbarian Asia."¹⁵⁷ This statement is a good example of how easily we can misunderstand the text or the intentions of an author of the calibre of Herodotus. First and foremost,

¹⁵⁰ See Paus. 3.14.1.

¹⁵¹ See above. For differing views of the importance of Orestes' bones, see McCauley 1999, 88–95.

¹⁵² See Paus. 3.14.1, lines 10–12: *κεῖται δὲ καὶ στήλη πατρόθεν τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχουσα οἱ πρὸς Μῆδους τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀγῶνα ὑπέμειναν*.

¹⁵³ For similar lists kept by the Athenian taxiarchs, against which they checked the names of the missing dead, see Vaughn 1991, 46.

¹⁵⁴ See above n. 85.

¹⁵⁵ See Thuc. 1.134.4.

¹⁵⁶ His body may have been initially buried in Pitana as is assumed by Cartledge 1987, 335.

¹⁵⁷ See Toher 1991, 172, n. 55.

Herodotus does not say that the Spartans got their royal funeral rite from Asiatic practices, but that they practice the same funeral custom as most of the barbarians of Asia. Secondly, there is no indication that Herodotus knew of the Spartan method of 'embalming' the Spartan kings who died abroad;¹⁵⁸ but even if he did, he would have probably made no mention of it in his account at 6.58, since he was focusing there only on the public aspect of Spartan royal funerals. Finally, we should not forget that, before coming to mainland Greece, Herodotus was himself a subject of the Persian king and probably had first-hand information on mourning practices in Asia under Persian rule.

As a matter of fact, at 6.59 Herodotus does compare a custom of the Spartans which resembled one of the rituals practiced by the Persians. This was a practice inaugurating the rule of the incoming Spartan and Persian kings *after mourning was over*.¹⁵⁹ It was the remission of loans owed by Spartan citizens indebted to the king or the state (ὅσους τι Σπαρτιητέων τῷ βασιλεῖ ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ ὠφείλε) and of the yearly tax (τὸν προοφειλόμενον φόρον) that was already owed to the new Persian king by subject nations.¹⁶⁰ An exceptional case is the remission of taxes not for one year, but for a three-year period by pseudo-Smerdis (Hdt. 3.67.2–68.1). As soon as he came to the throne, he proclaimed to all nations under his rule a *three-year* remission of tribute and military service, ἐς πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ἤρχε προεῖπε ἀτελείην εἶναι στρατηγῆς καὶ φόρον ἐπ' ἕτεα τρία (3.67.3).¹⁶¹ So thanks to these extraordinary benefits that the subject nations in Asia received from him, when he died, he was sorely missed by all except the Persians themselves.

At 6.58.2–3, however, Herodotus was simply generalising about the Asiatic, non-Greek peoples who shared the same royal funeral custom with the Spartans. Yet it is usually felt that at this point too he was thinking of the Persians.¹⁶² Below we shall compare Spartan and Achaemenid royal practices of compulsory mourning. As we shall see, the Achaemenid practices were carried out on a much grander scale than the Spartan customs and, although there are certain similarities, the divergences are much more significant, and are certainly due to the non-despotic character of dual kingship in Classical Sparta.

Greek and Latin historians, beginning with Herodotus, provide us with a few glimpses into Achaemenid funerary concepts or practices that concern pollution and defilement in the context of a royal death. That the pollution

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Cartledge 1987, 334.

¹⁵⁹ See on this point above.

¹⁶⁰ A description of the tribute system and the yearly tributes of the subject nations is given by Hdt. 3.89–96.

¹⁶¹ The passage is cited by Scott 2005, 251.

¹⁶² See Cartledge 1987, 333. Cf. Millender 2002, 6.

The Spartan royal funeral

deriving from a king's body had a greater effect than that from a commoner's corpse, was probably a notion prevalent among most "barbarians of Asia". Yet unlike the death of a Spartan king, that of an Achaemenid seems to have been capable of affecting not just the city where the king resided (i.e. Persepolis), but the entire Persian state. This is suggested by Diodorus Siculus' report (17.114.4) on the measures taken by Alexander the Great when preparing the funeral of Hephaistion. Alexander proclaimed to all the peoples in Asia that they should sedulously extinguish what the Persians called 'sacred fire',¹⁶³ until the *ekphora* was over. According to Diodorus, Alexander was acting in accordance with a custom held by the Persians on the deaths of their kings, τοῦτο δὲ εἰώθασιν οἱ Πέρσαι ποιεῖν κατὰ τὰς τῶν βασιλέων τελευτάς. The Persians, like the Greeks, believed in the sacred nature of fire, but their fusion of religious concepts and funerary customs was governed by an extreme sense of purity. For the Persians, fire was the symbol of the light of the great god and should not be polluted by dead bodies, which were buried in the earth, rather than being cremated.¹⁶⁴ Persian concern for the purity of fire was so great that they put to death even those blowing the sacrificial fire with their breath instead of fanning it, not to mention those setting a corpse or dung on it.¹⁶⁵

Compulsory mourning throughout the empire was certainly a feature of royal Achaemenid funerals. Direct evidence is lacking, but we do know the actions of Cyrus the Great, when his beloved wife Cassandane died. In addition to grieving deeply, he issued a proclamation that all his subjects go into mourning for her, Κῦρος αὐτός τε μέγα πένθος ἐποιήσατο καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι προεῖπε πᾶσι τῶν ἥρχε πένθος ποιέεσθαι (Hdt. 2.1.1). Likewise Alexander, on the death of Hephaistion, is said to have proclaimed that the entire barbarian world should go into mourning (Arr. *Anab.* 7.14.9).¹⁶⁶ As in the case of the sacred fire, Alexander was probably observing a Persian royal custom. Consequently the Achaemenid kings occasionally granted to a dearest member of the royal family, such as a beloved wife, the same extraordinary funerary honours they themselves received upon their death.

How the compulsory mourning for the death of Cassandane was actually effected, we do not know. Information on Persians mourning in public is scarce. In any case, Greek authors were struck by the Persians' excessive expressions of grief, whenever facing national disaster. Men and women alike tore not only hair

¹⁶³ For perpetually burning fires on the altars within Persian temples in Cappadocia, see Strab. 15.3.15. For a fire altar placed by Eumenes in front of the statue of Alexander, see Diod. Sic. 18.61.1.

¹⁶⁴ See Razmjou 2005, 154.

¹⁶⁵ See Strab. 15.3.14.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Plut. *Pel.* 34.2.

but also clothes.¹⁶⁷ These, however, were spontaneous reactions, as they were among the Greeks.

How exactly the Achaemenid kings were publicly mourned is not recorded. However, the self-defilement and lamentation of the entire Persian army and Mardonius himself on the death of Masistios, the commander of the Persian cavalry, may give us some idea.¹⁶⁸ When Masistios was slain in a battle preliminary to Plataiai and his body was not retrieved, the Persians indulged in deep mourning, which lasted a prescribed period of time, the length of which is not reported.¹⁶⁹ They defiled not only themselves but also their horses and yoke-animals, by cutting their own hair and the animals' manes, and they lamented endlessly: σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια οἰμωγῇ τε χρεώμενοι ἀπλέτω (Hdt. 9.24). It is worth noting that the word οἰμωγῇ, which means "wailing,"¹⁷⁰ is used by Herodotus only in Persian contexts;¹⁷¹ and that those mourning for the loss of Masistios probably amounted to no fewer than 30,000.¹⁷² Their wailing, we are told, was so intense that it was heard all over Boeotia.

Attendance at the funeral and public lamentation for a deceased king was evidently also imposed upon all the subjects of the Persians, at least those who were of Iranian origin.¹⁷³ However, we do not know how many members of Iranian households were obliged to defile themselves or attend the funeral. With regard to the defilement of mourners, the question also arises as to whether these mourners, in addition to cutting their hair, had to wear white garments, white being the colour of mourning among the Iranians.¹⁷⁴

We are better informed about the imposition of public mourning from texts referring to tyrants ruling in Asia Minor or mainland Greece. The antiquarian Hippias Erythraeus provides us with interesting information about Ortyges, an otherwise unknown tyrant of Erythrai, which was under Persian rule

¹⁶⁷ See Hdt. 3.66.1; 8.99.2. See also Curt. 3.11.25: *Ingens circa eam nobilium feminarum turba constiterat laceratis crinibus abscissaque veste*.

¹⁶⁸ See on the subject, Petropoulou 2008, 19–20.

¹⁶⁹ The duration of mourning, which is presumed to be two or three days, was dictated by the fact that war was still in progress. See Petropoulou 2008, 20. Patroclus was mourned for three whole days. See Petropoulou 1986–1987, 32–4.

¹⁷⁰ See Powell 1938, s.v. οἰμωγῇ.

¹⁷¹ See Cartledge 1987, 334. Excessive lamentation becomes a feature of the barbarian world in Attic tragedy. See Millender 2002, 7–8.

¹⁷² Not including the Greek allies of the Persians. See Petropoulou 2008, 20.

¹⁷³ Should we count among them the Bactrians and the Sacae, who formed part of Mardonius' army at Plataiai? On this latter point, see Hdt. 9.31.3–4 and Green 1996, 249–50. Cf. also Petropoulou 2008, 20.

¹⁷⁴ See Duchesne-Guillemin 1962, 104.

The Spartan royal funeral

in the second half of the 6th century BC.¹⁷⁵ Whenever one of them died, Ortyges and his fellow tyrants, who had murdered king Knopos, gathered together the citizens with their wives and children and compelled them to lament the dead and to beat their breasts and utter shrill and loud cries, while a man armed with a whip (*μαστιγοφόρος*) stood over them and forced them to do so. The regulation of the mourners' behaviour by a *μαστιγοφόρος* reminds us of the whips used by the leaders of the Persian regiments at Thermopylai to drive their men into combat (Hdt. 7.223). So even if Ortyges and his fellow tyrants are semi-historical persons, such a description of forced funerary behaviour seems to reflect historical practices.

On the other hand, the members of the Corinthian clan of Bacchiadai obliged the Megarians to attend their funerals, according to a scholium on Pindar (*Nem.* 7.155 b)¹⁷⁶ adduced as evidence by Toher.¹⁷⁷ The Megarians did so "in their subordinate role as colonists of the Corinthians,"¹⁷⁸ or because they had been reduced to perioikic status, as van Wees has proposed.¹⁷⁹ One may also remark that Megarian men and "married" women, i.e. married couples, were obliged to attend the funerals,¹⁸⁰ but not children as well.

In spite of the similarities between Spartan and Achaemenid royal practices of compulsory mourning, by far more significant are the divergences. The Spartan royal obligatory mourning seems to differ in two respects from that imposed by the Achaemenids or earlier Greek tyrants: (1) the recipients of the Spartan funerary honours are the kings alone, not their wives as well, or other members of the royal family or milieu; and (2) the obligation for ritual defilement is restricted to specifically defined numbers of *adult* male and female (free) members of every Spartan and Laconian household, i.e. married couples, while only a specific number of the *perioikoi* (married couples) who have defiled themselves are required to attend the funeral as mourners for the dead king. It should be noted that there is no case known of public mourning for a Spartan king's deceased wife, even if she happened to have been as loved by him as Cassandane was by Cyrus. A case in point is Agiatis, the beautiful and prudent wife of Cleomenes III, whose love for her is said to have been without limit.

¹⁷⁵ See FGrH 421 F 1 (=Ath. 6.259).

¹⁷⁶ The story, which supposedly explained the proverb "Megarian tears," is attributed to the atthidographer Demon (FGrH 327.19) but may go back to Ephorus. See van Wees 2003, 62–64 and n. 90. See also Luraghi 2003, 114 and n. 23.

¹⁷⁷ See Toher 1991, 173.

¹⁷⁸ See *ibidem* 174.

¹⁷⁹ See the other of the two interpretations proposed by van Wees 2003, 63–4.

¹⁸⁰ Ἔδει Μεγαρέων ἀνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐλθόντας εἰς Κόρινθον συγκηδεύειν τὸν νεκρὸν [τῶν Βακχιαδῶν].

Angeliki Petropoulou

When she died, the king mourned for her privately, with his mother and children at home.¹⁸¹ The behaviour of Cleomenes stands in sharp contrast to that of Cyrus the Great.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Hodkinson¹⁸² has recently noted two exceptions to the egalitarian funerary practices of the Spartans: the return to Sparta for burial of the bodies of the kings who died abroad and the public nature of the funerary rites, which did not restrict involvement to certain degrees of kin. He has also cited three specific rites: (1) the proclamation of the king's death throughout Laconia; (2) the imposition of mourning on two free persons from every household; and (3) the compulsory attendance at the burial not only by Spartiates but also by *perioikoi* and helots, who all lamented together, while proclaiming that their last king was the best.

We have further argued (I) that all practices concerning compulsory mourning are exceptions one way or another in the context of Classical Sparta: (1) the announcement of a king's death not by heralds but by horsemen, probably the five so-called *agathoergoi* of the year; (2) the simultaneous purification of the city of Sparta by married women performing a beating on cauldrons ritual; (3) the self-defilement of one married couple in every Spartan and Laconian household, which was probably effected through wearing black clothes and having one's hair cut; (4) the attendance and ritual lamentation at the burial by married couples not only of all Spartans but also of certain numbers of *perioikoi* and helots, which was performed without restraint; and (5) the closing of the marketplace and the postponement of the succession procedure until the days were no longer regarded as inauspicious.

We have also shown (II) that the repatriation of the bodies of the kings who died abroad, was a *sine qua non* for a Spartan royal funeral; and that the grave to which the king's *eidolon* was carried mentioned by Herodotus was actually a cenotaph. This latter procedure, which was carried out in the case of Leonidas, was necessitated by the fact that his decapitated body had been left exposed on the battlefield, rather than being repatriated and buried in Sparta. All these honours were practices with which no other Spartan of the Classical period, no matter how high his rank, had ever been honoured either singly or collectively. These exceptional honours justify Xenophon's view (*Lac.* 15.8–9) that

¹⁸¹ See Plut. *Cleom.* 22.1–3.

¹⁸² See Hodkinson 2000, 262–3.

The Spartan royal funeral

the Spartans honoured their kings posthumously with exceptional τιμαί, regardless of what the precise meaning of the phrase ὡς ἥρωας may be.¹⁸³

Finally, we have shown (III), that although there are certain similarities between Spartan and Achaemenid royal practices of compulsory mourning, the chief similarity being the effect on the state of the pollution caused by the death of a king and the modes of self-defilement (cutting of one's hair) and ritual lamentation (without restraint), the divergences are far more significant. In Sparta only a king – and no other member of his family – receives exceptional honours on his death, while public mourning (i.e. both self-defilement and attendance with lamentation at the funeral) is imposed upon specific numbers and ages of mourners in every household, namely upon one married couple, not upon the entire family including children. On the other hand, Achaemenid kings and Greek tyrants more or less arbitrarily proclaim public mourning on the death of other members of the royal family or ruling clan/class as well. As for those obliged to attend the funeral and act as mourners, they were occasionally, as at Erythrai, not restricted to specific numbers or ages and included both young and elderly family members.

Tyrtaeus'¹⁸⁴ evidence for forced (attendance and) lamentation by the Messenian helots at the funerals of their Spartan masters seems to suggest that the imposition of mourning at the Spartan royal obsequies derives from archaic Spartan funerary customs, which had been exceptionally preserved¹⁸⁵ and re-adapted to fit the non-despotic character of dual kingship. By contrast, defilement (μιασμοί) and public lamentation (ὀδυρμοί), means through which the imposition of royal mourning is actually expressed, had been abolished in the private sphere in the archaic period, a measure attributed to Lykourgos.

¹⁸³ See the opposing views of Cartledge 1987, 335–6 and Parker 1988, 9–10; cf. Cartledge 1988, 43–4.

¹⁸⁴ See fr. 7 (West): δεσπότας οἰμώζοντες, ὁμῶς ἄλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοί.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. van Wees 2003, 34–7.

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CHAPTER 34

MYCENAEAN AND MODERN RITUALS OF DEATH AND RESURRECTION: COMPARATIVE DATA BASED ON A KRATER FROM HAGIA TRIADA, ELIS¹

ELENI PSYCHOGIOU

INTRODUCTION

In this paper I will attempt to add a different interpretation to those suggested up to now as regards the scene depicted on the Mycenaean krater from the cemetery of Palioboukovina² at Hagia Triada of Elis (**FIG. 1**). I suggest that it should be seen as a rite forming part of religious worship, comparable to modern cultural practices which are connected with death in social, although mainly symbolic, terms, as I have come to know these from my general ethnographic experience and knowledge of the Greek world, but also from my personal, long-term *in situ* research in this particular region.³

As Martin Nilsson states in his *History of Ancient Greek Religion*, "... if we want to make the pictures speak, the best method is to compare them with other religions ..." ⁴ It is now an accepted thesis that modern ethnographic data are valuable, under certain conditions, in providing comparative solutions to cultural questions posed by the past, and vice versa.⁵ As is well known, and as far as we can judge from such comparisons, modern popular religious rites seem to have many similarities (from the point of view of comparative religion) with pre-Christian practices – mainly those connected with agricultural, popular ancient worship, practices almost alien to us, as these were passed down from generation to generation through oral tradition and ritual.⁶ If my examination of those features which I am able to approach

¹ I would like to thank warmly Bill and Lena Cavanagh for translating this paper into English.

² Schoinas 1999; Vikatou 1999, 2001, 2006; Cf. also Psychogiou 2008, 345–347.

³ Psychogiou 2008, esp. 322–47.

⁴ Nilsson 1977, 18; 2000.

⁵ Trigger 2005, 304–28. Cf. also Gallou 2005, 112.

⁶ Gallou 2005, 52.

from an anthropological point of view is considered valid, then they might help archaeologists to make sense of other elements of the representation on the krater, in the context of religious Mycenaean rituals, which I myself am not in a position to appreciate.⁷

THE PHALLIC 'CHIEF MOURNER'

I begin with the two ithyphallic male figures in the picture, who appear to be almost identical (**FIG. 1**). The standing male figure on the right edge of the picture does not appear, in my view, to represent a male leader of the mourning chorus being depicted ('chorus' having the meaning it has in tragedy) which is the usual explanation, not only because of the dancing position of his body, but also because the lament in antiquity, as in modern times, is a female activity.⁸ This, after all, is evident from other pictorial data from the Mycenaean period, such as the Tanagra larnakes and others; moreover in the Homeric epos, which describes conditions during the Mycenaean times, the dead are mourned primarily by female relatives and other women, like Hecuba, Andromache, Helen, Thetis, Briseis.



FIG. 1. Funeral representation on the Mycenaean crater from Palioboukovina, Elis (Source: Voukatou 2001, 275. Excavated by Chr. Schoinas. Vase conserved and restored by S. Christopoulos and P. Kalpakos. Drawn by I. Markopoulou. Photographed by P. Konstantopoulos and St. Stournaras).

⁷ Gallou 2005, 82–110.

⁸ Alexiou 1974; Psychogiou 2008; cf. also Vikatou 2001.

Mycenaean and modern rituals of death

I would therefore find it difficult to interpret the male figure mentioned as the leader of the dirge. I would consider him a priestly figure or rather, because of its clearly ithyphallic nature, as a symbolic, metaphysical, daemonic or divine figure, depicted in some mythical representation, or as a person in the equivalent theatrical role in the context of some religious rite.

The hammer-like or axe-like object, which the standing ithyphallic, bearded man is holding up in his raised hand, is of particular interest and reinforces the above hypothesis. Archaeologists who have studied this Mycenaean representation consider it to be some ritualistic object which serves as a lethal weapon and may be connected with the sacrifice. A similar object seems to be held against the chest by a (probably male) figurine found in the cult area at Mycenae, where archaeologists are studying the chthonic, funeral characteristics in ritual practices (**FIG. 2**).⁹ The similarity between the two objects (that shown on the Mycenaean krater and that on the Mycenaean figurine), the sites where the artifacts on which they are depicted were found (the dromos of the grave and the shrine in Mycenae respectively), the way they are held by the male figures (high up as a kind of sceptre/flag on the krater and like an object of worship on the figurine) in my view make it almost certain that the hammer/axe is connected with religion, worship and death.

In my opinion a similar object, that is, something like a hammer or axe hangs from a nail on the wall behind the dead person laid out on a bier in the representation on the neck of a Geometric funeral amphora in the Benaki Museum (**FIG. 3**).¹⁰ The size of this object and the way it stands out in the scene painted on the amphora point us away from interpreting its appearance as accidental or irrelevant to the laying-out ('prothesis') of the dead person, as if it was already part of the surroundings and independent of the scene. On the contrary, it seems that the intention is to stress its connection with the funeral rites and the dead person on the bier. The hammer/axe on the Geometric amphora is not held by any figure as in the Mycenaean representations, but hangs inside the space where the funeral rite of prothesis is taking place, yet in obvious relation to the dead person. This may indicate that in the Geometric period that object had lost its practical function and had acquired the character of an object which was necessary during funeral rites and worship, but which now had a purely symbolic importance and use, as a kind of 'habitus' directly connected to death rites and funeral practices.¹¹ In fact, archaeologists do accept the endurance of funeral traditions in antiquity and of the 'continuity', as it were, of the relevant beliefs and practices,

⁹ Gallou 2005, 29 and 182, fig. 9. Cf. also Mylonas 1977, 19–24.

¹⁰ Cavanagh & Mee 1995, 49, fig. 12.

¹¹ Bourdieu 1977.

including the period from Mycenaean to Geometric. This is based also on comparisons between Mycenaean and Geometric representations of funeral rituals.¹²

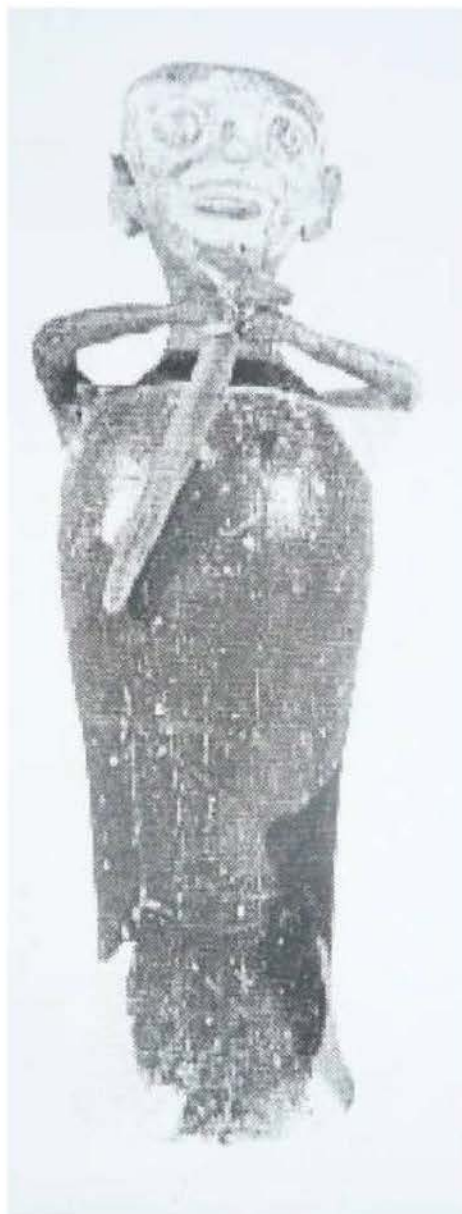


FIG. 3. Representation of a *prothesis* on the neck of a Geometric amphora in the Benaki Museum (Source: Cavanagh & Mee 1995). On the wall beside the dead body hangs a hammer-axe, which looks identical to the one carried by the standing male figure on the Mycenaean crater from Palioboukovina and to the one carried by the figurine from the 'centre of worship' at Mycenae.

FIG. 2. Male figurine from the 'centre of worship' at Mycenae (Source: Gallou 2005, 182). The figure is holding a hammer-axe, which looks identical to the one carried by the standing male figure on the Mycenaean crater from Palioboukovina.

If, therefore, we combine the examples (at least three) of the appearance of a hammer/axe on such representations (the figurine from the cult area in Mycenae, the krater from the Mycenaean cemetery at Palioboukovina and the Geometric funeral amphora) we can, I think, assume that the hammer/axe is connected with death (as a sacrificial weapon), with the dead and with the worship of chthonic deities throughout the ages, namely during and after the Bronze Age.¹³

¹² Cavanagh & Mee 1995; Vikatou 2001; Eder 2001.

¹³ Gallou 2005, 26–7.

Mycenaean and modern rituals of death

I am basing the above observations regarding the scene on the krater on comparisons I have made with modern pagan seasonal practices in the framework of the cycle of the ritual year, which are carried out traditionally throughout the whole of Greece, but mainly in the Peloponnese and more particularly in Elis, where the archaeological evidence under scrutiny was found, namely the krater.

The standing, ithyphallic man mentioned above reminds me strongly of a sacred persona who is similar in terms of iconography and ritual. It is a symbolic figure who takes a leading part in modern, seasonal rituals performed by dancers and other revellers, equivalent to the ancient 'Metragyrtes', who are connected with the worship of the Great Mother.¹⁴ Such a ritual is the 'genissaristic dance' which is performed by revellers during Carnival in NW Elis (FIG. 4, 5, 6, 7). The man in figure 4 is called 'Gotsis' or 'Genitsaris' and assumes the role of the leader of this particular ritualistic dance, which includes war-like features that seem to emphasise metaphorically the masculinity of the participants. This is also indicated by the name given to the revellers, 'genitsaroi' (Janissaries), which invokes memories from the Turkish occupation of Greece and the well-known synonymous elite corps of the Ottoman Empire. Similar war-like features are attributed, after all, to the two male figures on the Mycenaean krater by archaeologists who have studied it.¹⁵ Although the 'genitsaris' in the photograph does not have a clearly ithyphallic disguise, his ritualistic name, 'Gotsis' gives him that attribute. The word comes from the common Greek name Kostas, a shorter version of Konstantinos, which appears as the variants 'Kotsos' or 'Gotsis' in Albanian.¹⁶ Metaphorically (as indicated by the common derivative 'kotsonatos') Gotsis means a mature man with intense sexual drive, strength and stamina, vulgarly known as 'archidatos'¹⁷. It refers metaphorically, therefore, to an ithyphallic figure, given the symbolic context of the rites of fertility and annual regeneration. The role of 'Gotsis' requires the celebrant to flirt theatrically with the 'boula', a man disguised as a beautiful young girl-bride (FIG. 7), while his death is narrated as part of the sacred profane songs that are sung using abusive language which takes the form of a sacred satirical dirge.

¹⁴ Burkert 1977, 167–68, 177, 188–91; Psychogiou 2008, 248–75.

¹⁵ Schoinas 1999, 259–60; Vikatou 2001, 279.

¹⁶ The presence of Albanians especially in the NW Peloponnese (and consequently linguistic borrowings in the local dialect) dates back to the Byzantine period (see Panagiotopoulos 1985).

¹⁷ Cf. also Kontosopoulos 1998, 63–64.



FIG. 4. Giannis Sofianos, the 'Genitsaris-Gotsis' of the 1944 'tsetia' at Myrsini, Elis. He is holding the 'kiloumi', which is covered by a handkerchief (Source: Photographic archive of Dionysis Maniatis).

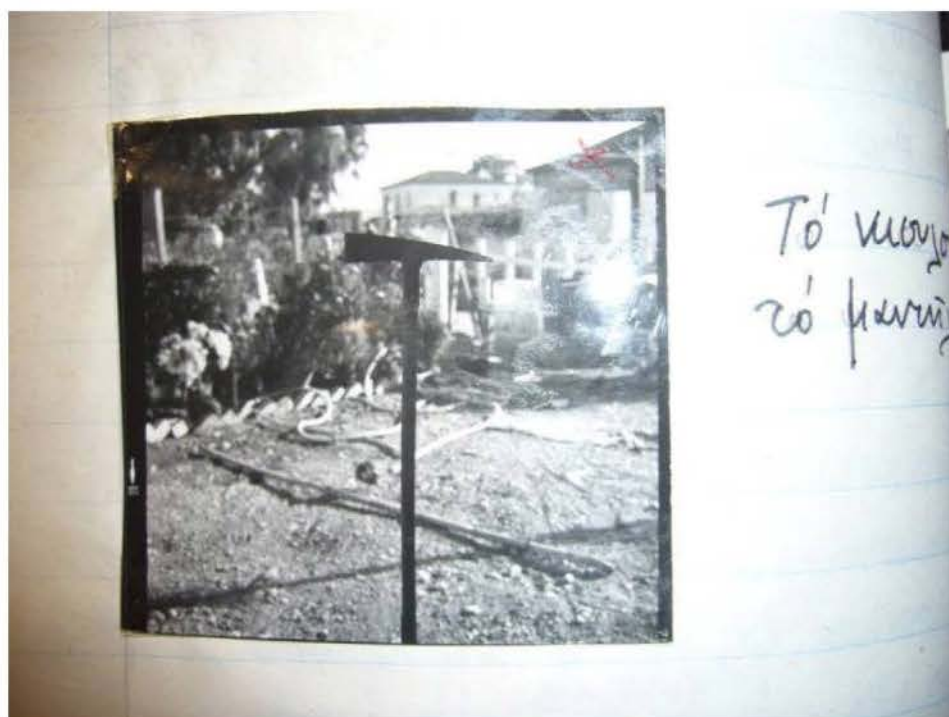


FIG. 5. The iron 'kiloumi' or 'kiouloumi' held by Gotsis as he dances, without the handkerchief that covers it during the dance (Photograph by E. Psychogiou, Myrsini 1975. Source: Κέντρον Ερεΐνης της Ελληνικής Λαογραφίας της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών, manuscript no. 3805, p. 410).

Mycenaean and modern rituals of death



FIG. 6. One of the groups of 'Genitsaroi' who perform seasonal rituals, photographed dancing on the last Sunday of the carnival ('Tyrini') at Lechena, Elis. The first dancer on the left is holding the 'masaki' in his left hand. In the centre and at the back the leader or 'Gotsis' is visible between the first two dancers, holding the 'kiloumi' in his left hand (photograph by Ch. Palladinos. 1994).



FIG. 7. Lechena, Elis, 2001. The 'boula' flirts with the 'Gotsis' as she dances (photograph by Ch. Palladinos).

During the dance, the 'Gotsis' holds another phallic symbol, a sceptre-like tool resembling a hammer/axe called 'kiloumi', which is noticeably similar to the one carried by the standing male figure on the Mycenaean krater (FIGS 4, 5, 6, 7). Apart from its shape, the relationship between the object held by the 'Gotsis' and death and sacrificial rites as well as male sexual drive, is reinforced by the phallic object held by each of the other 'genitsaris'. This object is called 'masaki' and is a tool used by a butcher to sharpen the knives with which he kills animals and cuts up their meat (FIG. 6). So, in the modern regeneration rite of the 'genissar' dance, these ritual objects, the 'masakia' and the 'kiloumi', form yet other examples of symbolism that connect it with death and sacrifice.

Without of course wishing to equate the figure of 'Gotsis' and the phallic standing figure on the krater or to claim a 'continuity' that links them, I do believe that a comparison between them can assist in understanding the role of this figure, especially if we link it to the 'dead' phallic male figure in the same Mycenaean representation (FIG. 1).

THE PHALLIC 'DEAD' FIGURE

The second male figure depicted on the Mycenaean krater from Palioboukovina is also ithyphallic, but he reclines as if dead, laid-out on a deathbed or bier which is covered by a kind of canopy. This particular accessory of the deathbed seems to endow the dead person with a more 'formal' identity, if we compare this deathbed with those depicted on the larnakes from Tanagra, as well as those of the Geometric period.¹⁸

The man reclining does not seem to be quite 'dead' as he is strangely ithyphallic, has raised one hand to his head and is not wearing a shroud but is dressed in the same way as the standing man (FIG. 1).¹⁹ The above observations seem to indicate that, seen together, both male figures are the same and both are sacred. That is, the scene represented does not appear to be the funeral of a mortal man led by the standing man-'priest', as archaeologists who have studied it claim. The resemblance in outline and dress and the ithyphallic character of the two figures does not seem to be accidental but symbolic and is intended to depict one and the same metaphysical figure/figurine (or a theatrical persona) during different phases of his mythical life. If we look at the different 'poses' of the man in sequence from left to right, what seems to be shown is first the 'death' and then his 'resurrection' or rather his periodical, annual 'regeneration'.

¹⁸ Schoinas 1999, 258, 260; Vikatou 2001, 279.

¹⁹ Vikatou 2001, 278.

Mycenaean and modern rituals of death

Modern complex rituals during the time of Carnival seem to me to indicate, again, that the action shown on the krater is symbolic. I refer particularly to the annual ritualistic drama of sacred marriage, death and resurrection which is connected with the chthonic 'mavros' ('the black one'), 'groom'/lover of Mother-Earth-'Mavrigi', mistress of the Underworld.²⁰ The mythical episodes which comprise symbolically and in narrative the myth in question (namely the sacred marriage of the chthonic lover with Mother-Earth, the subsequent death of the 'groom' and his resurrection) take place theatrically, usually within the same seasonal ritual, as a rule by men disguised accordingly, who play all the roles (**FIGS 8–11, 13**).²¹ This daemonic metaphysical hero appears in modern performances during Carnival as a chthonic figure, the 'black one' (his face smeared with black soot), as a living ithyphallic 'groom' beside the (often 'pregnant') bride-Earth (**FIG. 8**). Later he appears, within the same fertility rite, as an ithyphallic 'corpse' inside a casket and also as a 'resurrected' groom (**FIGS 9, 10, 11, 11a**). These roles are either played by one person or by different people who pretend to be the same mythical figure, the ithyphallic groom, living and resurrected, in the same ritual scene. During his 'wake' and 'funeral' the metaphysical 'dead man' has to be accompanied in these modern performances by the 'mourning women' (one or more performers) who wail, beat their breasts and pull out their hair theatrically, whilst singing foul-mouthed, yet sacred, parodies of dirges (**FIGS 11, 11a, 11b**).²²

²⁰ Daraki 1997; Kakouri 1965; Psychogiou 2008, 37–111, 246–87.

²¹ Turner 1974, 1982.

²² Psychogiou 2008, 281–5; Psychogiou in press.



FIG. 8. Nelousa, Messenia (on mount Taygetos), 2006. The 'sacred marriage' of Mother-Earth and the dying-resurrected ithyphallic bridegroom (the phallus taking the form of a snake) during the post-Carnival ritual performance of 'Clean Monday', the beginning of Lent (photograph by E. Psychogiou).



FIG. 9. Nedousa, Messinia, 2005. The *ekphora* of the 'dead' sacred ithyphallic 'bridegroom' through the streets of the village (photograph by E. Psychogiou).

Mycenaean and modern rituals of death



FIG. 10. Nedousa, Messinia, 2006. The *ekphora* of the 'dead' sacred ithyphallic 'bridegroom' (photograph by E. Psychogiou).



FIG. 11. Nedousa, Messinia, 2006. 'Mourners' and a bare-breasted 'widow-bride', their arms in the air, mourn the dead sacred ithyphallic bridegroom who lies inside the coffin, but who at the same time can be seen, alive, behind the coffin (photograph by E. Psychogiou).



FIG. 11a. Nedousa, Messinia, 2006. Detail of the ithyphallic bridegroom in Fig. 11 (photograph edited by Fl. Ioannidi).



FIG. 11b. Nedousa, Messinia, 2006. Detail from Fig. 11 with the ithyphallic 'dead' bridegroom and the 'mourners' (photograph edited by Fl. Ioannidi).

Some times, for various (usually practical) reasons, not all of the 'scenes' of the sacred drama are enacted (for example, only the wedding or the death

Mycenaean and modern rituals of death

may be 'played'). However, despite the somewhat fragmentary performance of this sacred drama, the participants/members of the local community are aware of the myth, through oral tradition and as a collective social knowledge and ritual practice. They are able to imagine the sacred narrative in its totality, as a structured sacred drama which is connected with the seasons and with fertility.

THE MOURNING WOMEN

Let us now compare modern-day mourners with the women who surround the phallic dead man in the scene depicted on the Mycenaean krater. First of all I believe that the first and third mourner, starting from the left, probably do not have their heads turned to the side, as is usually thought, but face forward, their heads tilted slightly back in grief (especially the first woman), in such a way that not just the eye but the mouth is open in a show of grief, as they 'groan', producing lamentations and weeping.²³ The Mycenaean painter seems here to be trying to represent that which primarily comprises a real or symbolic lament but which cannot be expressed figuratively: dirges, laments, whether they relate to a mortal corpse or some sacred metaphysical dead figure during a theatrical or mythological representation.

The mourning women depicted on the krater in question have an extremely similar appearance, both in terms of dress as well as body-language and gestures, to modern-day mourners, who are traditionally dressed in black. The placing of one or both hands on their head (in this case winged figures) indicates, as is generally known, a gesture of mourning, today called 'hair-pulling' by the women themselves.²⁴ It involves the removal of the funerary black headscarf covering the head, beating the head and, as if in a trance, pulling the hair until it is painfully uprooted – a traditional mourning gesture practiced throughout Greece. Accompanying the symbolic lament for the daemonic, sacred dead figure which I mentioned above, the gestures towards the head (symbolising mourning) are, because of the theatricality of the representations, rather stylized and even comical (FIGS 11, 11b, 13).

²³ See also Iakovidis 1966, 48, ill. 3.

²⁴ Iakovidis 1966, 45; Psychogiou 2008, 44–45; cf. also Hoffman 2002, 541.



FIG. 12. Individual representational parallels (from Figs 1, 6 and 11) between modern religious folk performances and the scene depicted on the Mycenaean crater (photograph edited by Fl. Ioannidi).



FIG. 13. Vonitsa, Aitolioakarnania, 'Clean Monday' 2001. The custom of a post-Carnival procession which includes a float carrying the resurrected 'Gligorakis' (on the left). The 'mother' of the 'dead' Gligorakis 'mourns' with her arms on her head pretending to be pulling out her hair. (photograph by E. Psychogiou).

Mycenaean and modern rituals of death

Something similar could be taking place in the scene on the Mycenaean krater under examination, if we assume that it is a religious one; perhaps it relates to theatrical, symbolic mourning, not real mourning for a mortal, judging by the pronounced way that the mourning gestures are depicted. This hypothesis could perhaps be supported by the somewhat intricate dresses of the women, which may indicate priestly or theatrical roles and enactments. In particular the stretching of the hand of one of the mourners towards the dead figure (which is usually a gesture of male priests in Mycenaean funeral scenes and is interpreted as a final 'farewell' to the dead man) may in this case indicate the theatrical and ritualistic significance of the whole scene depicted on the krater and the sacred nature of the dead person.²⁵

The non-Christian mourning tradition for both mortals and the symbolic, daemonic dead is still today so strong among women, that they insist on following it even for the dead Christ. They carry out an unauthorised interpolation to ecclesiastical ritual inside Orthodox churches, even though the content of their dirges does not agree with the eschatological content of Christian teaching on salvation and the afterlife.²⁶ On the night of Good Thursday leading up to Good Friday women, mostly dressed in black, sit around the canopied 'tomb' of Christ (so alike in design to the bier on the Mycenaean krater) all through the night, singing the multi-stanza 'lament of the Virgin Mary', which finds parallels in laments of mothers for their mortal children or in theatrical laments for the sacred, metaphysical, reborn dead (**FIG. 14**).²⁷ Such laments are also sung by women in church for the 'dormant' Virgin during the feast of the Assumption (in Greek 'Dormition') on the 15th August; for example in the convents of the Makellaria Virgin near Hagia Triada (Boukovina) and the convent at Notena (**FIGS 15, 16**).

²⁵ Cavanagh & Mee 1995.

²⁶ Alexiou 2002, 106; Saunier 1999, 14; Psychogiou 2008, 36–8.

²⁷ Psychogiou 2008, 31–2, 86–7, 313–18.



FIG. 14. Vonitsa, Aitolioakarnania, 2000. Women mourners surround the 'Tomb' of Christ during Good Friday rituals (photograph by E. Psychogiou).



FIG. 15. The funeral bed-bier with a canopy for the 'sleeping' Virgin Mary in the church of the monastery of Makellaria in Achaia, during the feast of the Ascension (Orthodox 'Dormition'). On the left-hand side at the back an icon of the Virgin at a different stage of her life, holding the baby Jesus (photograph by E. Psychogiou, 14.8.2007).

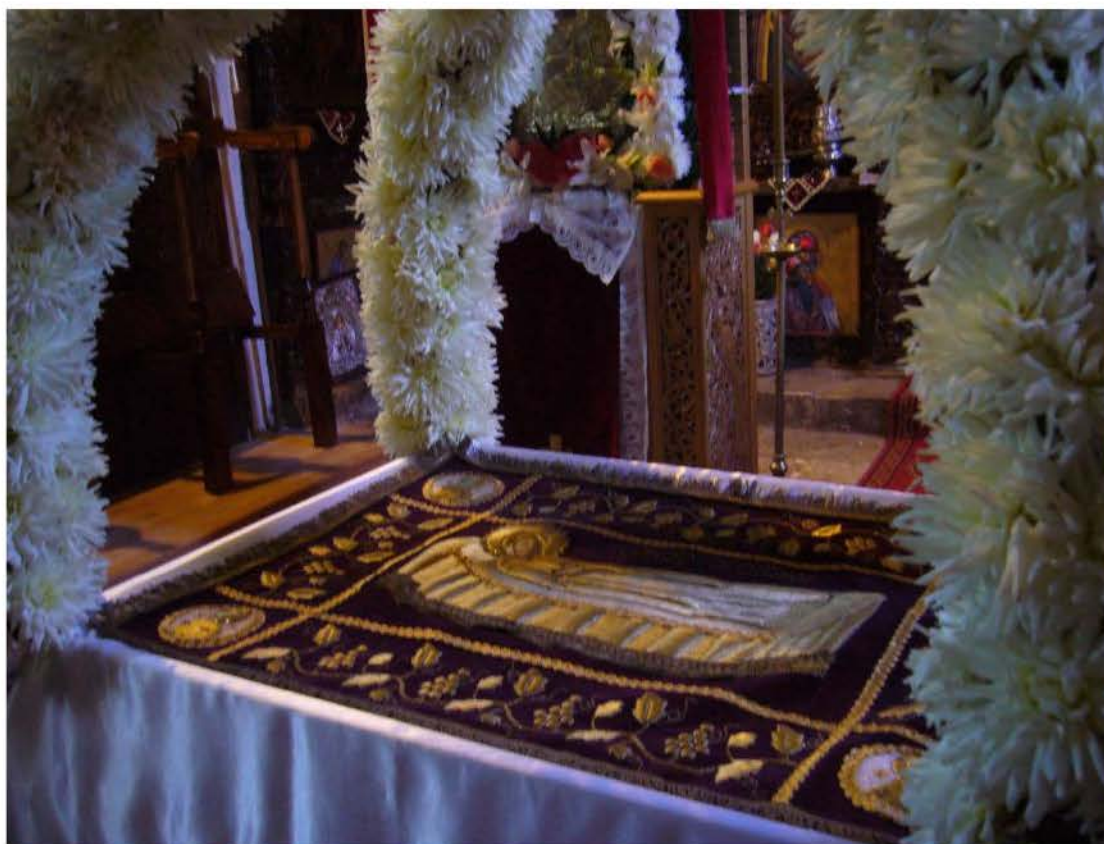


FIG. 16. Detail of the funeral bed-bier with canopy with the embroidered icon of the 'sleeping' Virgin Mary in the church of the monastery of Makellaria in Achaia, during the feast of the Ascension (photograph by E. Psychogiou, 14.8.2007).

Finally, if we interpret the scene with the billy-goat as an offering of a sacrificial victim about to be killed, not in honour of any mortal but of the sacred 'corpse' on the day of the feast, similarly to the publicly funded sacrifices which take place during modern Christian and/or pagan fairs with subsequent sacred 'funeral suppers', I believe that this would enhance the interpretation of the whole scene as a funerary ritual, as well as its religious and mythical significance.²⁸

REGENERATIVE RITUAL OF RESURRECTION

If my hypothesis can be supported by the religious and ritual evidence set out above, then, seen against modern sacred practices, the krater may depict not the mourning for a human death but a sacred ritual for a symbolically dead figure. That is, it may represent the annual religious re-enactment of myth regarding the death and resurrection of the sacred consort [lover] of the

²⁸ Vikatou 2001; Gallou 2005, 85–87, 98–105; Alexakis 2001, 274–343; Psychogiou 2008, 50–53, 232–45.

Mother-Earth goddess, who is depicted simultaneously at two different phases of his mythical life. It is well known that scholars of comparative religion support the existence in Mycenaean times of the myth of the resurrection of such a god of vegetation (Hyakinthos, Radamanthys, Idaean Zeus, Dionysus, Hermes), son/husband/bed-fellow of the Great Mother Goddess, considered to be inherited from a pre-Hellenic age.²⁹ We come across ithyphallic young male figures in other Mycenaean representations, as for example seems to be the case of some signet rings from Mycenae (**FIGS 17, 18**).³⁰ And since this is not a feature of all the young male figures depicted on such signet rings, the emphasis of the phallus on a number of them must have some significance.³¹



FIG. 17. Mycenaean ring. On the left, ithyphallic figure (Source: Mylonas 1977, 40).



FIG. 18. Mycenaean ring. On the left, ithyphallic figure (Source: Mylonas 1977, 11).

²⁹ Nilsson 1977: 30–31, 37, 38, 39, 40· 1979: 84–86· Mylonas 1977: 76–8.

³⁰ Mylonas 1977, figs 6, 21.

³¹ Mylonas 1977, figs 14, 16, 18.

Mycenaean and modern rituals of death

If the scene on the shoulder of the krater depicts a sacred seasonal ritual which includes the divine lover who dies and is reborn, then we must not regard this representation as isolated but as one which, for the believers of the Mycenaean period, was part of the 'great narrative' about Mother-Earth, similar to the story which even today is enacted throughout Greece through local popular seasonal feasts within the ritual year of vegetation. Such an interpretation may also assist in the explanation of what archaeologists consider to be an inexplicable decoration of horses and fish on the back of the krater.³² Perhaps the painter wished to include the fauna inhabiting Mother-Earth, through the depiction of representative animals that carry a chthonic symbolism, such as horses and fish. For if we accept the scene on the front of the krater as a representation of an annual, magical, religious ritual, the scene can be seen as striving to influence, in a magical sense, the desired reproduction of animals, as much as humans and vegetation.

This interpretation of the scene on the Palioboukovina krater as religious and as a representation of worship is supported by what Nilsson says, namely that "when we find sherds or figurines in the entrance to a tholos tomb, which were not placed there accidentally and were not used during the burial itself, we naturally assume that their presence must indicate some hero worship ...".³³ Since he also claims that during the period to which the krater belongs "the worship of the dead was practised in the same way as the worship of heroes", I think that, given the interpretation of the scene which I have based on comparative religion, we cannot exclude a religious explanation of the scene in question.³⁴

'PALAIOBOUKOVINA' AS AN ETERNALLY SACRED PLACE OF STORY-TELLING

At the same time the scene on the Mycenaean krater can itself be used to clarify modern cultural phenomena, such as the funerary traditions and pagan mourning rituals of Greek popular religion, as well as the mythical and religious context to which they belong, given that they contain non-Christian religious elements. Women from the wider region of Hagia Triada (Boukovina) continue in our time the traditions of mourning in a way which almost does not differ from Homeric descriptions of lamenting the dead, as well as from the scene of the Mycenaean krater³⁵. After centuries of Christianity the eschatological context of laments (based on the dogma of

³² Vikatou 2001; Schoinas 1999.

³³ Nilsson 1977, 42.

³⁴ Nilsson 1977, 42.

³⁵ Psychogiou 2008, 320–44.

salvation), which are sung by often uneducated women mourners refers almost exclusively to Hades, Charon, the underworld, and the belief in the regenerative resurrection of the dead through the productive dismemberment of the body inside the devastating erotic womb of 'Mavrigi', the terrible Great Mother.³⁶

The representation on the krater may also explain the sanctity of the wider area of 'Palioboukovina' down to this day. It may not be accidental that the site of the Mycenaean cemetery at Hagia Triada of Elis (Boukovina) is sacred even today, the locality bearing the name 'Aigiannis', which symbolically refers to the water-loving, chthonic Saint John, as baptist and beheaded. The name 'Boukovina' may mean 'place of bread'.³⁷ This may be due to the fact that, as local enquiries showed, the hillside where the Mycenaean cemetery was found has always been used for cultivation of rain-watered cereals. The word 'Palio-Boukovina' therefore seems to designate today an old settlement(?)/cemetery as well as an ancient grain basin, assuming that the planting fields of cereals do not change, since their cultivation is dependent on soil composition and bio-climatic factors which have been tested through time. Such cultivation is connected religiously and symbolically with the worship of the dead, with Mother-Earth/Mavrigi and with the ritual year of vegetation down to our own times.³⁸ I therefore believe that it is not accidental that this grain basin/cemetery of Palioboukovina is protected by the older and the new monastery of Notena on the mountain just opposite called 'Skiadovouni' (=shady/black mountain) (FIGS 19, 20). The monastery is dedicated to the ninth-day anniversary of the Virgin Mary's Assumption and local legend and belief has it that the Holy Mother brings rain miraculously to all crops that are planted here (as some kind of 'grain potnia'). She is also chthonic, since she is meant to have fallen asleep, but mainly she is represented in icons as 'black', whilst also bearing the title 'Black-eyed Virgin' (FIGS 21, 22).³⁹ These 'black' icons of the Virgin (as I have argued in a previous paper) seem to echo pre-Christian representations of the Great Mother-Earth / Black Demeter, similar to the dominant figure in today's dirges under the name 'Mavrigi' ('the Black One').⁴⁰

³⁶ Psychogiou 2008, 45–53.

³⁷ Perhaps from the Albanian word *bouka*= mouthful, bread, given the presence of Albanians in western Peloponnese and the abundance of other Albanian place names.

³⁸ Psychogiou 2008, 36–111, 204–32. Cf. also the offering of wheat to the dead in Attica and the fact that they were called «δημήτριοι», 'made of cereal' (Cicero, *De Legibus* 2, 63 and Plutarch, *Moralia*, 943b); Andreou (in press).

³⁹ Psychogiou 2008, 40.

⁴⁰ Bayard 2001; Psychogiou 2008, 36–119.

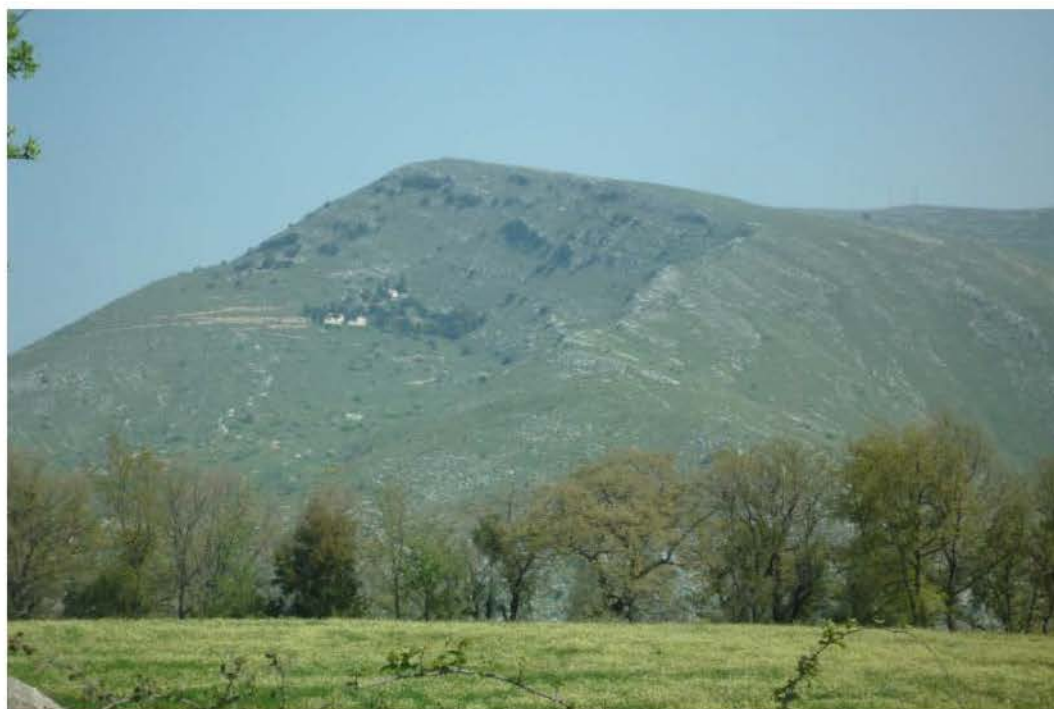


FIG. 19. The later monastery of Notena on the western slopes of mount Skiadovouni (part of mount Erymanthos), photographed from the region of Palioboukovina, above the site of the Mycenaean tombs. On the bare mountaintop, exactly above the modern monastery, one can just discern as a tiny dot the older monastery, today called 'Old Virgin Mary' (photograph by E. Psychogiou, 11.4.2010).



FIG. 20. The ruins of the church of the 'Old Virgin Mary' on the top of mount Skiadovouni (church of an older monastery), built over an ancient temple, perhaps of a female deity (photograph by E. Psychogiou, 11.4.2010).



FIG. 21. The monastery of Notena. The miraculous (linked to a healing spa and bringing rain) 'black' icon of the Virgin, also called 'Black-eyed', displayed for the benefit of pilgrims on the eve of the feast of nine days after the Ascension (photograph by E. Psychogiou, 22.8.2007).



FIG. 22. Pilgrims bowing before the miraculous icon of the Virgin (photograph by E. Psychogiou, 22.8.2007).

CONCLUSION

In the above analysis I have attempted to interpret the scene on the Mycenaean krater from Palioboukovina as a religious/ritual representation. I have used comparative religion to base my argument on modern-day magico-religious enactments of death and resurrection in the Peloponnese (FIG. 12), which form part of the crucial stages of the symbolic cycle of time and vegetation; they come within the 'great narrative' regarding Mother-Earth through the ages. This leads us to the hypothesis that the scene on the krater may not be a funeral but the figurative representation of some seasonal enactment of mourning for the god of vegetation, the consort of the Great Mother goddess, who dies and is resurrected annually. If my interpretation is accepted then the silent representation on the krater from Palioboukovina becomes extremely articulate. Quite apart from the valuable information it provides regarding the customs of prothesis of the dead and of funerary

laments, it could also be yet another archaeological find which describes not only stories of myth and religious representations, but also ritual practices of the Mycenaean period. The study of archaeological evidence in comparison with modern-day ethnographic data at the same geographical and historical sites (particularly when it concerns matters of popular worship and oral tradition) could become valuable in both directions.

Mycenaean and modern rituals of death

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List of illustrations

FIG. 1. Funeral representation on the Mycenaean crater from Palioboukovina, Elis (Source: Voukatou 2001, 275. Excavated by Chr. Schoinas. Vase conserved and restored by S. Christopoulos and P. Kalpakos. Drawn by I. Markopoulou. Photographed by P. Konstantopoulos and St. Stournaras).

FIG. 2. Male figurine from the 'centre of worship' at Mycenae (Source: Gallou 2005, 182). The figure is holding a hammer-axe, which looks identical to the one carried by the standing male figure on the Mycenaean crater from Palioboukovina.

FIG. 3. Representation of a *prothesis* on the neck of a Geometric amphora in the Benaki Museum (Source: Cavanagh & Mee 1995). On the wall beside the dead body hangs a hammer-axe, which looks identical to the one carried by the standing male figure on the Mycenaean crater from Palioboukovina and to the one carried by the figurine from the 'centre of worship' at Mycenae.

FIG. 4. Giannis Sofianos, the 'Genitsaris-Gotsis' of the 1944 'tsetia' at Myrsini, Elis. He is holding the 'kiloumi', which is covered by a handkerchief (Source: Photographic archive of Dionysis Maniatis).

FIG. 5. The iron 'kiloumi' or 'kiouloumi' held by Gotsis as he dances, without the handkerchief that covers it during the dance (Photograph by E. Psychogiou, Myrsini 1975. Source: Κέντρον Ερεύνης της Ελληνικής Λαογραφίας της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών, manuscript no. 3805, p. 410).

FIG. 6. One of the groups of 'Genitsaroi' who perform seasonal rituals, photographed dancing on the last Sunday of the carnival ('Tyrini') at Lechena, Elis. The first dancer on the left is holding the 'masaki' in his left hand. In the centre and at the back the leader or 'Gotsis' is visible between the first two dancers, holding the 'kiloumi' in his left hand (photograph by Ch. Palladinos, 1994).

FIG. 7. Lechena, Elis, 2001. The 'boula' flirts with the 'Gotsis' as she dances (photograph by Ch. Palladinos).

FIG. 8. Nelousa, Messenia (on mount Taygetos), 2006. The 'sacred marriage' of Mother-Earth and the dying-resurrected ithyphallic bridegroom (the phallus taking the form of a snake) during the post-Carnival ritual performance of 'Clean Monday', the beginning of Lent (photograph by E. Psychogiou).

Mycenaean and modern rituals of death

FIG. 9. Nedousa, Messinia, 2005. The *ekphora* of the 'dead' sacred ithyphallic 'bridegroom' through the streets of the village (photograph by E. Psychogiou).

FIG. 10. Nedousa, Messinia, 2006. The *ekphora* of the 'dead' sacred ithyphallic 'bridegroom' (photograph by E. Psychogiou).

FIG. 11. Nedousa, Messinia, 2006. 'Mourners' and a bare-breasted 'widow-bride', their arms in the air, mourn the dead sacred ithyphallic bridegroom who lies inside the coffin, but who at the same time can be seen, alive, behind the coffin (photograph by E. Psychogiou).

FIG. 11a. Nedousa, Messinia, 2006. Detail of the ithyphallic bridegroom in Fig. 11 (photograph edited by Fl. Ioannidi).

FIG. 11b. Nedousa, Messinia, 2006. Detail from Fig. 11 with the ithyphallic 'dead' bridegroom and the 'mourners' (photograph edited by Fl. Ioannidi).

FIG. 12. Individual representational parallels (from Figs 1, 6 and 11) between modern religious folk performances and the scene depicted on the Mycenaean crater (photograph edited by Fl. Ioannidi).

FIG. 13. Vonitsa, Aitolokarnania, 'Clean Monday' 2001. The custom of a post-Carnival procession which includes a float carrying the resurrected 'Gligorakis' (on the left). The 'mother' of the 'dead' Gligorakis 'mourns' with her arms on her head pretending to be pulling out her hair. (photograph by E. Psychogiou).

FIG. 14. Vonitsa, Aitolokarnania, 2000. Women mourners surround the 'Tomb' of Christ during Good Friday rituals (photograph by E. Psychogiou).

FIG. 15. The funeral bed-bier with a canopy for the 'sleeping' Virgin Mary in the church of the monastery of Makellaria in Achaia, during the feast of the Ascension (Orthodox 'Dormition'). On the left-hand side at the back an icon of the Virgin at a different stage of her life, holding the baby Jesus (photograph by E. Psychogiou, 14.8.2007).

FIG. 16. Detail of the funeral bed-bier with canopy with the embroidered icon of the 'sleeping' Virgin Mary in the church of the monastery of Makellaria in Achaia, during the feast of the Ascension (photograph by E. Psychogiou, 14.8.2007).

FIG. 17. Mycenaean ring. On the left, ithyphallic figure (Source: Mylonas 1977, 40).

FIG. 18. Mycenaean ring. On the left, ithyphallic figure (Source: Mylonas 1977, 11).

FIG. 19. The later monastery of Notena on the western slopes of mount Skiadovouni (part of mount Erymanthos), photographed from the region of Palioboukovina, above the site of the Mycenaean tombs. On the bare mountaintop, exactly above the modern monastery, one can just discern as a tiny dot the older monastery, today called 'Old Virgin Mary' (photograph by E. Psychogiou, 11.4.2010).

FIG. 20. The ruins of the church of the 'Old Virgin Mary' on the top of mount Skiadovouni (church of an older monastery), built over an ancient temple, perhaps of a female deity (photograph by E. Psychogiou, 11.4.2010).

FIG. 21. The monastery of Notena. The miraculous (linked to a healing spa and bringing rain) 'black' icon of the Virgin, also called 'Black-eyed', displayed for the benefit of pilgrims on the eve of the feast of nine days after the Ascension (photograph by E. Psychogiou, 22.8.2007).

FIG. 22. Pilgrims bowing before the miraculous icon of the Virgin (photograph by E. Psychogiou, 22.8.2007).

CHAPTER 35

ANYTE OF TEGEA AND THE OTHER DEAD

JAMES ROY

The poetess Anyte from Tegea in the early third century BC made a notable contribution to the development of the epigram as a literary form, and in doing so – among other innovations – showed how the funerary epigram could be used in new ways to comment on death, and life, among the Greeks.

When she wrote, Greek epigrams in verse already had a long history: there are numerous surviving examples from the archaic period onwards.¹ Earlier examples are generally inscribed on an object, most commonly either a tombstone or a dedication to a god. They are short, and do not identify the poet who wrote the verses. By the fourth century however epigrams were acquiring a more obviously literary character. A few inscribed epigrams included the name of the author, thus according him, or much more rarely her, the same status as other poets. Epigrams were also by then circulating as verse, and were known far from the object on which they had originally been inscribed, or were composed simply as brief poems in their own right. Nonetheless, while the poetic scope of the epigram began to be known and exploited in the fourth century, it was in the early Hellenistic period that the epigram became a recognised literary form that could be put to a variety of uses. That was the period of Anyte, and she won an enduring reputation for her poetry.

Very little is known of her life.² The scholar Pollux (5.48), writing in the second century A.D., calls her Tegean, and Stephanus of Byzantium, in his entry s.v. Τεγέα, writes of a Tegean poet Auge: since Auge is otherwise unknown, the emendation to Anyte is generally accepted. One attribution of an epigram in the *Palatine Anthology* (AP 492) to 'Anyte the Mytilenaeae' is generally taken to be a mistake, associating Anyte with the island of the most famous of all Greek women poets, Sappho: in addition the epigram in question seems not to be the work of Anyte.

Anyte was certainly writing in the Hellenistic period: for stylistic reasons her work cannot well be before the early third century BC, and she was certainly writing before the early first century BC, when Meleager included

¹ On the development and function of the Greek epigram see Fantuzzi 283–349 in Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, and Bring and Buss 2007.

² See Baale 1903 and Colangelo 1915.

some of her work in his collection of epigrams. The evidence for dating her work more precisely to the early third century BC comes in two forms. Tatian, writing in the second century AD (*Oratio ad Graecos* 33.1–10), gives a list of statues of Greek poetesses and other women, including a statue of Anyte by the sculptors Euthykrates son of Lysippos and Cephisodotus son of Praxiteles: such a statue would have been made in the early third century BC. In addition there are clear links between epigrams of Anyte and epigrams of other Hellenistic poets including Nicias, a friend of Theocritus in the first half of the third century BC. If Nicias modelled some of his poems on work of Anyte, as is commonly believed, she will have been writing in the early third century BC. However both these reasons for assigning that date to Anyte have been contested, even quite recently.

Tatian's list of statues was fiercely criticised as unreliable by Kalkmann already in 1887, and, despite some counter-arguments by Baale,³ Kalkmann's views have been very widely accepted. Recently Bernsdorff followed Kalkmann in rejecting Tatian's evidence, and in addition analysed in detail the four cases in which epigrams of Anyte and Nicias have enough similarity to suggest that one poet was aware of earlier work by the other, coming to the conclusion that it is impossible to tell whether Anyte or Nicias came first.⁴ He therefore argued that Anyte can be dated only as Hellenistic and earlier than Meleager. On Bernsdorff's arguments that it is uncertain whether Anyte influenced other epigrammatists like Nicias or was influenced by them doubts have been expressed by several scholars, in their turn suggesting more or less tentatively that Anyte may well have been the earlier poet.⁵

Literary scholars (including Bernsdorff) have however often overlooked a striking piece of archaeological evidence published by Coarelli in 1971–2. Among other material from the porticoes of Pompey's theatre in Rome was found a statue-base on which appear the names of Mystis, above, and Aristodotus, below. A statue of a poetess Mystis by the sculptor Aristodotus is one of those in Tatian's list. Because the poetess Mystis was unknown, Brunn corrected her name in Tatian's text to the better-known Nossis, and his correction was followed even in Marcovich's 1995 edition, although by then Coarelli had published the evidence that a statue of Mystis by Aristodotus did indeed exist. That Mystis is otherwise unknown is of no consequence: indeed for several ancient Greek poetesses we have little or nothing more than a name.⁶ Some details of Coarelli's views can be criticised, such as the

³ Baale 1903, especially pages 15–30.

⁴ Bernsdorff 2001, 110–119.

⁵ Gutzwiller 2004; Fantuzzi 2004, 313 note 96 in Fantuzzi and Hunter; and Sens 2006, 154–162, cf. 151.

⁶ See the list in West 1996: 41–48; and in De Martino 2006: 409–425 the list of minor poetesses with bibliography, major poetesses being reserved for a later volume; cf. the list of women writers in Plant 2004: 243–255.

Anyte of Tegea

suggestion that the word 'hetaira' should be restored after the name Mystis, and other points commented on by Fuchs;⁷ but Tatian was clearly right about a statue of Mystis by Aristodotus, and that goes far to restore credit for his list as a whole.⁸ Tatian's text therefore can, and should, be used as evidence for dating poetesses.⁹ It is taken into account in considering the much-disputed date of Corinna by Larson,¹⁰ although Coarelli is not mentioned in West¹¹ nor by Ortolá Guixot (using stylistic and metrical arguments against West's late dating).¹² The evidence from Tatian allows Anyte to be dated confidently to the early third century, and that in turn allows her to be seen as an important influence on later Hellenistic poets.

Only one incident, or supposed incident, in her life is reported. Pausanias, like Herodotus, chose to end his work with an anecdote (10.38.13). Pausanias' story is that the god Asclepius through a vision sent Anyte with a sealed writing-tablet to a man at Naupactus, Phalysius, who had almost lost his sight. Anyte went to Naupactus and gave the tablet to Phalysius, telling him to open it and read what it said: he did not think that he could see well enough to read, but, when he opened the tablet, he discovered that he had miraculously regained his sight. He therefore did what the message said, which was to give 2,000 gold staters to Anyte. He also set up a sanctuary of Asclepius at Naupactus.¹³ True or not, the story shows that Anyte was remembered in Pausanias' day. If true, the story would mean that Anyte travelled at least as far as Naupactus: otherwise we do not know of any travel since her poems do not offer autobiographical information. One epigram (*AP*.9.314) describes a statue of Hermes near the seashore, and another (*AP*.9.144) is about a statue of Aphrodite in a sanctuary overlooking the sea, while a third (*AP*.7.215) is for a dolphin stranded on a shore: these three poems might mean, as has been suggested,¹⁴ that Anyte had occasionally seen the sea, which would require at least a short journey beyond the territory of Tegea, but they could simply have been drawn from Anyte's obviously extensive reading. The epigram *AP* 7.232 (attributed to both Antipater and Anyte) is for a Macedonian killed in battle in Lydia, but need not mean – if the poem is in fact hers – that Anyte went there.¹⁵

⁷ Fuchs 1982.

⁸ It is worth noting that Kalkmann's very sweeping criticisms of Pausanias the Periegete have also been discredited: see Habicht 1985: 17, 172.

⁹ Stewart 1998.

¹⁰ Larson 2002.

¹¹ West 1990 and 1996 (see page 40).

¹² Ortolá Guixot 2005.

¹³ See Nörenberg 1973 on the ending of Pausanias' work, and Castelli 1995 on Hellenistic poets in Pausanias. On the story of Anyte's travel to Naupactus see also Skinner 2001 216–8, and Moog 2001 for discussion of the medical problem.

¹⁴ E.g. by Gutzwiller 1998: 70.

¹⁵ As tentatively suggested by Snyder 1989: 69–70.

All the surviving poetry of Anyte is in the form of epigrams. Nineteen are generally accepted as being by her, two more are possibly by her, and four more that are also attributed to her are thought not to be hers. She may also have written other forms of poetry. In the *Palatine Anthology* the attribution of her epigrams is often simply 'of Anyte', but in six cases a poem is attributed to 'Anyte the melopoios', and in a single case the attribution is to 'Anyte the lyric poet'. Pausanias (10.38.13) says that she wrote *epē*, which might refer to epic but could be interpreted more loosely, and a line of the epigrammatist Antipatros of Thessalonike (*AP* 9.26) in the Augustan period has been taken to mean that he described Anyte as 'the female Homer'. It is thus possible that, besides epigrams, Anyte also wrote lyric poems and even epic, but we have no trace of any such work. In any case it has been suggested that terms like 'melopoios', 'lyric poet', and *epē* could have been used loosely, without reference to strict poetic genres.¹⁶ Werner (noting earlier expressions of the same opinion) has set out arguments for the view that Antipatros' phrase 'the female Homer' refers to Sappho, the immediately following poetess, and not to the preceding Anyte:¹⁷ Werner does not however take account of the strong arguments of Giangrande for referring 'female Homer' to Anyte, and on balance it seems likely that Antipatros intended this high praise for her.¹⁸

All but one of Anyte's surviving poems are found in the *Palatine Anthology*; the single exception is quoted by Pollux (5.48). The *Palatine Anthology*, put together in the tenth century, drew on the collection of epigrams gathered in the earlier first century BC by Meleager, and Meleager himself says (*AP*. 4.1) that he included many of Anyte's poems in his collection. It is possible that Anyte herself had already gathered her epigrams into a book.¹⁹ Certainly the quotation by Pollux of an epigram not included in the *Palatine Anthology* shows that a wider body of her work was circulating in the second century AD. It is however impossible to tell how much she wrote altogether, or indeed how typical the surviving poems are of her works as a whole.

There is a good edition of Anyte's work by Geoghegan, published in 1979. It includes, besides the texts, detailed commentary on each poem and in particular careful analysis of the language used, noting echoes in Anyte's work of earlier poets, and also later epigrammatists who drew on her work. Interest in her is also still alive in her native Arcadia: an edition of her work with the original texts and modern Greek translation was published in Tripoli in 2008 by Panopoulos under the title *Ανύτη η Τεγεάτισσα· Επιγράμματα*.

¹⁶ Castelli 1995: 712–723, Gutzwiller 1998: 54 note 23.

¹⁷ Werner 1994.

¹⁸ Giangrande 1966.

¹⁹ Gutzwiller 1993

Anyte of Tegea

The basic studies on what is known of the life of Anyte were published by Baale in 1903 and Colangelo in 1915. Although Baale's dissertation and Geoghegan's edition with commentary are the only monographs devoted to the study of Anyte, she regularly receives attention in scholarly work, particularly on the Hellenistic epigram. There are surveys of her work by Luck,²⁰ Snyder,²¹ Barnard,²² and Gutzwiller;²³ and analyses of technical aspects by Díaz de Cerio Díez.²⁴ We have in fact more complete poems by Anyte than by any other woman poet of ancient Greece, although, since the individual epigrams are short, the total of her surviving work does not amount to one hundred lines of verse. Of the poems preserved that are certainly or probably hers, one alone has six lines and all the others four.

Anyte was clearly thoroughly familiar with earlier Greek poetry. This is evident from the numerous echoes of earlier work in her poems, both in form and in vocabulary, as is brought out very clearly by the many examples discussed in Geoghegan's commentary, and has been shown further for particular poems.²⁵ Anyte was a poet of her age, and like other Hellenistic poets was proud to display her learning in her verse.

Whether or not she composed poetry in other genres, Anyte worked within the tradition of the epigram, and extended it in several ways. The comparison by Fain of two of her epigrams is illuminating.²⁶ *AP* 6.153 describes a large cauldron, giving the name, patronymic, and home polis first of its dedicator and then of the artist who made it, and so offers, in elegant but traditional fashion, the information normally found in earlier dedicatory epigrams. *AP* 6.123 on the other hand addresses directly a spear standing in a temple of Athena and evokes the courage of the man who has used it; these lines thus ignore the traditional form of a dedicatory epigram, and present in a very different way the dedication and the (presumed) dedicant. More generally, Anyte's originality²⁷ changes the traditional epigram for dedications and epitaphs, and extends the use of the epigram to describing artists' work, capturing rural scenes, and commemorating categories of people who had not normally appeared in epigrams.

Skinner has analysed the development of *ekphrasis* – in her words (page 210) “the device of *ekphrasis*, in which the reader is asked to visualize a scene or object through the eyes of a textually constructed focalizer” – by poetesses writing epigrams, first Erinna in the fourth century and then in the early

²⁰ 1954, 172–181.

²¹ 1989: 67–77.

²² 1991.

²³ 1998: 54–74.

²⁴ Díaz de Cerio Díez 1998a and 1988b.

²⁵ E.g. Bernsdorff 1993 and Ypsilanti 2003.

²⁶ Fain 2008: 91–2.

²⁷ See Greene 2005.

Hellenistic period Anyte and Nossis.²⁸ As Skinner shows, Anyte gives not merely an objective description of an artistic work but an imaginative interpretation, extending even to the pride felt by the goat of *AP.9.745*.²⁹ Other ekphrastic epigrams by Anyte are *AP.6.312*, *9.144*, *9.314*, and *16.231*. Skinner goes on to argue that the ekphrastic poems of Erinna, Anyte and Nossis had a significant impact on later poets.

Four of Anyte's epigrams describe rural scenes, in each case with a refreshing spring (*AP.9.313*, *9.314*, *16.228*, and *16.291*). Her interest in such scenes has long drawn attention, especially because of the development of pastoral poetry by Theocritus later in the same century. Recent studies, while differing on some points, agree in seeing Anyte's descriptions of rural scenes as influential without offering the complexities of Theocritan pastoral.³⁰ Two further points have been raised in relation to Anyte's rural descriptions. One is that they show an interest in lowly country people:³¹ Stanzel goes so far as to say that "Anyte is concerned first of all with the lives of the humble, the simple people of her Arcadian world." As evidence for this view are cited the shepherd in *AP.16.291*, those weary from the harvest in *AP.9.313*, and the god Pan represented as a shepherd in *AP.16.231*. The representation of Pan refers only indirectly to actual shepherds, and in *AP.16.231* the harvesters refreshed by a spring are incidental figures, like the travellers refreshed in *AP.9.314* and *16.228*. The shepherd dedicant is admittedly of central importance in *AP.16.291*, but that is slim evidence for a strong interest by Anyte in lower-class individuals. The other suggestion is that Anyte's rural descriptions are Arcadian: it appears in the quotation above from Stanzel, and is made even more strongly in Gutzwiller when she writes "I assert ... that Anyte may have been the first epigrammatist to project a distinct literary persona, and that she did this by setting herself, as a woman and an inhabitant of largely rural Arcadia ..."³² Anyte was Arcadian, but her only epigram with clear reference to Arcadia is *AP. 6.153* about a bowl made by an Arcadian from Cleitor and dedicated by an Arcadian from Tegea to Athena (very probably Athena Alea at Tegea). There might be a second Arcadian reference if a suggestion of Ypsilanti 2003 were adopted: she argues that in the first line of the epigram cited by Pollux 5.48, where some emendation of the manuscript reading is needed, the name Μαῖρα should be read rather than καὶ <οὐ>. In that case Maera, the name of the Dog-Star, would then be the name of the dead dog honoured in the epigram and possibly also a reference to the Tegean heroine Maera, whose tomb stood in the agora of Anyte's home town (Paus. 8.48.6); but such an allusion could at most recall Anyte's Arcadian

²⁸ Skinner 2001.

²⁹ Skinner 2001: 209–11 and 216–8; cf. earlier Gutzwiller 1998: 67–8.

³⁰ Sens 2006, esp. 162; Stanzel 2007, esp. 334; Lucarini 2007, esp. 234.

³¹ Fantuzzi 2004, 151 in Fantuzzi and Hunter; Stanzel 2007: 339.

³² Gutzwiller 1998, 55.

Anyte of Tegea

origin without creating an Arcadian setting for the epigram. In any case the rural scenes described by Anyte are not at all marked as Arcadian. There are several references to the gods Pan and Hermes, both appropriate in Arcadia but also very widely worshipped elsewhere. By the time of Anyte the polis with an urban centre was long established throughout Arcadia, and Anyte's homeland Tegea in particular was an ancient city (Nielsen 2004), and, while the Arcadian countryside was, as Gutzwiller says, largely rural, that was also true of the countryside generally in Greek communities. Anyte's choice not to mark her landscapes as Arcadian is in fact striking.

Anyte wrote epigrams for the dead in a variety of modes, both traditional and novel. One traditional mode honours a man killed in battle. *AP.7.724* is for a warrior who has died gloriously in battle fighting for his homeland, and *AP.7.232* (attributed to Antipater as well as to Anyte) is for a Macedonian killed in battle in Lydia. If the manuscript reading is preserved in *AP.7.724* (as it is by Geoghegan), then the epigram shows an arguably feminine touch in comparing the grief of the youth of the city to that of children for a dead mother, but the reading most often accepted has no mention of the mother, who is equally lacking in an interesting new emendation proposed by Ypsilanti 2003. Both of these epigrams are on the very familiar theme of the war dead. Similar values are expressed or implied in two other poems not directly honouring men dead in war. *AP.7.208* is for a horse killed in battle, but carefully records in the first line that the memorial was erected by the man who, with his mount, was resisting the enemy when the horse was killed; the epigram thus praises the horse's courage, but also by implication records the prowess and bravery of the rider. *AP.6.213* is about a spear dedicated in a temple of Athena: the epigram explicitly evokes the courage of the Cretan who had wielded the spear and used it to kill several enemies. All four epigrams explicitly or implicitly praise the traditional virtue of manly courage in battle. Anyte also wrote four epigrams for young women who had died before marriage (*AP.7.486*, 490, 646, and 649). This was a long-established theme when Anyte wrote;³³ it is found already in the epigram for Phrasicleia, inscribed in Attica in the sixth century, and again on an inscribed epigram from Amorgos of the fifth century (Hansen 1983: nos. 24 and 153), and becomes common by the fourth century. Anyte was thus following a well-established tradition. While in all four cases lamenting the death of a young unmarried woman, she varied the people to whom grief for the dead woman is attributed: in two cases (*AP.7.486*, 649) the young woman's mother, as on the Amorgos inscription, in one case the young woman's father (*AP.7.646*), and in the fourth numerous suitors (*AP.7.490*). In several epigrams Anyte thus expressed traditional values, whether of warriors or of young women. These poems however also show how Anyte

³³ Lattimore 1942: 192–4, Griessmair 1966: 63–75.

used the epigram, like others before her, not only to record a death but to evoke those affected by the death. This is true in the poems for young women, but also in the epigram for the dead war-horse, reflecting the rider, and in the description of the spear dedicated to Athena, previously wielded by a Cretan warrior.

The most novel of Anyte's epigrams for the dead are those for animals. *AP.7.208* for a horse killed in battle has already been considered. The epigram preserved in Pollux 5.48 is for a young dog killed by a snake-bite beside a bush (*thamnos*).³⁴ The poem has several allusions to Homer, and Giangrande has shown that the death beside a *thamnos* is an allusion to the animals that die such a death in Homer:³⁵ in other words the dog died a Homeric death. To Giangrande's observations can be added a twist by Anyte: in Homer it is victims hunted by others that die beside a bush, while in Anyte's epigram the dog, itself a hunting animal, is killed. The dog is described as a Locrian hound, a race used for hunting, and as a swift animal that liked to give tongue, a description that fits a hunter's dog, or a pup that will grow to be a hunter: the epigram thus probably refers to the masculine world of the hunt, though no man is mentioned in it.³⁶ The epigram on a dolphin stranded on the shore (*AP.7.215*) puts it in the world of men by recalling how it used to delight in swimming beside a ship, but otherwise says nothing of humans: it seems to convey sympathetic regret for the death of a beautiful creature. Commentators ancient and modern have disagreed on whether *AP.7.202* is for a dead cicada or for a dead cock.³⁷ Geoghegan makes a good case for the view that the dead creature is a cicada, and moreover that it was killed accidentally by a boy whom it woke every morning and who tried to catch it. *AP.7.190* is for a grasshopper and a cicada buried by a girl whose pets they had been: the poem names the girl, Myro, still unmarried, and mentions her tears. Anyte is widely recognised as having created in these epigrams for dead animals a model that was widely imitated by later poets.³⁸

Gutzwiller has argued that in the poems for animals, as in others, Anyte was expressing her own feminine perspective on the world,³⁹ but some of her arguments call for comment. With regard to Anyte's epigrams on the death of animals, Gutzwiller suggests that there were limits on the affection that a Greek man could properly express for an animal. It is true, as Gutzwiller says, that the animals especially associated with men in verse were the horse and the dog, the animals that served men in war and in the hunt, and men's affection for horses and dogs was clearly expressed in Greek literature and in

³⁴ On this poem see Ypsilanti 2003, noted above.

³⁵ Giangrande 1967.

³⁶ Contra Gutzwiller 1998 63 who seeks to dissociate the dog from hunting.

³⁷ Gutzwiller 1998: 64–65, opting for the cock.

³⁸ See Herrlinger 1930, Snyder 1989: 70–72, Gorla 1997, Greene 2005 148–150.

³⁹ Gutzwiller 1998, 54–74.

Anyte of Tegea

life. In Homer, for instance, the pitiful state of the faithful dog Argos, who survived just long enough to see his master return to Ithaca, drew a tear from Odysseus.⁴⁰ In real life Alexander the Great commemorated the death of his favourite horse Bucephalus by naming a new city after him,⁴¹ and may even have named another city after his dog Peritas.⁴² Gutzwiller is also right to cite Theophrastus' comments (*Characters* 21.9) on the gravestone set up by the 'man of petty ambition' for his little Melitaeian dog as critical, though arguably the criticism was directed not against all expression of affection for a pet animal by a man but against inappropriate expression by a man with little sense of proportion.⁴³ A wide-ranging search through the surviving images presented, for instance, on painted vases and in sculpture would be needed to establish more precisely how much feeling at the death of one type of animal or another a Greek man could properly express publicly.⁴⁴ The point really at issue in evaluating Anyte's perspective in these epigrams is not how much feeling of his own a Greek man could allow himself to express, but what a poet could express. The simple facts are that no poet, male or female, before Anyte had used the funerary epigram for the death of an animal, and that, once Anyte had created a model, she was widely imitated by other poets, mainly male, producing epigrams on dead animals. Anyte's epigrams for animals show above all her originality as a poet, and it is less certain that they show a feminine perspective.

Other arguments by Gutzwiller for a discernible feminine perspective in Anyte's work are also questionable. As argued above, in writing epigrams for girls or young women who had died before marriage Anyte was following a pattern that went back at least to the sixth century and was well established by her day. Moreover, of the four examples of such epigrams by Anyte that survive, two refer to the grief of the mother of the dead woman but one of the other two refers to the father's grief and the other to disappointment of the many suitors who had hoped to marry the woman. It is not clear why Gutzwiller suggests that these epigrams suggest 'a world of female grief'.⁴⁵ Again, in the epigram preserved by Pollux 5.48, the opening word ὤλεο ('you perished') recalls the occurrence of that word in the first line on Andromache's lament for the dead Hector in the *Iliad* (24.725), but it is not clear that it had strong feminine resonances, as Gutzwiller implies:⁴⁶ it is the opening word of an epigram by Damagetus (*AP*.7.438) for a young Achaean killed in war against the Aetolians.

⁴⁰ *Od.* 17.290–327

⁴¹ Arrian *Anabasis* 5.19.4, Quintus Curtius 9.3.23, v. Fraser 1996: 161–2.

⁴² Theopompus *FGrH* 115 fr. 340, Potamon *FGrH* 147 fr.1, of uncertain reliability.

⁴³ See Millett 2007 89.

⁴⁴ See e.g. Richter 1930, Zlotogorska 1997.

⁴⁵ Gutzwiller 1998, 59.

⁴⁶ Gutzwiller 1998, 63.

In considering how far we may see a feminine perspective in Anyte's work it seems better to follow the more measured evaluation of Greene.⁴⁷ She recognises that Anyte frequently expressed traditional male values in her poetry, and allows for considerable tension in Anyte's work between male and female, public and private, tradition and innovation.

In conclusion, the following points can be made about Anyte and her work. Thanks to the discoveries in Pompey's theatre in Rome, Anyte's life is securely dated to the early third century. This dating allows a much clearer evaluation of her originality among Hellenistic epigrammatists, and of her influence on later poets. There is for instance now no reason to doubt that in the case of the poems by Anyte closely related to poems by Nicias, those of Anyte were the originals. Anyte was deeply familiar with earlier Greek poetry from Homer onwards: however she came by her literary education – and that we do not know – it was a very thorough one. She followed traditional models for instance in writing funerary epigrams for men killed in battle, and in poems on a spear dedicated in a sanctuary or on a horse killed in battle she reflected well-established manly values. Again in expressing grief at the death of young unmarried women she was reproducing, in her own style, an old and well-known literary form. At the same time she was typical of the style developing in her own age and flourishing in the Hellenistic period, with its frequent allusions to earlier poets and its often learned and arcane vocabulary. Yet she was also innovative. This can be seen in her use of the epigram to capture in a few lines a vision of rural landscapes, but also, and above all, in her extension of the funerary epigram to the death of animals, offering a literary model that was widely imitated later. Funerary epigram had traditionally reflected the effect of death on those surviving, including the relatives of young women dead before marriage. It now also reflected the lives of those who had lost the other dead, such as a girl who wept when she buried her pet grasshopper and cicada.

⁴⁷ Greene 2005; cf. Murray and Rowland 2007.

Anyte of Tegea

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James Roy

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CHAPTER 36

CEMETERIES AND SETTLEMENTS OF MANI IN MEDIEVAL AND LATER PERIODS: A SECOND CONTRIBUTION

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INTRODUCTION

The network of hundreds of cemeteries of diverse periods is part of and corresponds to the densely populated network of inhabited locations on the peninsula of the Mani, which from the 16th century on numbered 125–250 scattered patrilocal settlements. To date, 130 cemeteries have been recorded, 111 of which are in the south and 19 in the northern part (**FIG. 1**). Hundreds of grave structures have been mapped, planned and studied, as a result of which certain fundamental conclusions have been reached, which will appear below.¹

This research has been undertaken in the framework of the project 'Manmade Environment and Society in Mani', conducted since the 1980s at the Centre of Neohellenic Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation. The present contribution examines on the one hand certain general data on the subject, and on the other select examples. A poster accompanied this paper in the framework of the Sparta conference of April 2009.

¹ The first contribution to the subject matter was presented at the International Conference 'Sparta and Laconia from Pre-history to Pre-modern' which took place at Sparta in March 2005. Saitas 2009*a*.

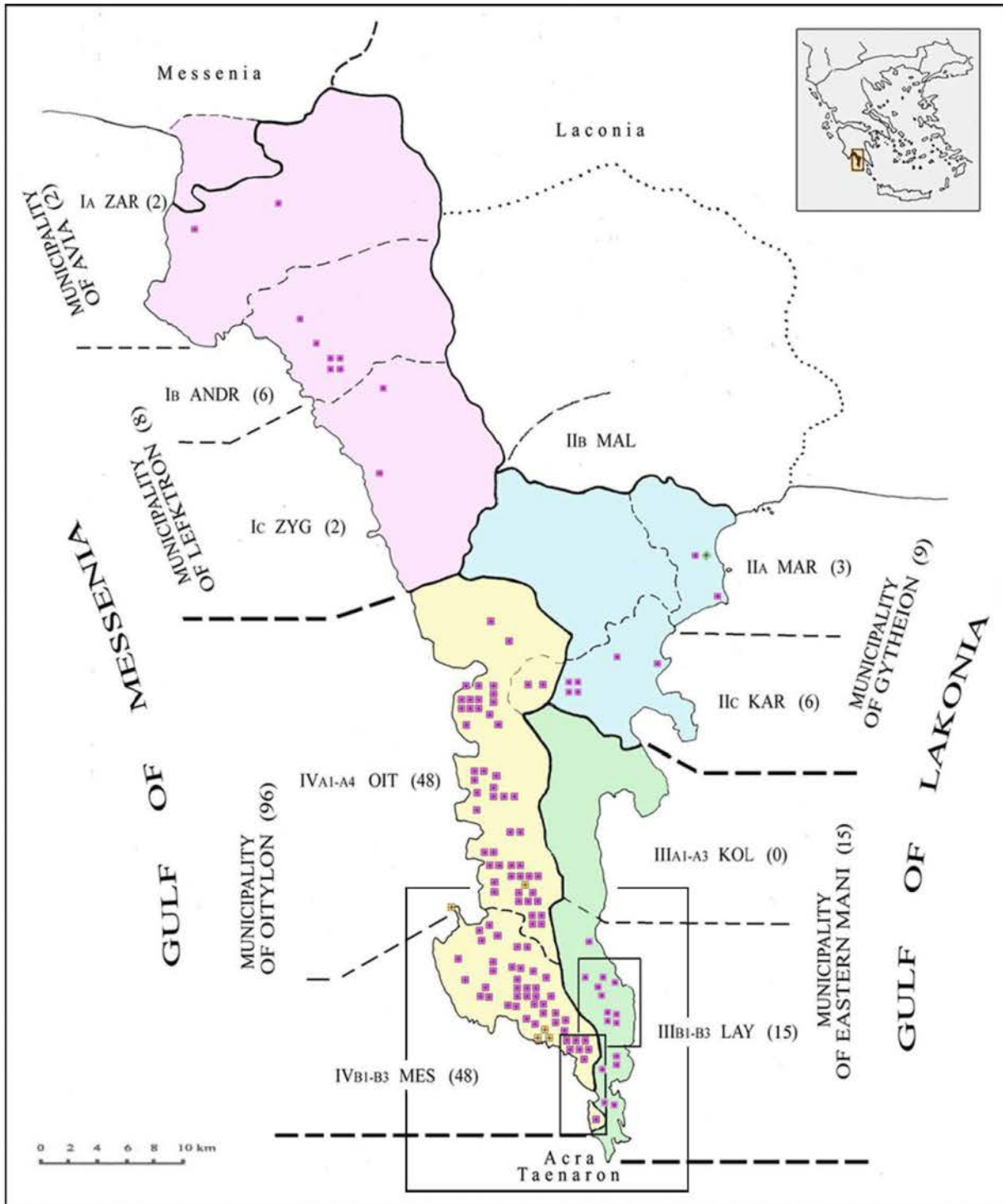


FIG. 1. The distribution of the 130 cemeteries that have been examined up to 2009, in the 10 former local districts of Mani.

SETTLEMENTS, POPULATION AND GENEALOGICAL GROUPS, THEIR LONG DURATION.

CEMETERIES IN USE OR ABANDONED AT THE START OF THE 20TH CENTURY

In the Middle Ages, the population lived dispersed among numerous inland rural settlements, some of which have long been deserted, now constituting the Mani's

The Medieval and later Mani

dilapidated 'old villages' (*palichores*),² whilst others were the nucleus for more recent villages.

At the beginning of the 17th century, the dense local population, grouped patrilineally, numbered 20,000 inhabitants; it reached 29,000 in the decade 1821–1830 in the War of Independence and grew thereafter, until the peak period of the early 20th century, with 45,000–50,000 inhabitants.³ A gradual diminution followed after that, and in the second half of the 20th century there ensued a dramatic post-war decline (FIG. 2). Today 20,000–25,000 inhabitants are recorded, a multiple of which have emigrated, mainly to the Greek urban centres and abroad.



FIG. 2. Leaving the house for the last time (photo: C. Manos , *A Greek Portfolio*, 1972).

² Kalamara and Roumeliotis (eds) 2004; Saitas 1983 and 1987; Moschos and Moschou 1981; Argyriades *et al* 1972.

³ Komis 1995; Panayiotopoulos 1985; Saitas 1983 and 1987.

From the 17th century and up to the end of the 19th, the network of 125–250 inhabited locations was made up of 5–15 main settlements, with a populations of over 500, with more than 100 buildings per village, and 125–235 villages, minor settlements and hamlets with from 2–3 up to 100 buildings.⁴ There were at least 100 privately-owned monasteries and 1500 churches of all Christian periods.⁵

Here will be examined in greater detail the peninsula's southernmost section of 9 communities (1912–1998) which, between 1840 and 1912, constituted the former municipalities (*demoi*) of Messi and Layia.⁶ **FIG. 3** shows the megalithic settlements at over 80 sites, as well as their correlation with the 87 settlements which existed there in the 16th–20th century. Mapping is based both on our *in situ* research in the 70s⁷ and on the comparison with the maps of ruined agricultural settlements by T. Moschos and L. Moschou, published in 1981 and subsequently and more recently in 2004 and 2005, incorporated into the programme of digital mapping and the Ministry of Culture's publications on the Mani.⁸

⁴ Saitas 2009*b*; Saitas 1994; Saitas 1987; Saitas 1973.

⁵ Roumeliotis & Mexia (eds) 2005.

⁶ Saitas 2009*b*; Saitas 1994.

⁷ Saitas 1987; Argyriades *et al* 1972.

⁸ Kalamara & Roumeliotis (eds) 2004; Moschou 1981.

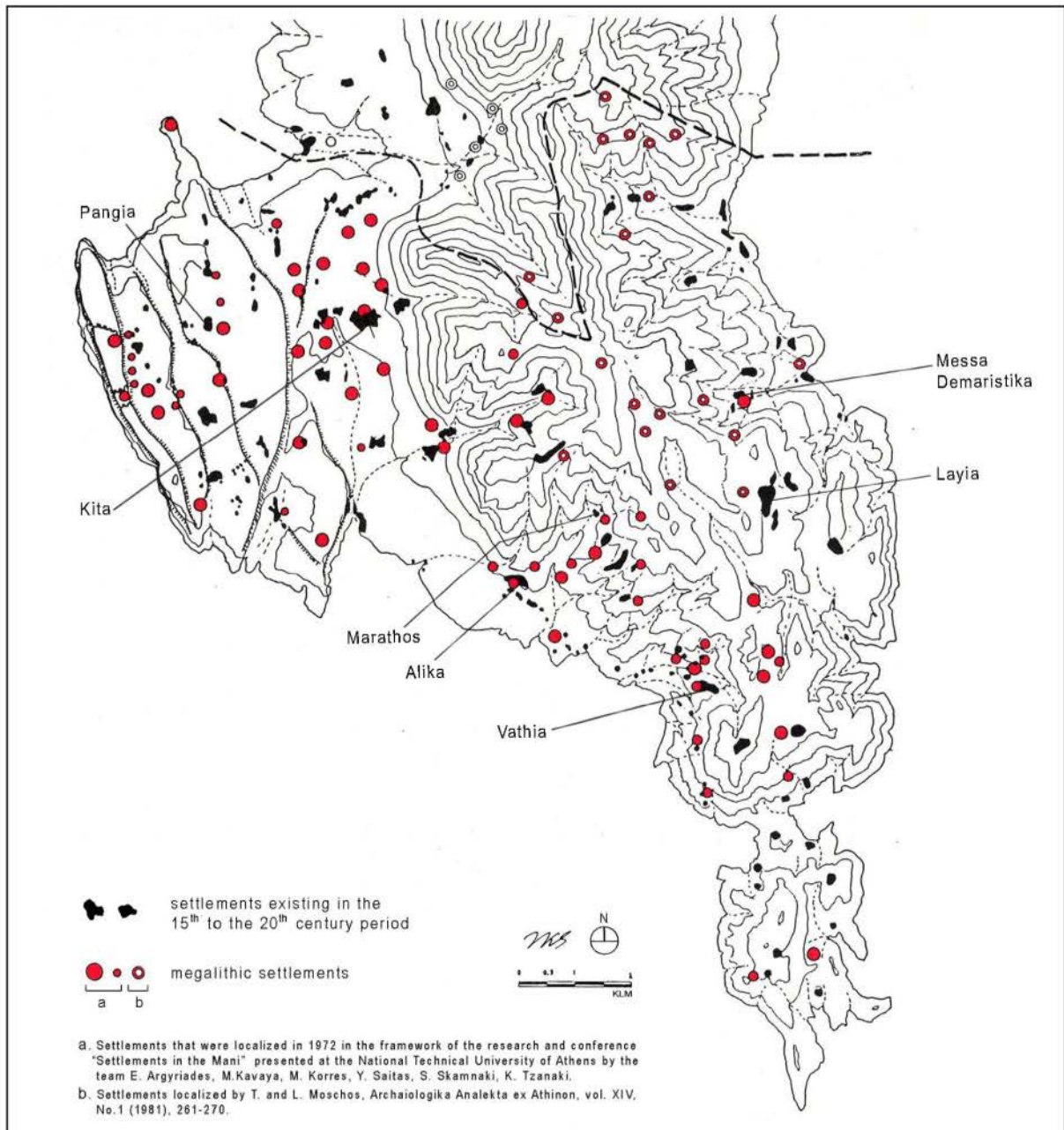


FIG. 3. The local entities of the Demoi (former municipalities) of Messi and Layia (1840–1912): The 87 settlements existing during the period between the 15th and 20th centuries, in correlation with more than 80 megalithic settlements.

In the course of socio-economic developments in and restructuring of the local system, over the last three centuries some settlements were abandoned, others continued in operation with smaller or greater extensions, while numerous others again sprang up in new sites. FIG. 4 depicts the classes of size of the 'built up area' of 87 settlements in the 19th and 20th centuries, in the former municipalities of Messi and Layia. This area extends over 110 km² and the population fluctuated from 2500 inhabitants in the 17th century to 4000 in 1821, 7000 at the end of the 19th century, 1240 in 1971 while today the census records 2600 inhabitants. On the map the separate local units of Vathia and Layia are shown.

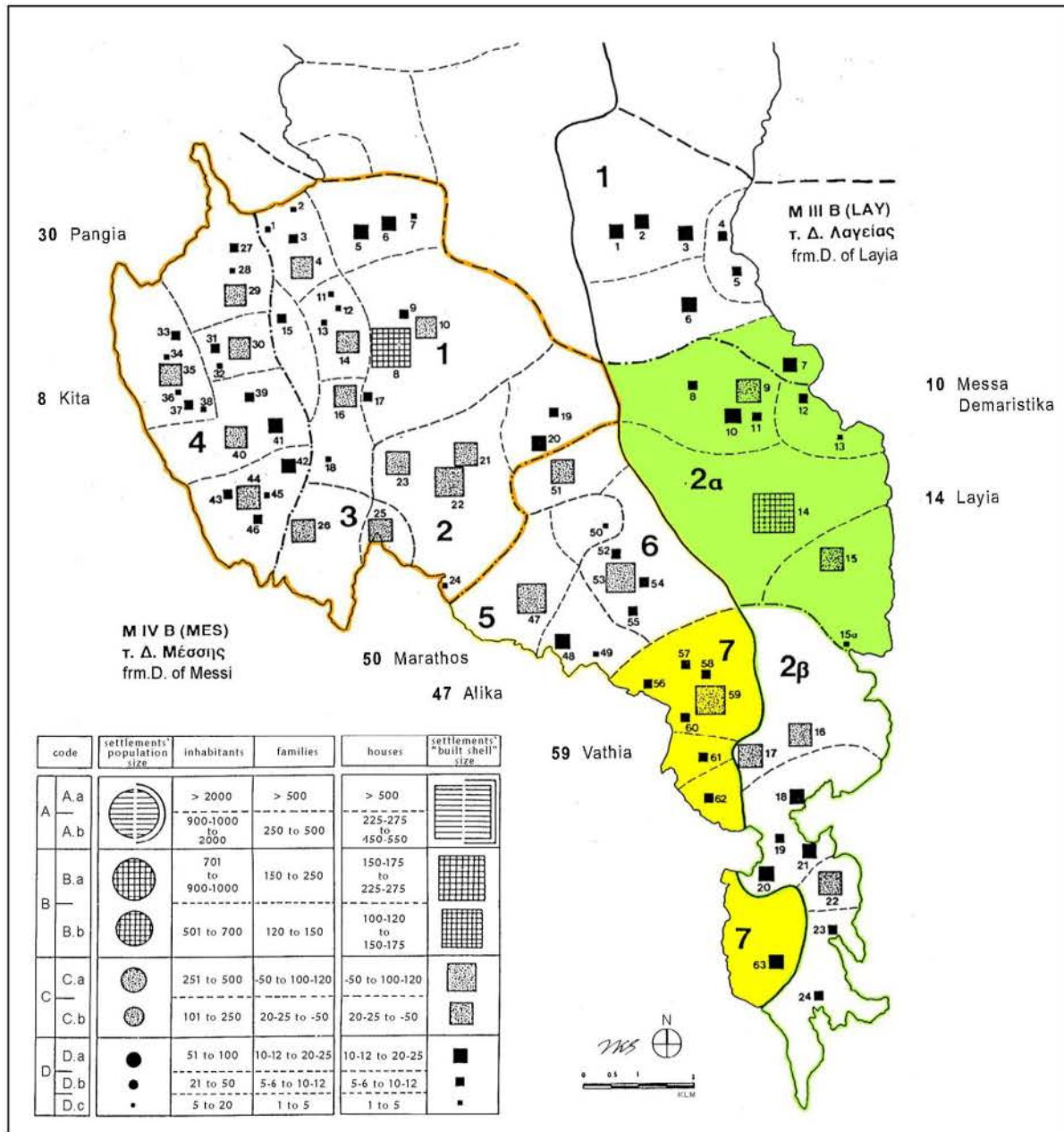


FIG. 4. The local entities of the Demoi (former municipalities) of Messi and Layia (1840–1912): Classification and arrangement of the 87 settlements into 9 communities (1912–1998) in accordance with the size of the 'built shell' in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Nowadays the peninsula's network of cemeteries, either in use or abandoned, contains cemeteries of various sizes, from smaller ones with 2 – 3 burial structures, to larger ones with up to 120 constructions. These numbers are of course far and away exceeded by the largest municipal cemetery dating from the 19th century onwards, with several hundred graves, in the only semi-urban centre, Gytthion, with a population of 2000–5000 inhabitants.

The Medieval and later Mani

Some examples are given of hamlets, minor and larger villages of the south, where the close connection of the habitation of the living with that of the dead – ancestors and contemporaries – is evident (FIG. 5).⁹



FIG. 5. Tower-house and, in the cemetery next to it, the funerary monument of the Ladis family at Diporo.

⁹ Saitas 2009a; Alexakis 1980.

In the hamlet of Marathos (**FIG. 6**) (seat of the genealogical group of the Papadodemas family, with 10 houses and a war-tower) at the pass ('threshold') of the sites 'Panougi' – 'Katougi', lies the group's church of Ayia Kyriaki. The cemetery contains 7 plain family graves – ossuaries of the lineage.

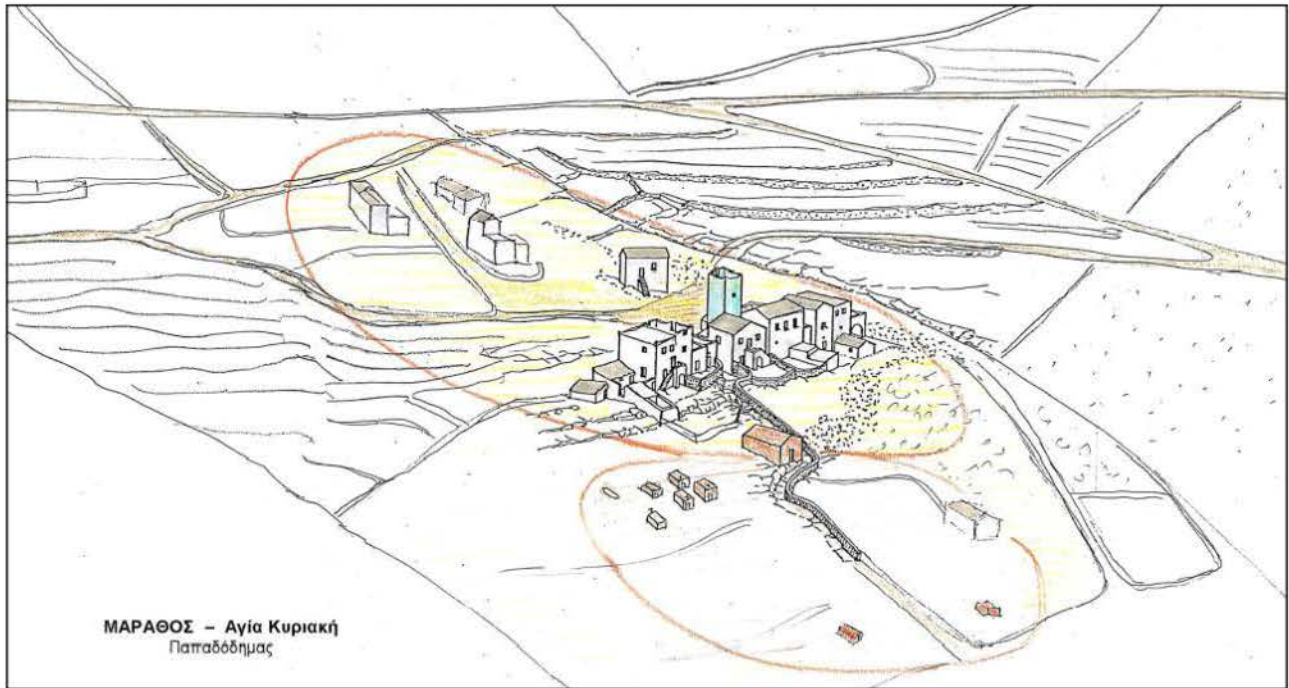


FIG. 6. The hamlet of Marathos, seat of the Papadodemas family with the lineage's church and cemetery.

Pangia, a boat-owners' village with a population of 100–250, distributed among the wards of 4 lineages, is served by the adjacent cemetery of Koimissi tis Theotokou (**FIG. 7**). It holds 23 older and newer ossuaries and 13 burial shafts grouped according to blood kinship. Some of the tombs express the social distinction of the families, displaying sculptured stelai of the 19th–20th centuries with depictions of marine subjects such as boats and anchors.

The Medieval and later Mani

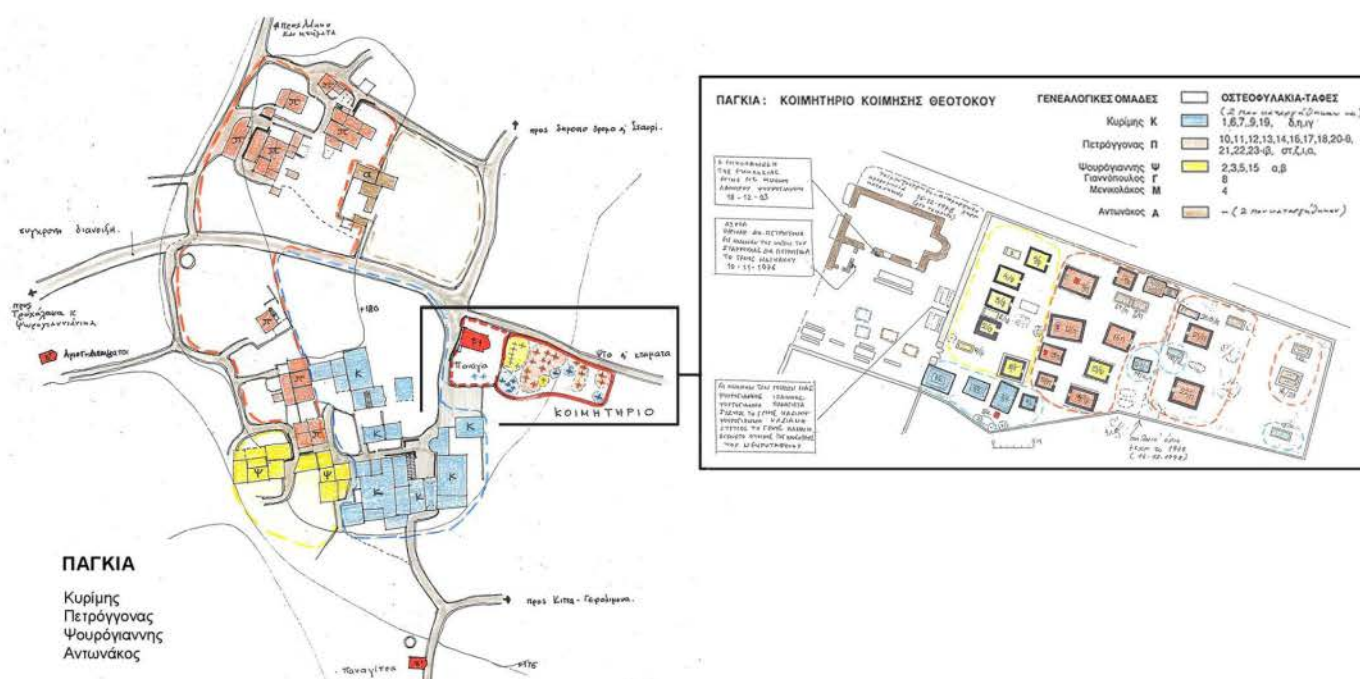


FIG. 7. The cemetery of Koimisi tis Theotokou, Pangia. The buildings of the village as well as the funerary structures of the cemetery are in clusters according to the patrilocal genealogical groups.

The main village of Kita, with 500–700 inhabitants, has six major and three lesser genealogical groups.¹⁰ There used to exist at least four or five cemeteries in the village, next to the churches belonging to their equivalent lineages, as well as at least two in the nearby fields (FIG. 8). In the neighbouring medium-sized village of Kaloni an old graveyard was situated at the megalithic site of Ayios Georgios, while at the adjacent small settlement of Ayios Soufis, seat of the Boukouvaliani lineage, there was the church of Phaneromeni with its small cemetery. Nowadays these three interconnected villages, which in total had 8 small old cemeteries, are served by the newer cemetery of Grammatiki and its adjacent annex at Ayios Haralambos, south of Kita. Grammatiki has about 100 grave-ossuary structures and Ayios Haralambos 8 ossuaries dating from the mid-19th century to our day.

¹⁰ Saitas 1987; Korres & Tzanaki 1972; Andromedas 1962.

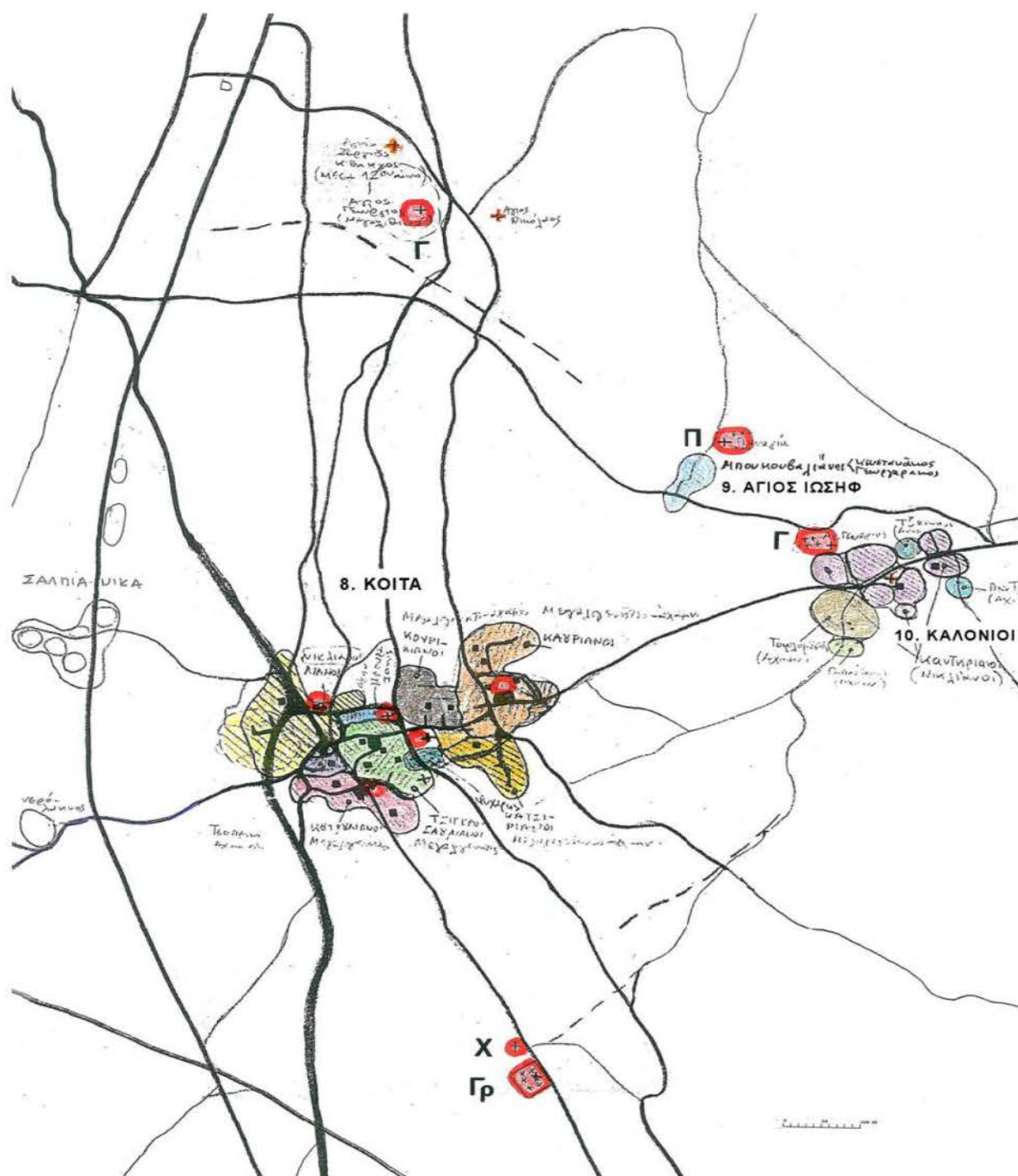


FIG. 8. The main village of Kitta with the sites of 4 or 5 old cemeteries next to the lineage's churches and two additional outlying cemeteries Γ and Χ; the village of Kaloni and the hamlet of Ayios Iossif with the corresponding old cemeteries Γ and Π; the newer communal cemetery (Γρ) Grammatiki.

The main village of Layia, with 500–700 inhabitants, had 8 genealogical groups.¹¹ In the patrilocal wards there was a total of 9 old cemeteries (FIG. 9): Ayios Zacharias was sited adjacent to the interconnected neighbourhood of Yannakomicheliani, Ayios Spyridon of Pilokokkiani, Phaneromeni and Ayios Nikolaos of Rikiani, Ayios Georgios of Xarchiani, Ayios Demetrios of Micheliani,

¹¹ Saitas 2009b; Koutsilieris 1978 .

The Medieval and later Mani

Ayios Konstantinos of Patriani, Stavrossi of Mavrokokkiani and Ayios Vassilios of Michalakiani. Some of these cemeteries have disappeared while others are still partially preserved. An abandoned cemetery serving several genealogical groups is preserved round the 13th century church of Ayios Zacharias: untouched, with 50–60 graves covered with stone slabs (*makronia*) and 8–10 ossuaries above ground, it lies next to the ward of the Yannakomicheliani (FIG. 9, Z). Another new ‘collective’ cemetery used by all was founded beside Ayios Nikolaos, a church with devotional frescoes of the 19th century. It holds about 20 low-standing graves and 72 built ossuaries (FIG. 9, N).

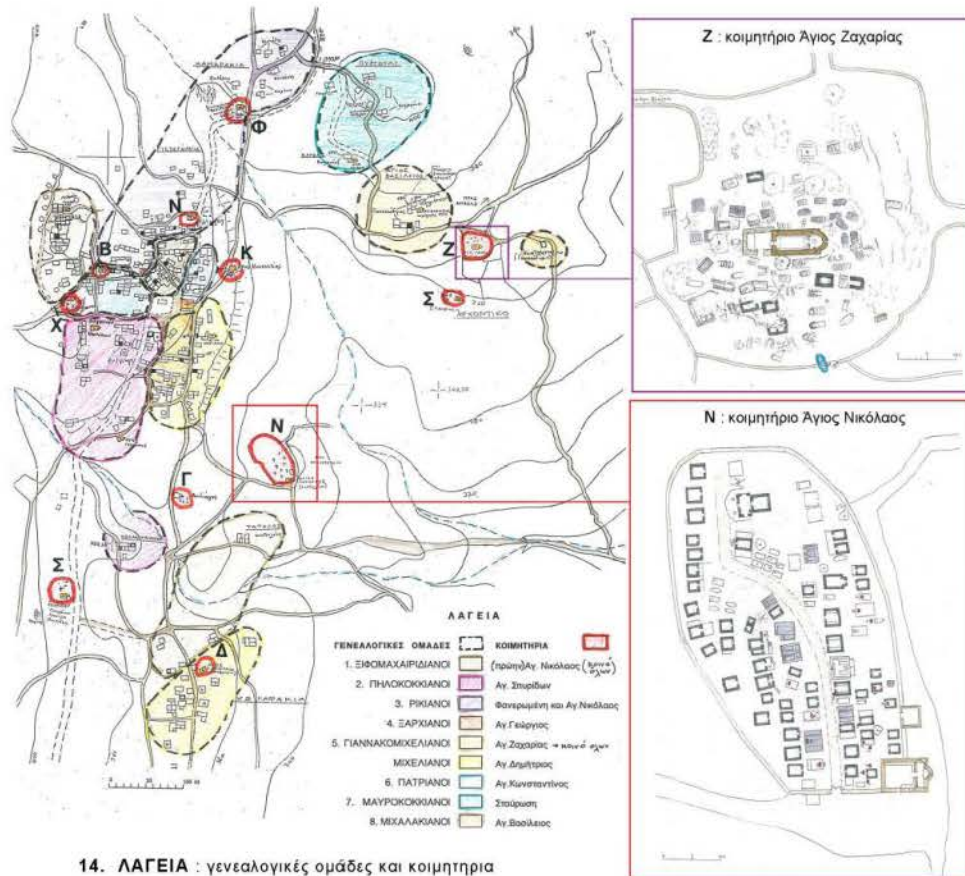


FIG. 9. The main village of Layia with the wards of 8 genealogical groups and the 9 ‘partial’ old cemeteries. Z: the abandoned cemetery next to the 13th-century church of Ayios Zacharias. N: the ‘collective’ newer cemetery next to the church of Ayios Nikolaos; it includes 16 elaborate marble stelai, most of them works of Antonis Vouyouklakis.

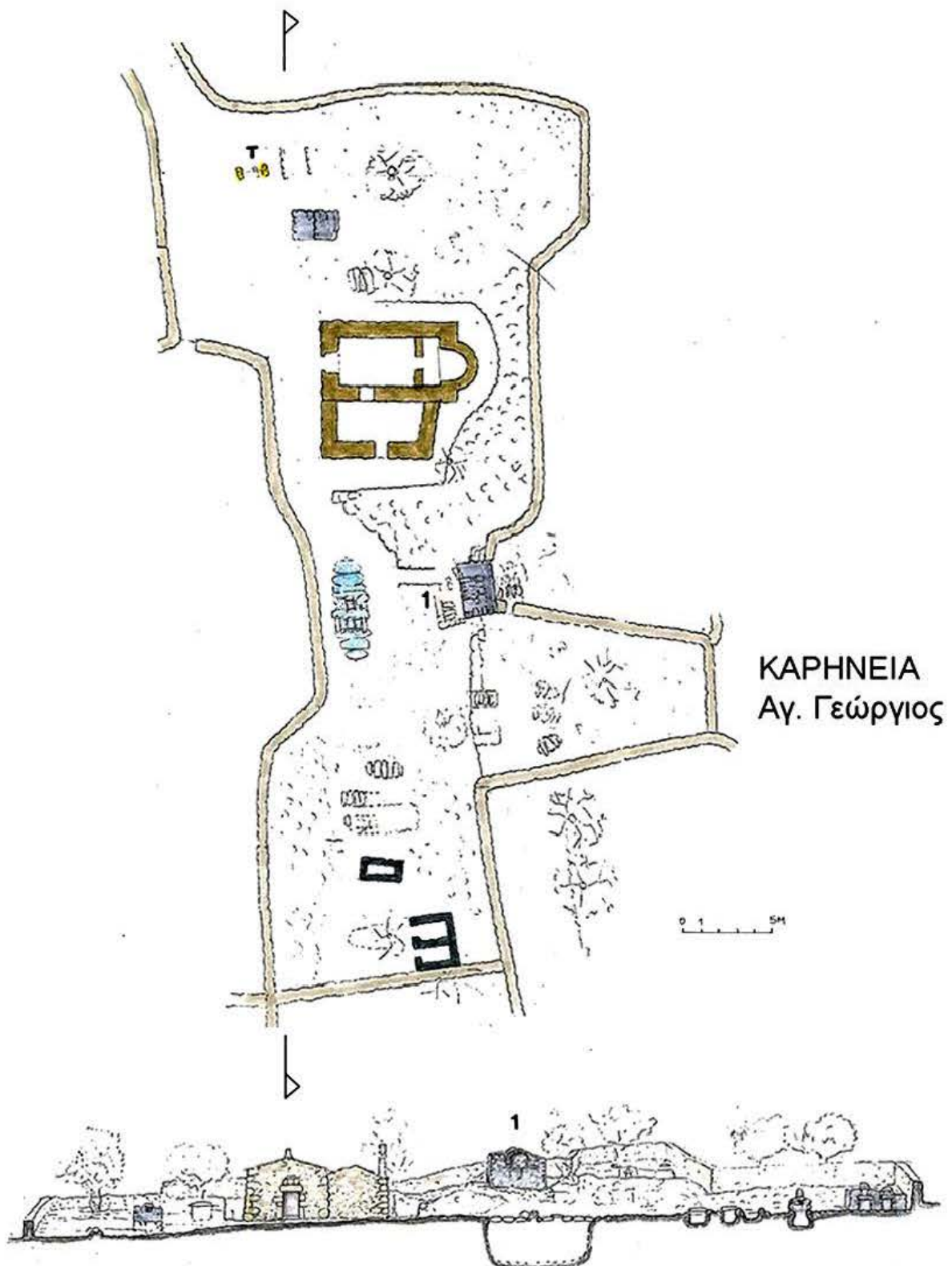


FIG. 10. The old cemetery next to the 13th-century church of Ayios Georgios, Karinia with the tomb-ossuary T1.

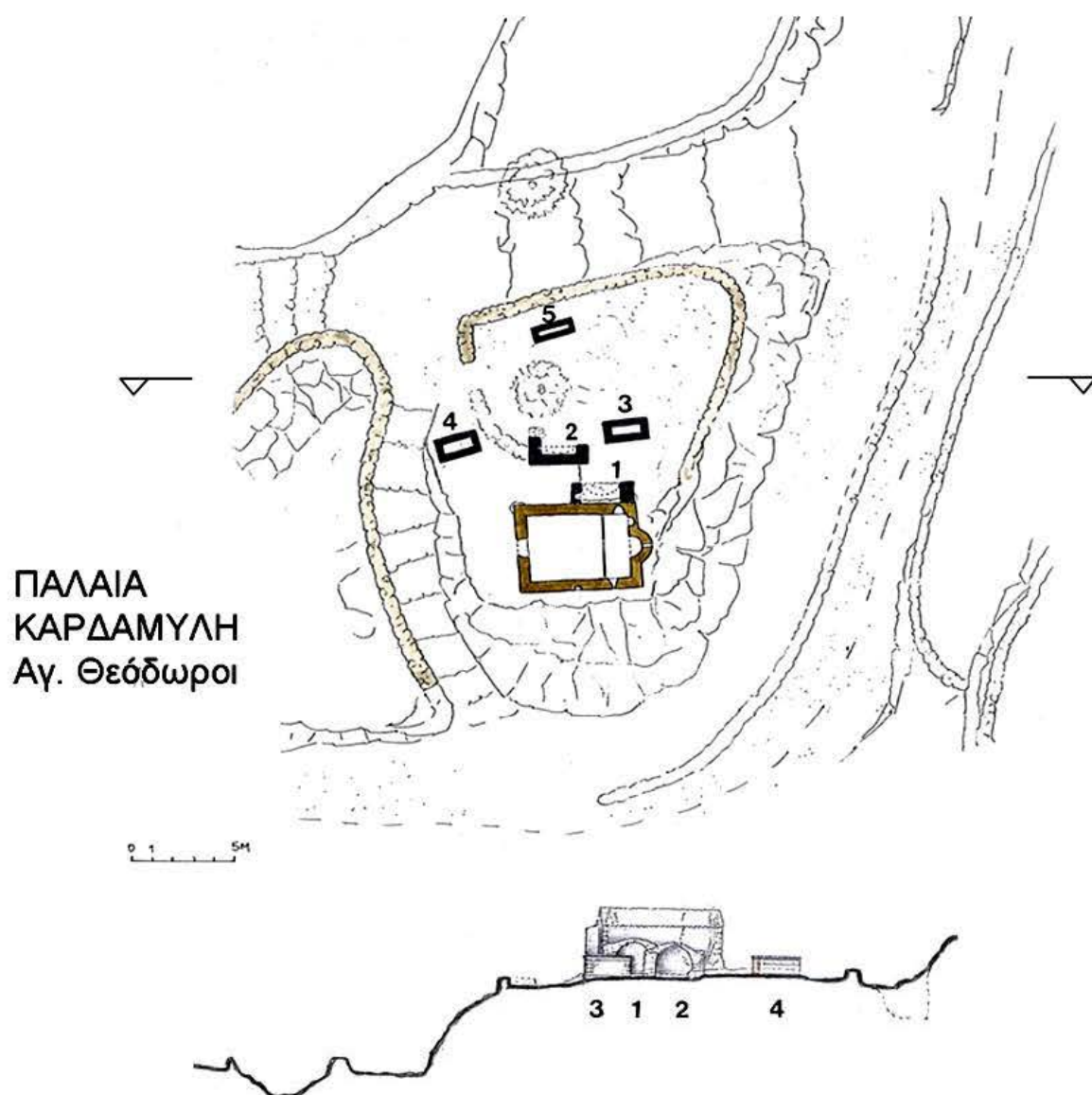


FIG. 11. The old cemetery of Ayioi Theodoroi at Palaia Kardamyli with the two arcosolium type structures (T1, T2) and the three stone built sarcophagi – ossuaries (T3, T4, T5).

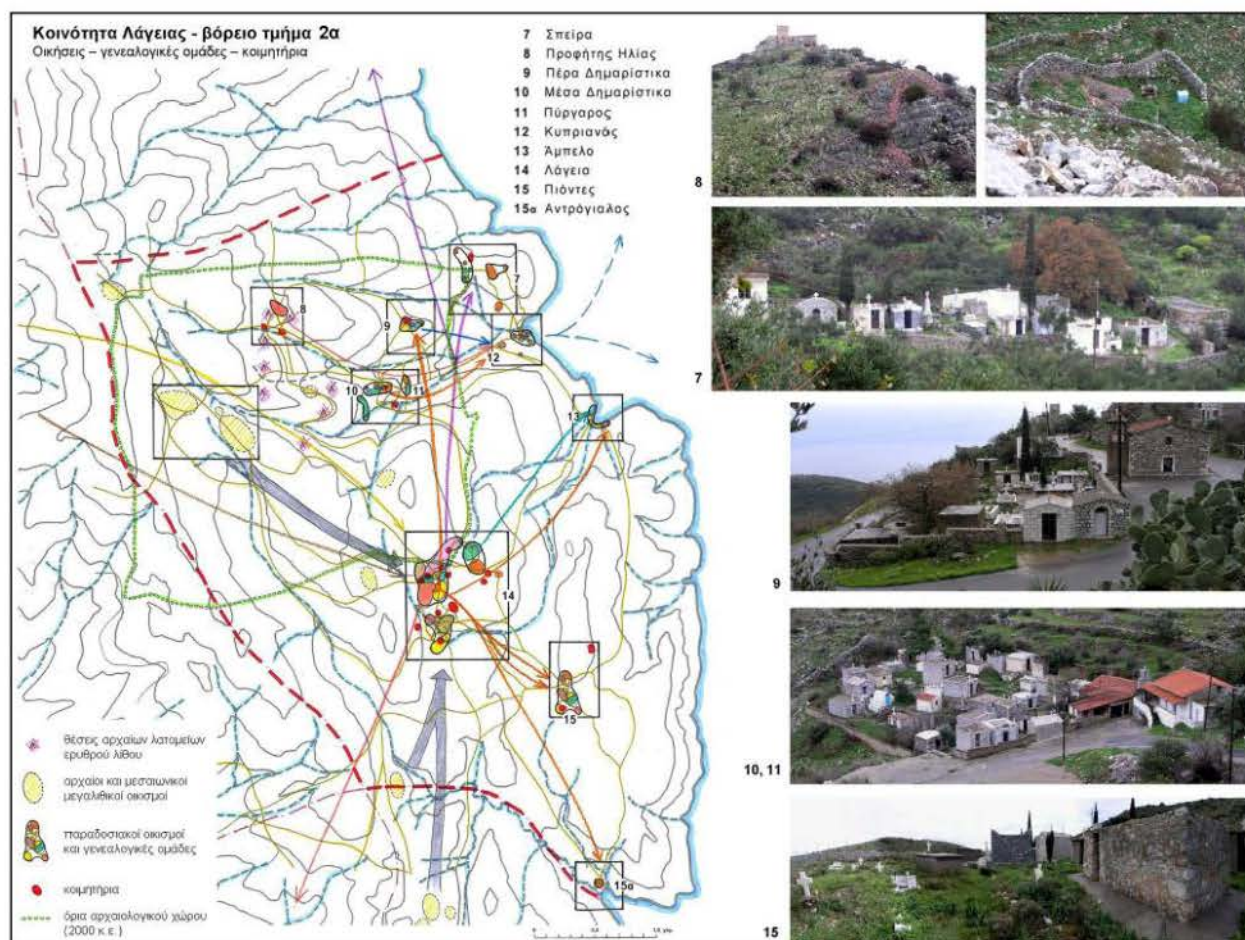


FIG. 12. The northern part (district 2a) of Layia's community: ancient quarries, ancient and mediaeval megalithic settlements, the ten traditional settlements (7–15a) and the corresponding eight old and newer cemeteries.

In the local district with Layia as principal village, several megalithic sites are to be found and 9 more traditional settlements with 1–4 genealogical groups (FIG. 12). Eight older and newer cemeteries have been found in the area, of which five are in use, with 20 – 40 grave-ossuaries.

Some of Mani's cemeteries, no longer in use since the early 20th century, have grave-ossuary structures in a good state of preservation. Some typical examples are:

The cemetery round Ayios Philippos, a double-apsed church of the 10th century, with 100 pit graves covered with stone slabs as well as 16 raised family ossuaries (*sikota kivouria*)¹². The E section of the cemetery served the neighbouring village of Korogonianika and the W section served Kainouria Chora.

The cemetery round Ayios Georgios, a 13th century church at Karynia (FIG. 10) contains a large medieval grave structure with an arch, ten shaft graves, four subterranean built graves, an old cistern and one *tylighi* apparatus.¹³

The abandoned cemetery next to Ayios Panteleimon, a double-apsed 10th century church at Pano Boularii (FIG. 19a) contains 25 older and newer shaft graves, a

¹² Saitas 2009a, fig. 40.5.

¹³ Simple stone structure used for "winding" the wool, Saitas 2009a, fig. 40,28.

The Medieval and later Mani

cluster with 3 typical ‘*sikota kivouria*’ of the late 19th–early 20th century and one newer grave. This cemetery served the lineages of Prayatis, Thomopoulos and Lykourezos.



FIG. 13. The central part of the village Messa Demaristika , location Rizopyrgi: the megalithic ruins, the more recent vernacular buildings and the old cemetery next to the half-ruined double-apsidal 13th-century church of Ayia Paraskevi (1) with the surrounding shaft graves α–ζ, the semi-subterrenian graves 6-7 and the built graves – ossuaries 1-5.

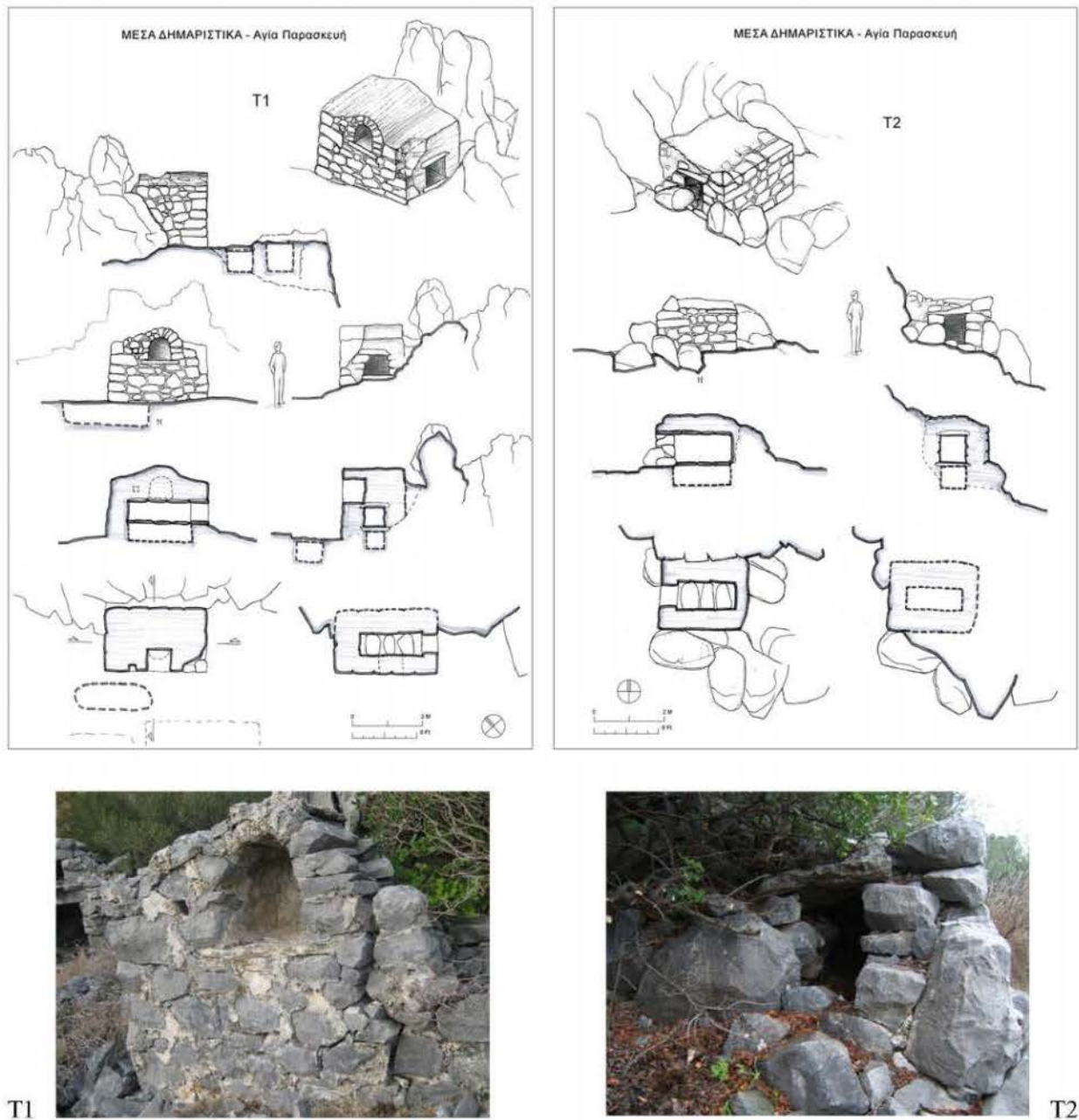
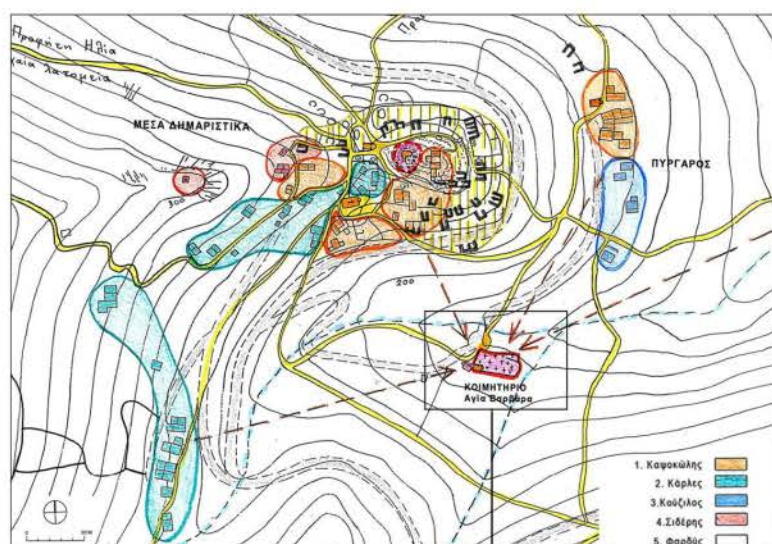


FIG. 14. Structure T1 (left) and structure T2 (right) at Ayia Paraskevi, Messa Demaristika.

The Medieval and later Mani



ΜΕΣΑ ΔΗΜΑΡΙΣΤΙΚΑ και ΠΥΡΓΑΡΟΣ

οικήσεις και γενεαλογικές ομάδες

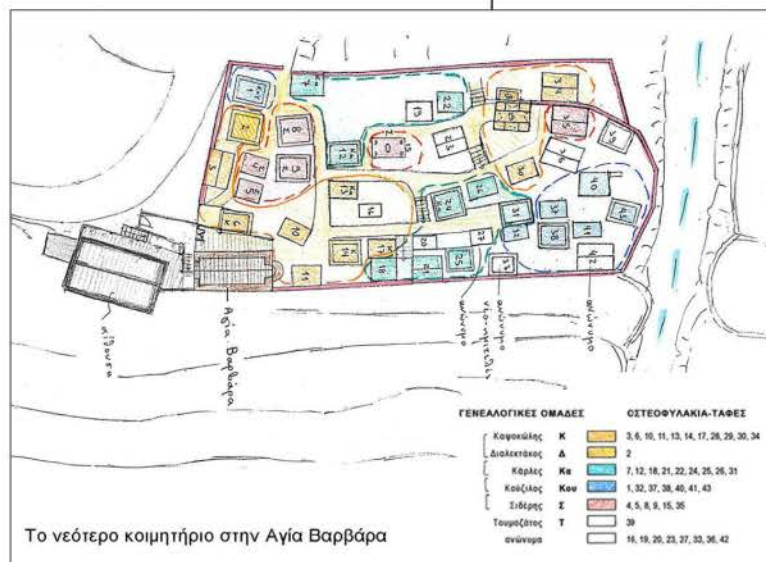


FIG. 15. The village and the genealogical groups of Messa Demaristika with the wards of Rizopyrgi, Karlianika, Pyrgaros and the outlying 20th-century cemetery of Ayia Varvara with the corresponding clusters of the 43 funerary structures.

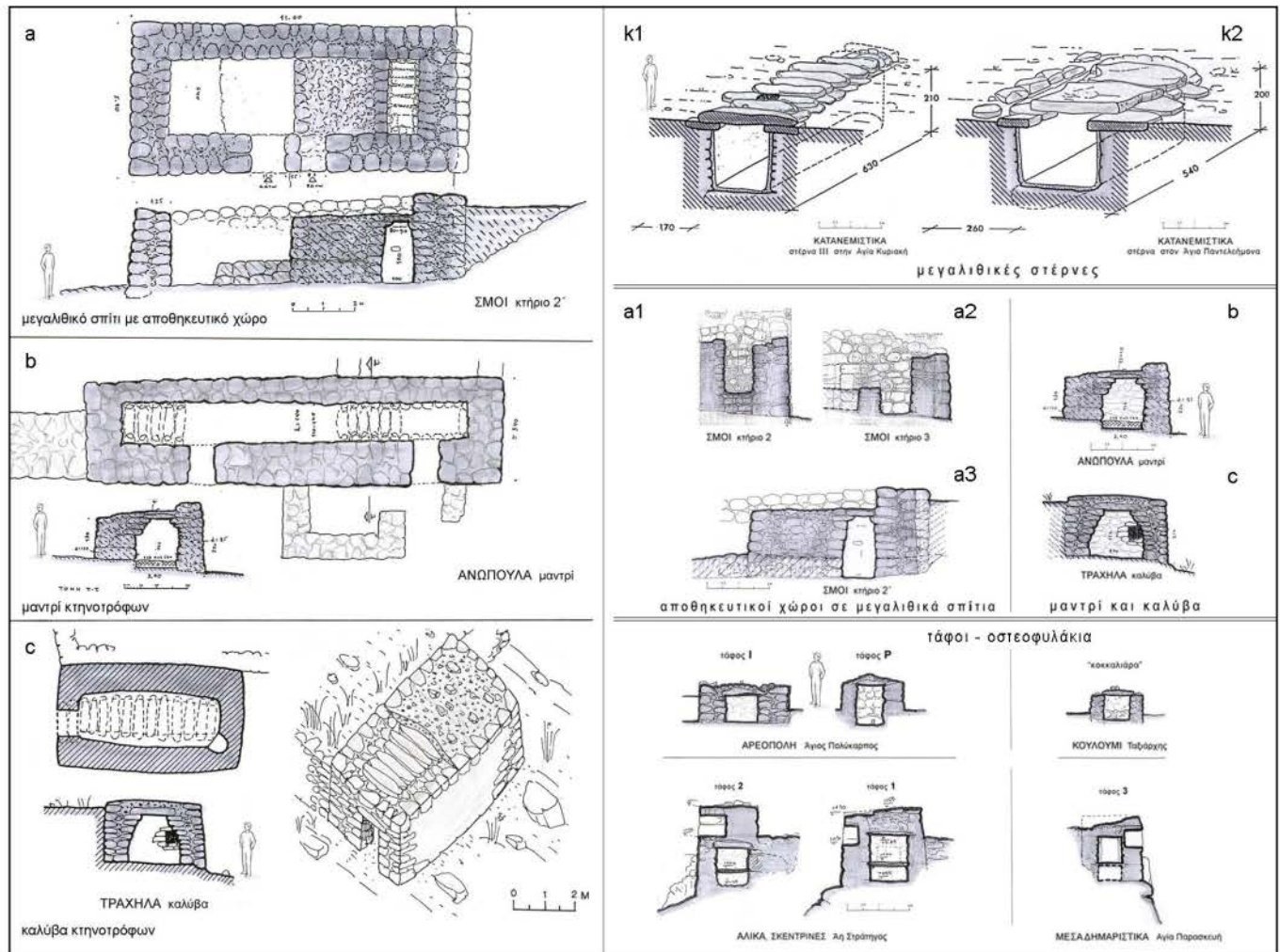


FIG. 16. Storage spaces of megalithic houses (a, a1, a2, a3), sheepfolds (b), shepherds' stone huts (c) and underground megalithic cisterns (k1 ,k2) in comparison with mediaeval and post-mediaeval grave-ossuary structures.

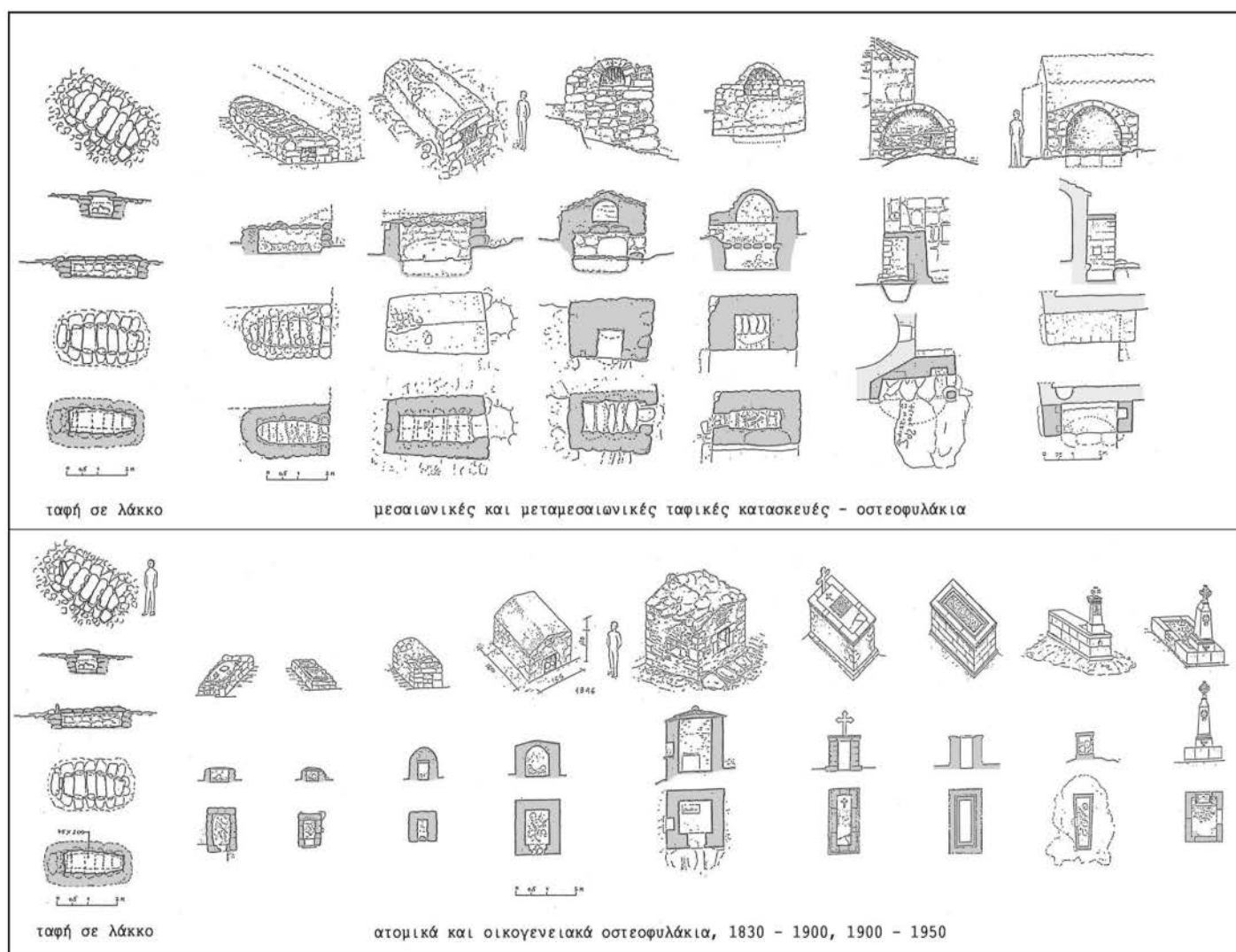


FIG. 17. Above: mediaeval and post-mediaeval burial - ossuary structures;
below: individual and family built ossuaries 1830–1900, 1900–1950.

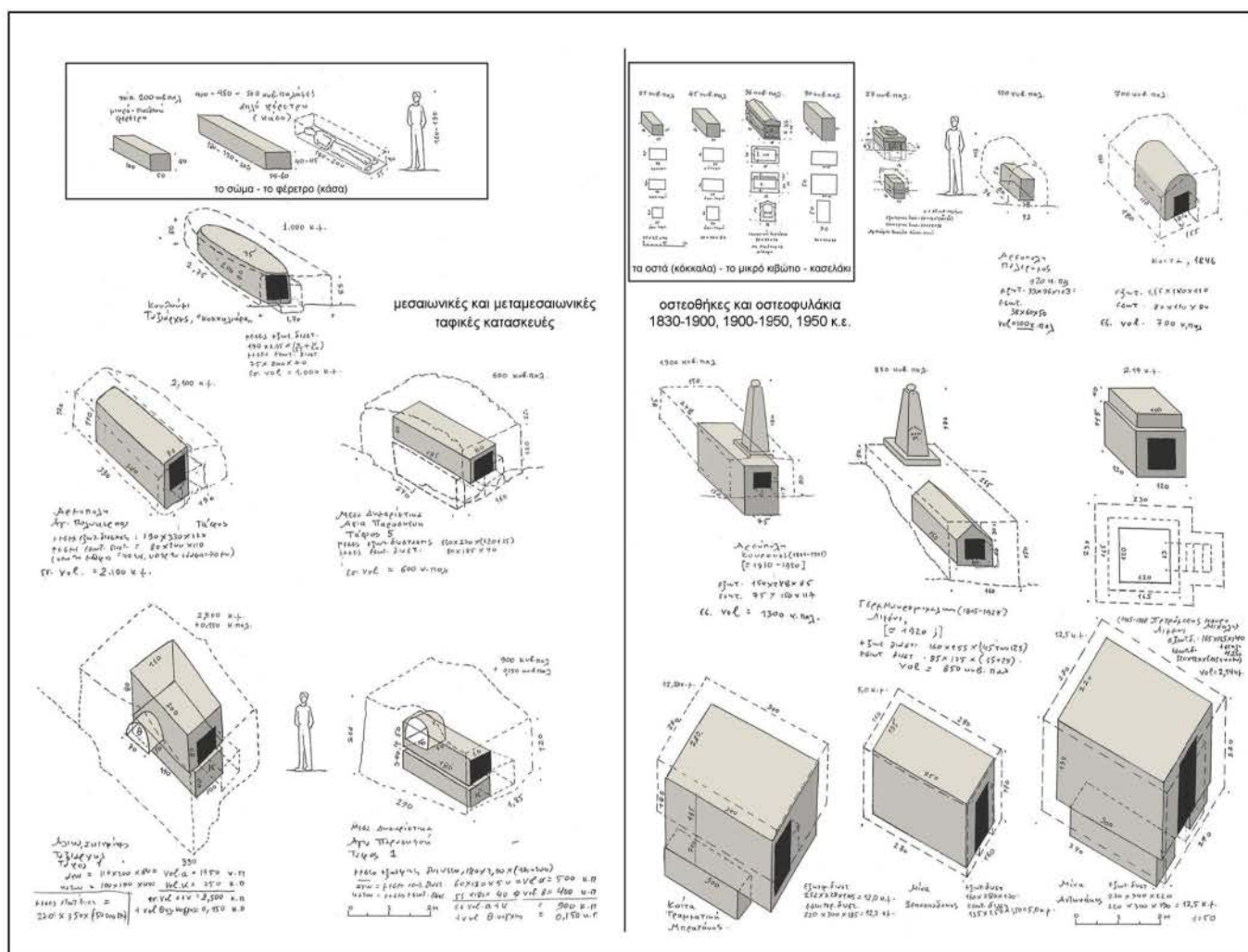


FIG. 18. The interior spaces of burial-ossuaries shells;
 (left): mediaeval and post-mediaeval structures;
 (right): bone chests and ossuaries, 1830–1900, 1900–1950, 1950 onward; upper row: inset with chests for the bones; raised 'kivouria' or 'kamaria'; middle row: elaborate ossuaries (early 20th century onward); lower row: newer semi-subterranean or ground level chamber 'homes' (oikoi).

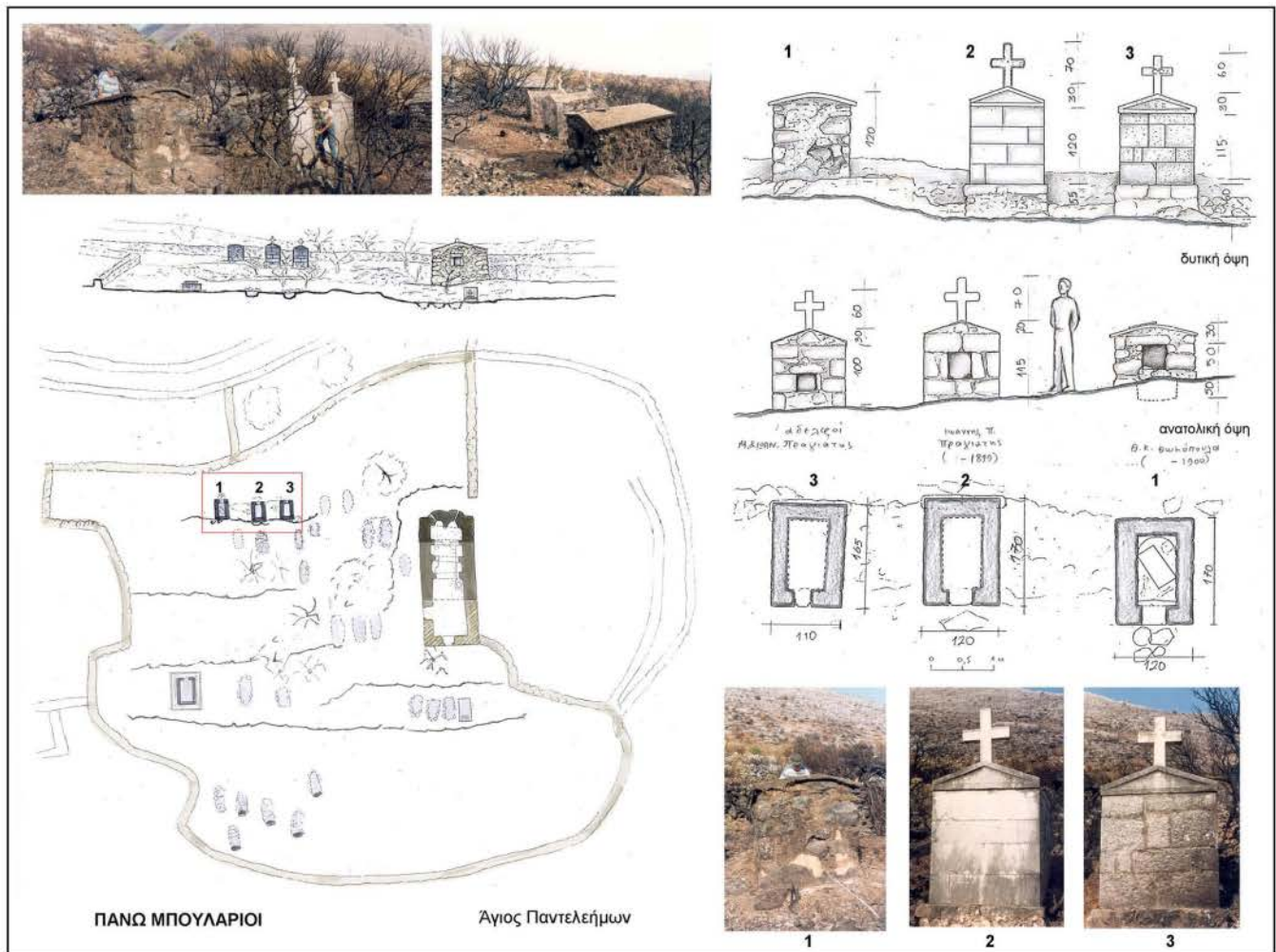


FIG. 19. The cemetery next to the megalithic 10th-century church of Ayios Panteleimon at Pano Boularii with a cluster of three family ossuaries (1, 2, 3), late 19th –start of 20th century.

The small cemetery of Petreas next to Ayioi Theodoroi of Palaia Kardamyli comprises 2 graves of the *arcosolium* type and 3 stone-built sarcophagos-ossuaries (FIGS 11 and 21 a1, a2).¹⁴

¹⁴ Saitas 2009a, fig. 40,34.

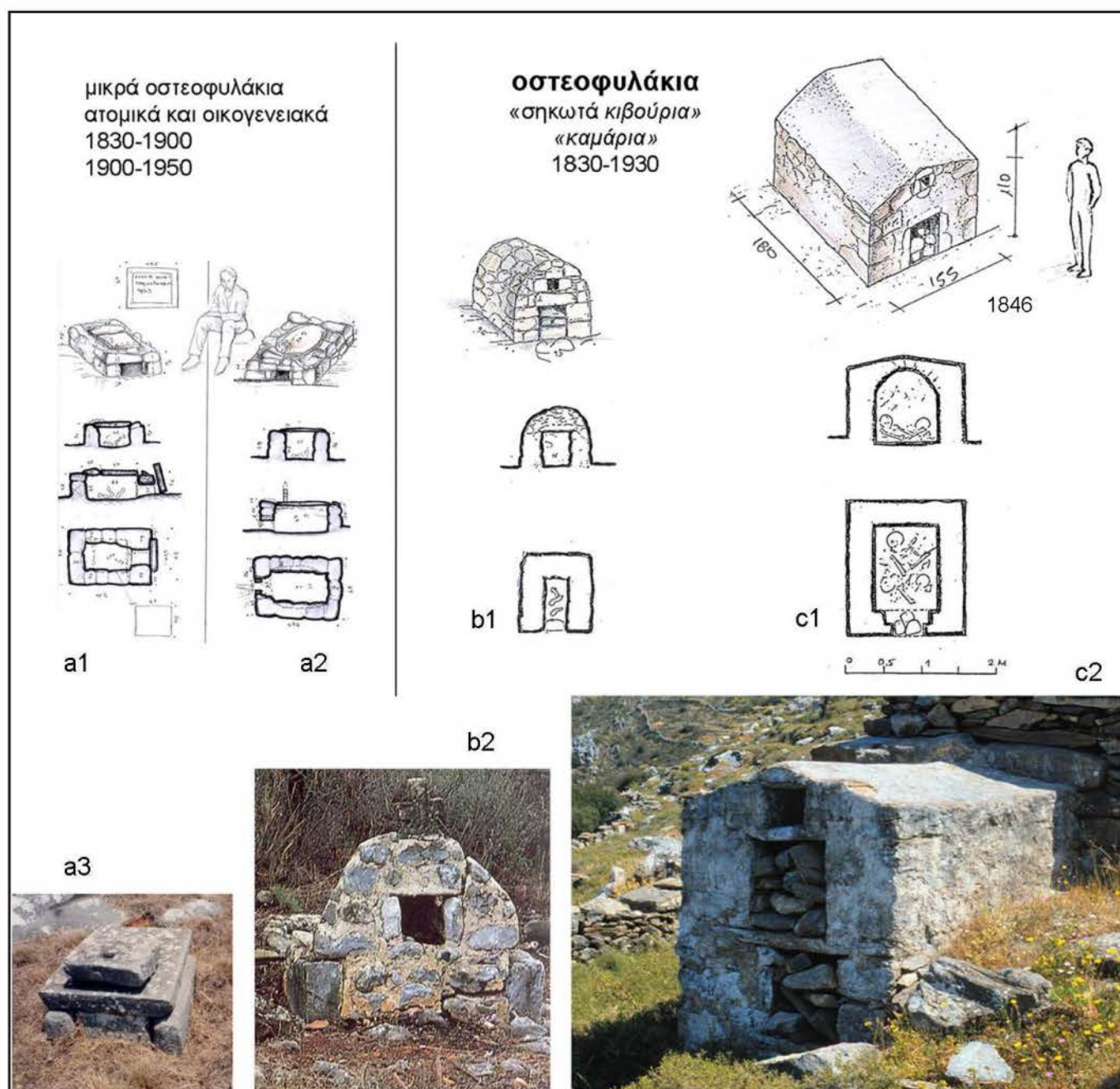


FIG. 20. a1, a2, a3: minimal-size individual built chests-ossuaries. b1, b2, c1, c2: medium-sized raised family ossuaries 'sikota kivouria'-'kamaria'.

The Medieval and later Mani

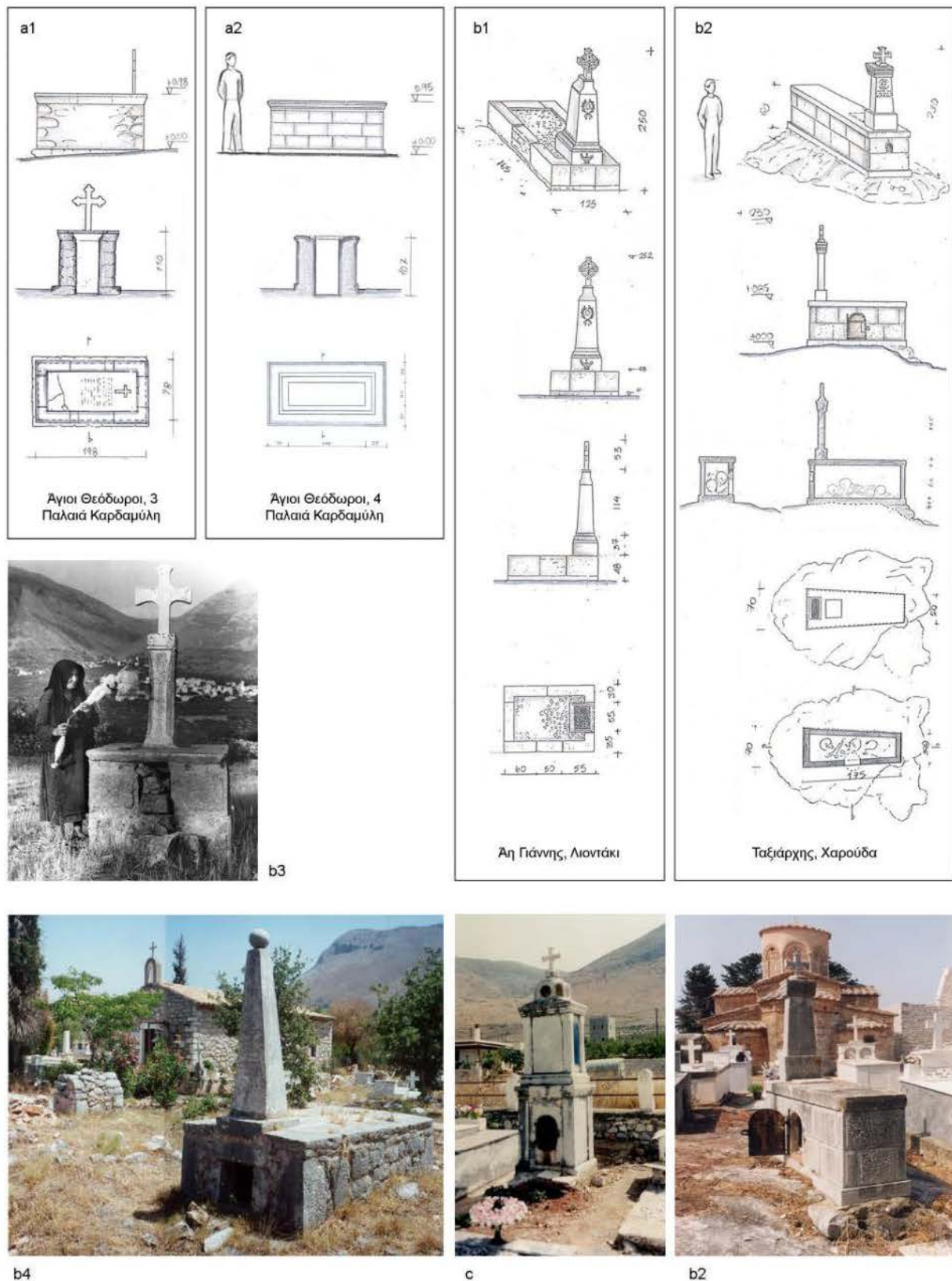


FIG. 21. Elaborate ossuaries (early 20th century): a1, a2: built chests-sarcophagi; bi, b2, b3, b4: ossuaries with marble stele and cross; c: tower-like ossuary behind a shaft grave.

Old, abandoned, small cemeteries for the monks as well as the patrons are to be found in scattered minor monasteries such as at Vlacherna, a 13th century church at Mezapos. Small cemeteries continue in use round privately-owned chapels such as the Metamorphossi tou Sotira at Dryalos.

In the market town of Tsimova-Areopolis, capital of Inner Mani with 700–1200 inhabitants, 320 grave structures were constructed during the 19th and 20th centuries in three recent municipal cemeteries, with 90–120 grave structures in each, there still being some grave sites in private monasteries nearby. Up to the beginning of the 20th century there were at least two old cemeteries inside Areopolis, which have been closed: one at Panagia Georgianiki, converted into the churchyard with a playground and the other by the recently laid-out Athanaton Square.

MEDIEVAL CEMETERIES: AYIA PARASKEVI AT MESSA DEMARISTIKA

One more medieval cemetery site, at Ayia Paraskevi, Messa Demaristika of Layia, is presented in summary here. For reasons of comparison I shall first mention three other typical medieval locations that were published in 1983 and 2005.

In the broader area of Tsimova/Areopolis, near Paleremo, there is a highly interesting medieval cemetery on the hill of Ayios Polykarpos, found in sources from the 13th century, while a much smaller one lies next to Panagia Kontarianiki at Paliochora. In the cemetery of Ayios Polykarpos there are 120 single-spaced cist graves built partially below and partially above ground.¹⁵

Two further medieval sites are to be found in the environs of ancient Kainipolis: at Skentrines and at Katanemistika. The first cemetery, which has four large graves – ossuaries on two levels topped by a blind arch – is situated next to the megalithic settlement of Skentrines of Alika, round the 10th century church of Ayios Stratigos. These structures are combined with eleven old shaft graves, a cistern and other ruins.¹⁶

The other site is on the saddle of Katanemistika, where there are ancient quarries, megalithic settlements with churches, dwellings and subterranean structures/cisterns. Next to the 13th century church of Ayioi Panteleimon kai Sozon is alignment A of nine monoliths standing to heights of 1.20–2.10 m and close by, next to the 13th century church of Ayia Kyriaki, alignment B of nine monoliths standing to heights of 0.95 to 1.50 m. Are these monoliths identifiable as rudimentary burial markers?¹⁷

Significant megalithic installations from ancient and medieval times are to be found at the N part (district 2a) of the community of Layia, where the ancient quarries of the renowned Laconian red stone (*Rosso Antico*) are situated, such as the

¹⁵ Saitas 2009a, Figs 40.16–40.18.

¹⁶ Saitas 2009a, Figs 40.19–40.22.

¹⁷ Saitas 2009a and 1983.

installations at Panoros, with houses, churches, huts and cisterns.¹⁸ Ten traditional settlements occupy this area, as shown in **FIG 12**.

At the site of Rizopyrgi, on the hill of Messa Demaristika, where there is a megalithic settlement which continued to be inhabited into the 20th century, there lies a cemetery next to the 13th century, half-ruined church (double-apsed with a side nave) of Ayia Paraskevi.¹⁹ It has 7–10 shaft graves, two of them semi-subterranean and 5 built grave-ossuaries above ground (**FIG. 13**). Four of the built grave-ossuaries (T1, T2, T3, T5) are on two levels, whilst two (T1, T3,) have a small arch under the roof (**FIG. 14**). These structures, whose external dimensions are 2.20–3.00 m long, 1.80–2.00 m wide and 1.20–2.00 m high, correspond in size, arrangement and construction to the large tombs T1 and T2 at Skentrines, Aliká²⁰. The two semi-subterranean graves T6, T7 parallel the graves of Ayios Polykarpos at Tsimova/Areopolis.²¹

The cemetery at Ayia Paraskevi is no longer in use, a post-Byzantine cemetery having been founded at site 3 (**FIG. 13**), round an old church, replaced in 1900 by the present parish church of Koimissi tis Theotokou. This cemetery, within Messa Demaristika, fell out of use and during the decade 1920–1930 and was transferred 150 m ‘down the road’, outside the village, to the site of the church of Ayia Varvara (**FIG. 15**). The new cemetery serves 4–5 lineages grouped together in clusters of 6–12 grave structures. It contains an old tomb (from before 1935) with a decorated marble stele (the work of Antonis Vouyiouklakis from Layia) as well as 42 more recent tombs, 9 of which are semi-subterranean and 32 new ground-floor family sepulchres (*oikoi*). These ‘houses’ give this 20th-century cemetery in southern Mani the marked character of a ‘settlement of the dead’.

REMARKS ON THE TYPOLOGY OF GRAVE AND OSSUARY STRUCTURES

The Medieval and post-Medieval grave structures have many structural devices in common with the storage spaces in the megalithic houses, sheepfolds and stone huts of peasants and shepherds (**FIG. 16**). The similarities include the type of stone masonry, the roofing of spaces with stone slabs and coated with gravel and/or mortar.²² A difference of scale is noticeable from the underground megalithic cisterns (*kologisternes*), with internal spans of 2.00–2.50 m, which, according to Moutsopoulos and Dimitrokallis could be regarded as prehistoric tombs belonging to the megalithic civilization of the West Mediterranean.²³

Shaft graves dug into the ground survive from all periods. They housed the body for at least three years until disinterment, and could be used for subsequent burials or as charnel-pits.²⁴ As a rule they were a temporary resting place for the body

¹⁸ Moschou, Raftopoulou & Hatzitheodorou 1998.

¹⁹ Drandakis 1978.

²⁰ Saitas 2009a, Figs 40.20–40.22.

²¹ Saitas 2009a, Figs 40.17–40.18.

²² Saitas 2009a.

²³ Moutsopoulos & Dimitrokallis 1976–78 and 1980.

²⁴ Seremetakis 1991; Dimitrakos 1975; Vayakakos 1968; Zafeirakopoulos 1911

and were usually covered with the characteristic stone slabs called '*makronia*'. They were marked in older times with a plain or carved headstone and later with a wooden, marble or metal cross or a simpler or more elaborate stele, which was subsequently placed in the final ossuary, at the same spot or nearby, according to the family.

The summary typological plate (**FIG. 17**) shows in its upper part typical medieval and post-medieval burial-ossuary structures. The lower part shows for comparison the basic categories of individual or family ossuaries found in cemeteries 1830–1900 and 1900–1950. Some examples are illustrated in the subsequent plates.

The summarizing plate of **FIG. 18a, b** examines the interior spaces within the sepulchres, housing the body on the one hand, the bones on the other, in earlier and later periods. The medieval and post-medieval grave structures are shown on the left of **FIG. 18a**. The basic underground or semi-subterranean stone-built *thiki* (container) for the body (with or without a coffin) is suitable for multiple interments, accessible through an opening of about 60 x 80 cm on its narrow side. The necessary interior dimensions are 60–90 cm wide, 180–200 cm long, and 45–70 cm high, with an equivalent interior volume of 600 dm³ up to 1 m³. If the interior space is arranged either on one level, with a greater height, or on two successive levels, the interior volume can be doubled, whereupon it reaches or exceeds 2 m³. The second separate level is used to store the bones from a number of individuals. The (smaller or larger) blind arches on the wide side and at the height of the roof adds a further useful space of volume 150–400 dm³.

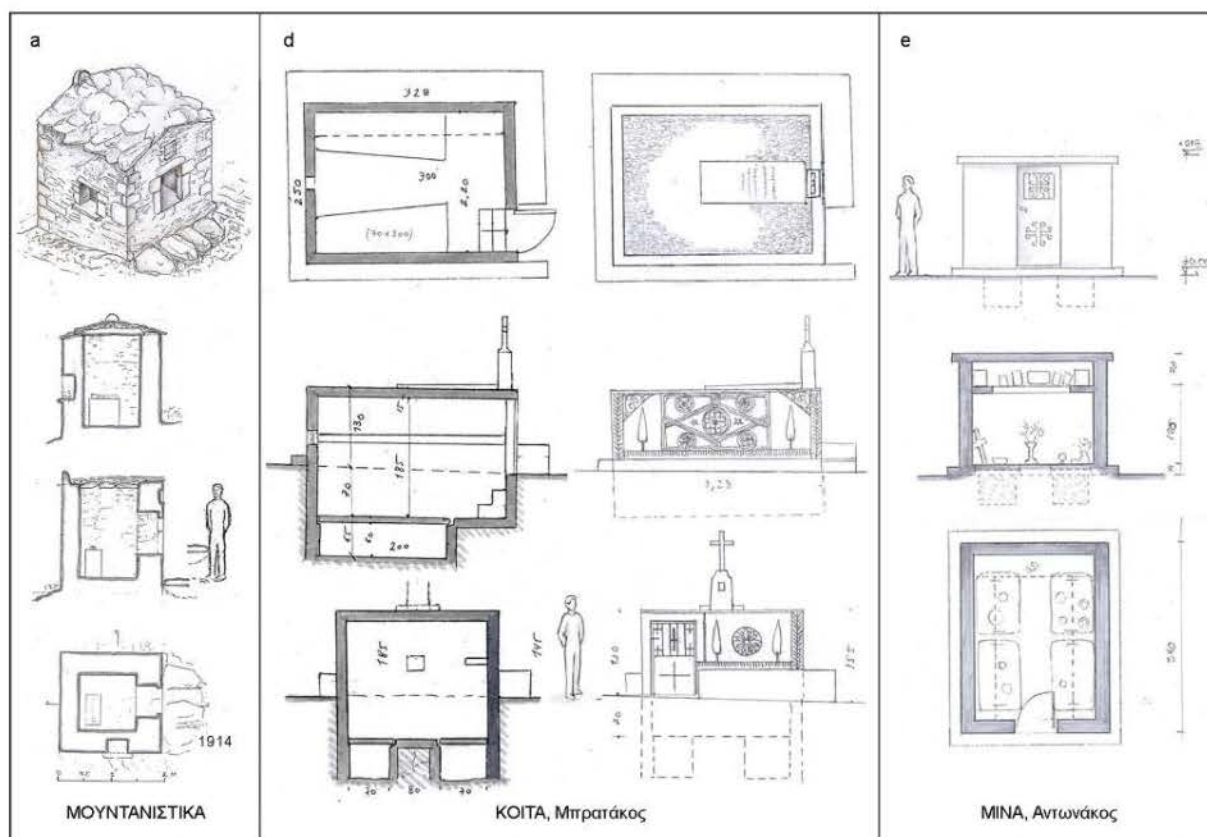
The right of **FIG. 18b** on the top row shows the charnel-chests, smaller, medium and larger. The minimum space required for storing the bones of one individual after disinterment, removal and purification, corresponded to the capacity of content of a pillow-case (*demela*) of a volume of 25–30 dm³. This type of chest, of volume up to 90 dm³, could store the bones of several family members, of two, three or more generations.

The stone-built 'raised ossuaries' ('*sikota kivouria*' or '*kamaria*'), predominating up to the end of the 19th century in the villages, were used exclusively as family ossuaries or bone-repositories (**FIG. 19**). The external dimensions range from ~ 1 x 1 x 1 m to ~ 1.50 x 1.80 x 1.20 m, while the effective interior space was 100 dm³–1 m³. The bones were inserted through an opening 40 x 50–60 x 80 cm closed with a slab or several stones. A small external niche was for the oil-lamp and incense-burner (**FIG. 20**).

The middle row of **FIG. 18b** shows the larger, better crafted ossuaries, frequent from the early 20th century on. The interior volume increases to 1–2 m³ (**FIGS 18b, 21**).

The bottom row shows a later type of semi-subterranean/ground-level, small roofed tomb, taller and of larger dimensions, i.e. with an internal volume of 5–13 m³, in which the living family members could move more easily (**FIG. 22**). After 1950, the walls of these constructions were built of masonry, bricks or concrete bricks, covered with a reinforced concrete slab.

The Medieval and later Mani



b



f



c



g

FIG. 22. a, b, c: older (early 20th century) small stone built chambers-ossuaries.
d, e, f, g: newer (1930 onward) semi-subterranean or ground level graves-ossuaries.

The raised '*kivouria*' or '*kamaria*' were roofed either with a shallow vault with a horizontal, saddle or pedimental facade, or with slabs and with a vaulted or double-sided stone coating applied with mortar (FIGS 19, 20, 21). These constructions, built in the old days by family members themselves and with the minimum necessary dimensions and materials, solved at little cost the question of housing the bones/relics of the ancestors, a fundamental requirement of the local system. In some cases small stone cists (*thikes*) were intended for the bones of only one, two or three.

From the early 20th century local professionals (*petrofaoi* – '*stone-eaters*')²⁵ constructed variations of better crafted ossuaries such as built chests shaped like sarcophagi, in isodomic or other styles of masonry. Some are lower and some higher, with a metal door in one long side, forming the base for a marble grave stele or decorated cross. Some are tall tower-like forms, of a more monumental aspect (FIG. 21).

Because those who attended a funeral or memorial service in the graveyard must not carry the 'curse' back home, they stopped at certain stone heaps that were attributed with the power of liberation and relief from grief. At Kounos, near the cemetery at Pentakia, such a spot called '*dynia*' (from the Greek word *odynē* for grief) stands close to the shrine of Ayios Haralambos.

Burial and disinterment can take place with security and ease in the more modern semi-subterranean or above-ground single-roomed chamber-'houses' (FIG. 22). The interior dimensions of the space range from 1.30 x 2.50 x 1.70 m (min.)–2.70 x 3.00 x 2.00 m (max.), corresponding to 5–13 m³. Following the purification of the bones and their transformation into a 'new body',²⁶ relics were stored in their small chests, placed on the cement shelves of the building, possibly with some selected items. This 'home', furnished with mementos, photographs, inscriptions, grave 'markers', now ensured a well organized new 'household' and 'sacred spot' for the family (FIGS 23, 24). It is a substantial investment and serves successive generations of relatives. It is a 'home' where the dead meet again, as do their living descendants, who conduct the traditional ceremonies for preserving their 'eternal memory'. In this way the indissoluble bonds between the relatives are underscored, their crucial obligations continue to be performed and the living familiarize themselves and prepare themselves and future generations to cross in 'good order' and 'as is proper' the threshold of death, in order to be ready for the eventual Day of Judgement and resurrection.

²⁵ Kassis 1980; Petronotis 1980.

²⁶ Seremetakis 1991.

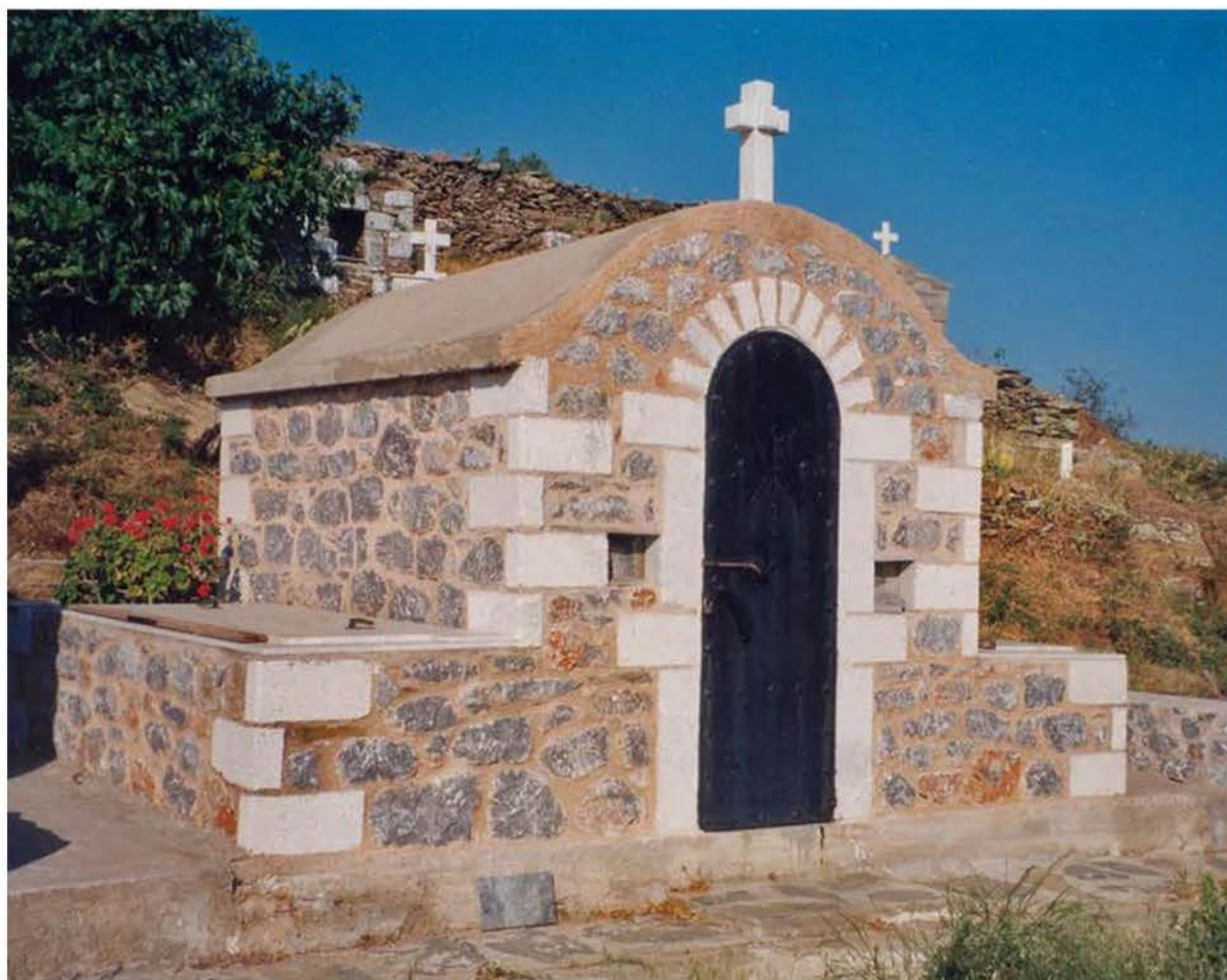


FIG. 23. Modern stone built family ossuary, of the chamber 'house' type, with two external lateral graves.



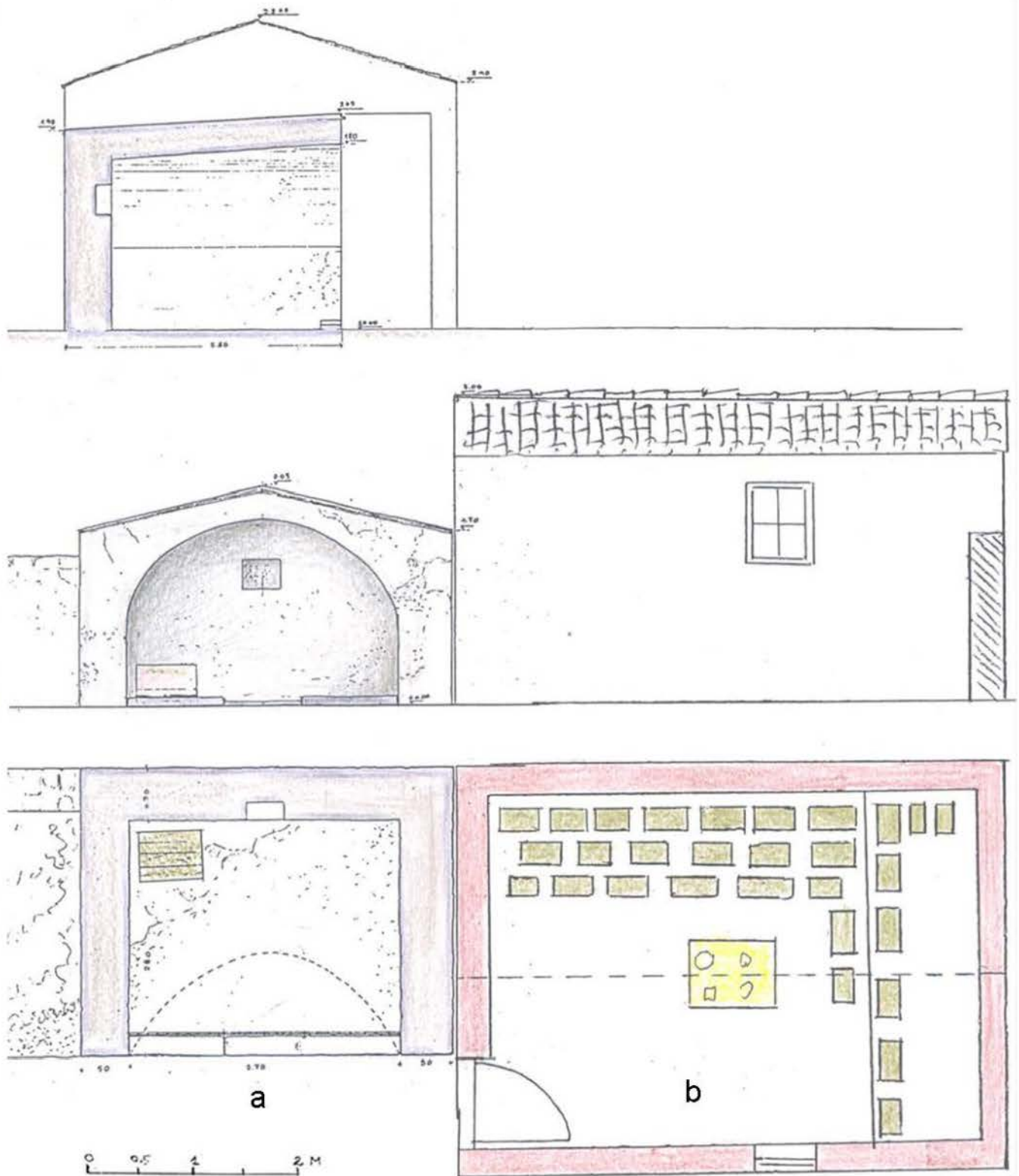
FIG. 24. The interior of modern semi-subterranean or above ground family grave-ossuary chambers with the relics in the chests, furnished with photographs, mementos, oil lamps, incense burners, flowers, also cleaning materials.

Many older and more recent cemeteries also have a collective charnel house. It may be an older, abandoned or half-ruined church (**FIG 25**), a cave arranged for the purpose,²⁷ a separate domed construction (**FIG. 26**), or a smaller or larger chamber (**FIG. 27**).

²⁷ Saitas 2009a, fig 40.35.



FIG. 25. Skulls on a wooden shelf and in chests in an abandoned church next to the village of Kipoula.



Κοιμητήριο Μεγάλης Μαντίνειας

Συλλογικά οστεοφυλάκεια α και β

FIG. 26. Collective charnel-house at the cemetery of Megali Mantineia, comprising the older stone built domed structure (a) and the newer wood-roofed tiled chamber (b). From bottom to top: plan, elevation, section.



FIG. 27. The interior of the newer 'collective' charnel-house of the cemetery Ayia Paraskevi at Areopolis.

The study of burial markers (steles, busts, carved crosses, etc.) as well as of the inscriptions is of great interest and will be presented on another occasion. A variety of types, subjects and techniques are distinguishable, referring to some local workshops and a number of named craftsmen who often sign their work. Works by the sculptors and marble workers of Kalamata, Gytheion as well as from Athens are also found. Subjects displaying prestige and rivalry also infiltrate the composition of a built cemetery area. The cemetery of Ayios Nikolaos at Layia (**FIG. 9**) contains the most of well-crafted marble steles from the first half of the twentieth century. Many of them are the work of the craftsman Antonis Vouyiouklakis,²⁸ who was at work 1920–1950 and erected his family burial monument there (**FIG. 29**).

²⁸ Kassis 1980; Petronotis 1980.

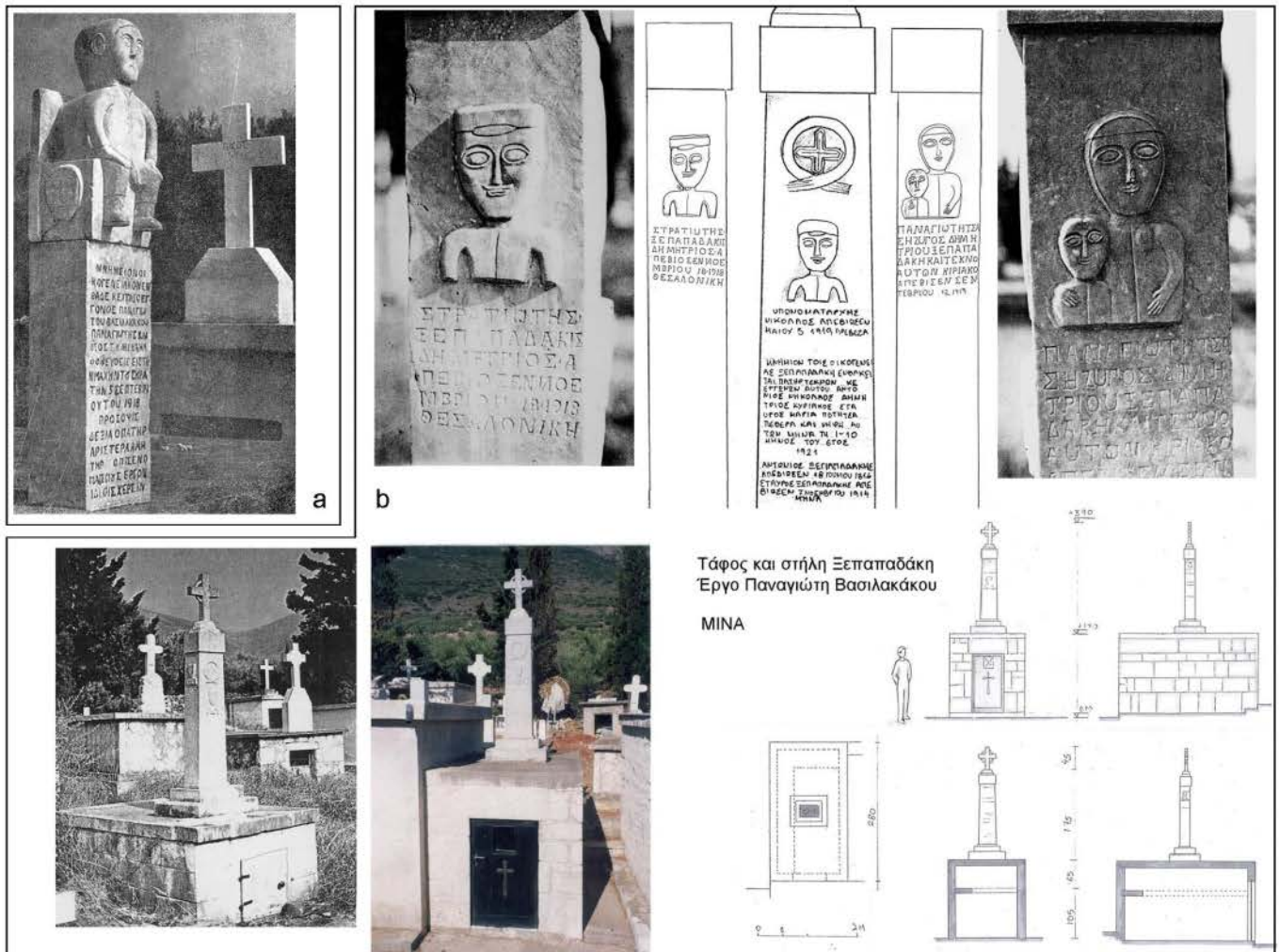


FIG. 28. Two funerary stelai, works of the local craftsman Panayiotis Vassilakakos from Kafiona. Upper left: at the cemetery of Kafiona stele (a) depicts four figures of three generations of the Vassilakakos family (one child, two parents and the craftsman grandfather). At the Mina cemetery, stele (b) depicts four members of the Xepapadakis family; this stele was first erected on a low ossuary and then placed at the newer, more spacious one.



Οίκος Αντωνίου κε Σταματίνας Βουγικλάκη

FIG. 29. The funerary monument that the local craftsman Antonis Vouyiouklakis erected for his family at the cemetery of Ayios Nikolaos at Layia.

The two grave steles at Kafiona, made between 1925 and 1935 by Panayiotis Vassilakakos,²⁹ are particularly good examples of the local mentality and popular sculpture. Each depicts portraits of four people, from two or three generations of the family memorialized, and has informative inscriptions (FIG. 28a–b).

In some recent elaborate works, the same stele depicts members of two generations. In the Pano Boularii cemetery, a father and son are combined in a sculpture by D. Pissas from Piraeus (FIG. 30). In other cases the grave marker has separate stelai/busts for each member of the family, for example two spouses or a child and both parents.

²⁹ Kassis 1980; Petronotis 1980.



FIG. 30. Stele showing father and son, work of the sculptor D. Pissas from Piraeus, standing in the cemetery of Pano Boularii. erected for his family at the cemetery of Ayios Nikolaos at Layia.



MONAXO - νότιο (παλαιό) κοιμητήριο

FIG. 31. Funerary ornamented stele with inscription erected in memory of Elias Katsis Mavromichalis who died in Munich in 1836. Old cemetery of Munich, design of the architect Leo von Klenze.

The bust of Petrobey Mavromichalis (1765–1848) is the work of the Athenian sculptor Georgios Bonanos, standing on top of the burial monument, with a total height of 5.60 m, crafted in the Athenian marble workshop of Ioannis G. Haldoupis. The stele with the bust stands on a stepped pedestal 1.10 m high covering the underground crypt-ossuary, whose dimensions are 1.20 x 1.20 x 1.55 m a volume of 2.1 m³ (FIG. 33). The monument was erected in the early 20th century in the cemetery of Ai Sostis at Limeni, dominating the simpler graves and markers.

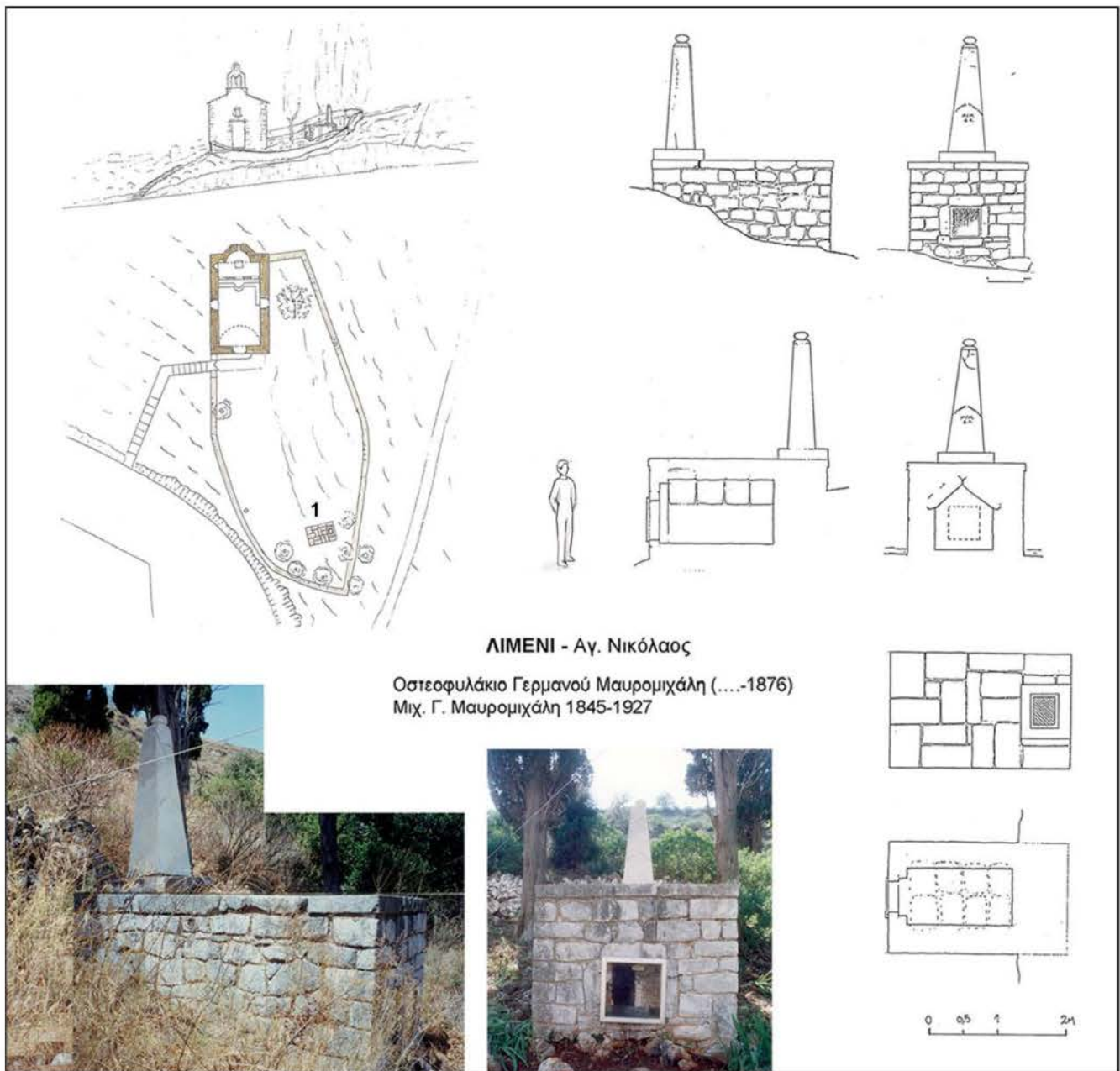


FIG. 32. The old cemetery next to the church of Ayios Nikolaos at Limeni with the well-built ossuary with a plain marble stele of the Germanos Mavromichalis family.

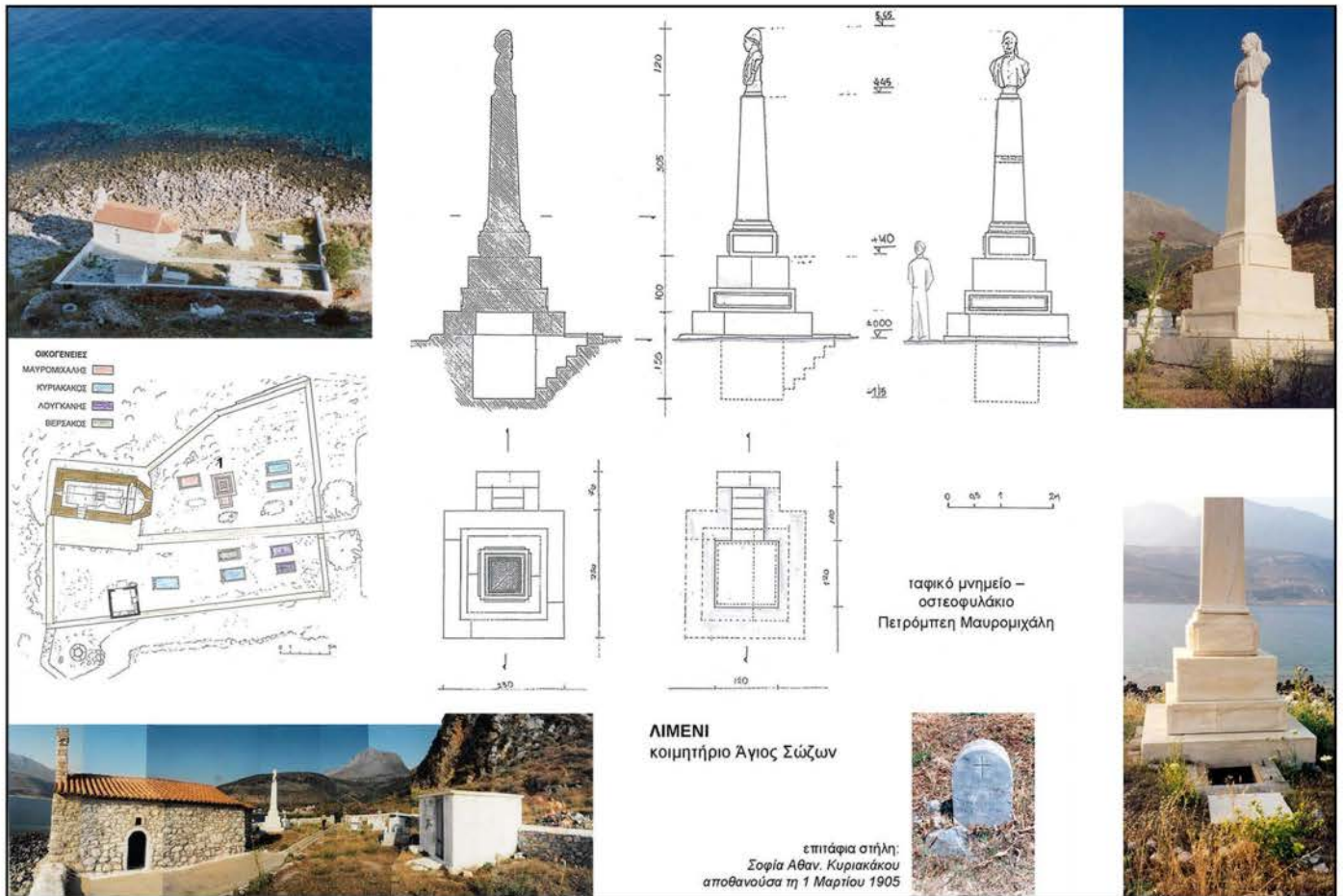


FIG. 33. In the cemetery on the shore next to the village of Limeni, the imposing funerary monument of Petrobey Mavromichalis dominates among the simpler graves and markers.

A typical individual/personal tomb marker for an eminent Maniot of the first half of the 19th century is represented by an decorated limestone stele 3.00 m high, over the grave of the ADC to King Otto Elias Katsis Mavromichalis (1803–1836), who died in Munich. The Bavarian King Ludwig had it erected in Munich's old cemetery and it was designed by the architect Leo von Klenze (FIG. 31).³⁰

The family ossuary of Germanos Katsis Mavromichalis (?–1876) brother of Elias mentioned above, has a plain stele; it is to be found in the cemetery of Ayios Nikolaos at Limeni. It was constructed in the 1920s (FIG. 32).

Monuments erected at selected sites also commemorate local history, honouring the dead and marking the memories and the landscape, thus forming a fresh mental map.³¹ Memorials and monuments of those who died in wars *pro patria* (FIG. 34), stand at historic sites or particular spots in the countryside or in the squares of villages, or with busts of illustrious men, combined with symbolic towers or other structures (FIG. 35), or memorials for victims at the site of fatal accidents (FIG. 36).

³⁰ Kougeas 1936.

³¹ Kenna 2009 and 1989.



FIG. 34. Memorial monument erected in 1935 at the historic site of Verga Almiros, commemorating the victory of Maniot groups against the attacking army of Imbrahim Pasha, 21–24 June 1826.



FIG. 35. Memorial monument comprising the bust of an eminent person and a symbolic tower at the outskirts of Layia.



FIG. 36. Memorial monument of a victim at the site of a fatal car accident in the vicinity of Areopolis.

THE CEMETERIES OF THE COMMUNITY OF VATHIA

In the example from the District of Vathia we examine the relation of the cemeteries to the patrilocal settlements and their districts. Eight old megalithic settlements are to be found here, 23 more recent, inhabited sites and 27 churches of the medieval and recent years. From the 18th and 19th centuries the population was divided between eight genealogical groups (FIG. 37).³² The four larger (Michalakiani, Karabatiani, Kalidoniani, Koutrigari) had settled in the central village (FIGS 38, 39) and at 15

³² Saitas2009b, 1994 and 1987.

The Medieval and later Mani

other places nearby ('*xemonia*'). The four minor groups had settled in seven other sites in the area. The total population amounted to 250–450 in the 19th and 20th century. Eight cemeteries corresponded to this system, with a total of 60–65 graves and 110 ossuaries. Of the 110, 70 are old ossuaries (1830–1950) and 40 more recent (1950–1970 and 1970–). **TABLE 1** details the distribution of the eight genealogical groups among the four sub-districts and the eight inhabited clusters of the community. The corresponding 28 churches with their eight cemeteries have been recorded together with their old and modern graves and their older and more recent ossuaries.

ΚΟΙΝΟΤΗΤΑ ΒΑΘΕΙΑΣ : ΚΟΙΜΗΤΗΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΦΙΚΕΣ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΕΣ

ΜΙΚΡΟ-ΠΕΡΙΟΧΕΣ	παραδοσιακές ΟΙΚΗΣΕΙΣ (16 ^{ος} αι. κ.ε.)	ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΕΣ	ΚΟΙΜΗΤΗΡΙΑ	ΓΕΝΕΑΛΟΓΙΚΕΣ ΟΜΑΔΕΣ	ΤΑΦΕΣ		ΟΣΤΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΑ							
					ΠΑΛΑΙΕΣ έως 1950	ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΕΣ 1950 κ.ε.	ΠΑΛΑΙΑ 1830- 1900	έως 1950 1901- 1950	Π 1830- 1950	ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΑ 1951- 1970	1950 κ.ε. 1971- 2000	Σ 1951- 2000	ΣΥΝΟΛΟ Π+Σ 1830- 2000	
Α Λεκάνη Βάθειας 124 κτήρια	56. 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9 / (Δβ) Κάπτοι (Κάτω Βάθεια) κλπ. 18 κτήρια	5 έως 6	1α. Άγιος Φούκας	(?)			2	0	2	0	0	0	2	
			1β. Αγία Τριάδα ?	Καραμπατιάνοι / Λαγούδης			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
			1γ. Κόνισσα	(Καραμπατιάνοι) [Μιχελόγγονας]			(1)	0	(1)	0	0	0	(1)	
	57. 1,2 / (Δβ) Γουλάς 14 κτήρια	4	2. Άη Γιάννης *	Καραμπατιάνοι / Λαγούδης Καραμπατιάνοι / Ξυπόλητος Αθανασάκος Μιχελόγγονας σύνολο Άη Γιάννης ≈23 ταφικές κατασκευές										
	58. 1,2 / (Δβ) Ρόγκια 11 κτήρια	1	3. Άη Γκίτας	Κουτριγάροι Καληδωνιάνοι σύνολο Άη Γκίτας										
	59. 1 / (Γα) Βάθεια 70 κτήρια	7	4. Άγιος Ηλίας 5. Παναγίτσα * καθολικό (μαζ'κό) κοιμητήρια κατά τον 20 ^ο αι.	Καληδωνιάνοι			(1)	0	(1)	0	0	0	0	(1)
				Μιχαλακιάνοι Καραμπατιάνοι Καληδωνιάνοι Κουτριγάροι Μιχελόγγονες Στραβοκέφαλοι ανώνυμα οστεοφυλάκια σύνολο Παναγίτσα ≈108 ταφικές κατασκευές										
60. 1,2 / (Δβ) Τσι 11 κτήρια	0	-	Μιχαλακιάνοι			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Β Βισκίνα 6 κτήρια	61. 1,2 / (Δβ) Ποράχινα – Βισκίνα 6 κτήρια	7	6. Ταξιάρχης	(Αραβουχοί) Στραβοκέφαλοι			2	0	2	0	0	0	2	
Γ Καστρί 10 κτήρια	62. 1,2,3 / (Δβ) Καστρί 10 κτήρια	2	7. Αγ. Νικόλαος *	Φιδοπάσιτης & Μπαλίνης ≈10 ταφικές κατασκευές		≈ 10	2	2	4	0	3	3	7	
Δ Μιανές 25 κτήρια	63. 1,2 / (Δα) Μιανές 25 κτήρια	1	8. Αγ. Θεόδωροι *	Καραμπατιάνοι			6	2	8	0	1	1	9	
4 ΜΙΚΡΟ-ΠΕΡΙΟΧΕΣ (7.100 στρεμ.) με 165 κτήρια	8 οικήσεις που κατανέμονται σε 23 θέσεις	28 εκκλησίες	8 κοιμητήρια * (4 σε λειτουργία) + 2 θέσεις με μεμονωμένες ταφές	4 μεγάλες γενεαλ. ομάδες και 4 μικρές γενεαλ. ομάδες			42	27	69	0	39	39	108	
								1 (Κάπτοι)		1 (Γουλάς)	2			
			≈ 60-65 ταφές					70		40	110 οστεοφυλάκια			

TABLE 1. Traditional settlements, churches and cemeteries in the four sub-districts of the Vathia community. Older and newer graves and ossuaries are recorded per genealogical group.

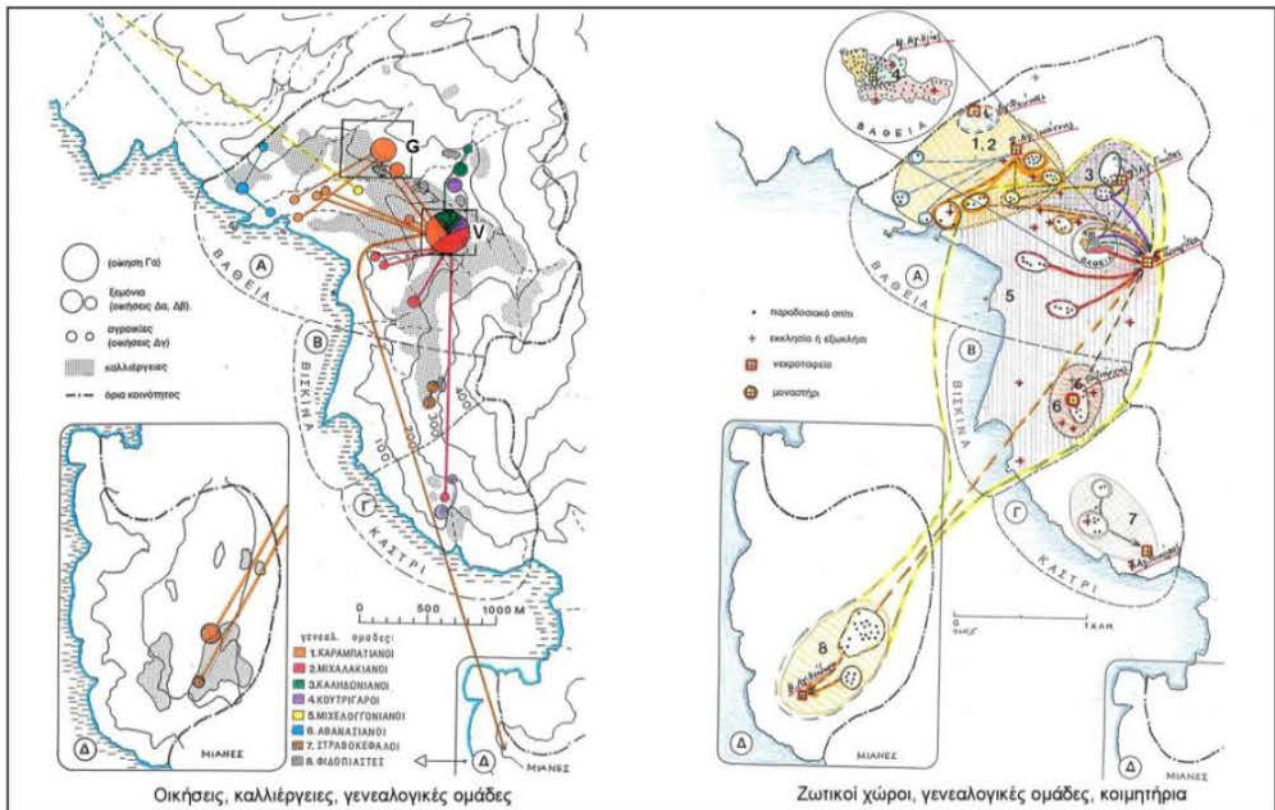


FIG. 37. Distribution of settlements, cultivations, genealogical groups, 28 churches and 8 cemeteries within the four sub-districts of the Vathia community.

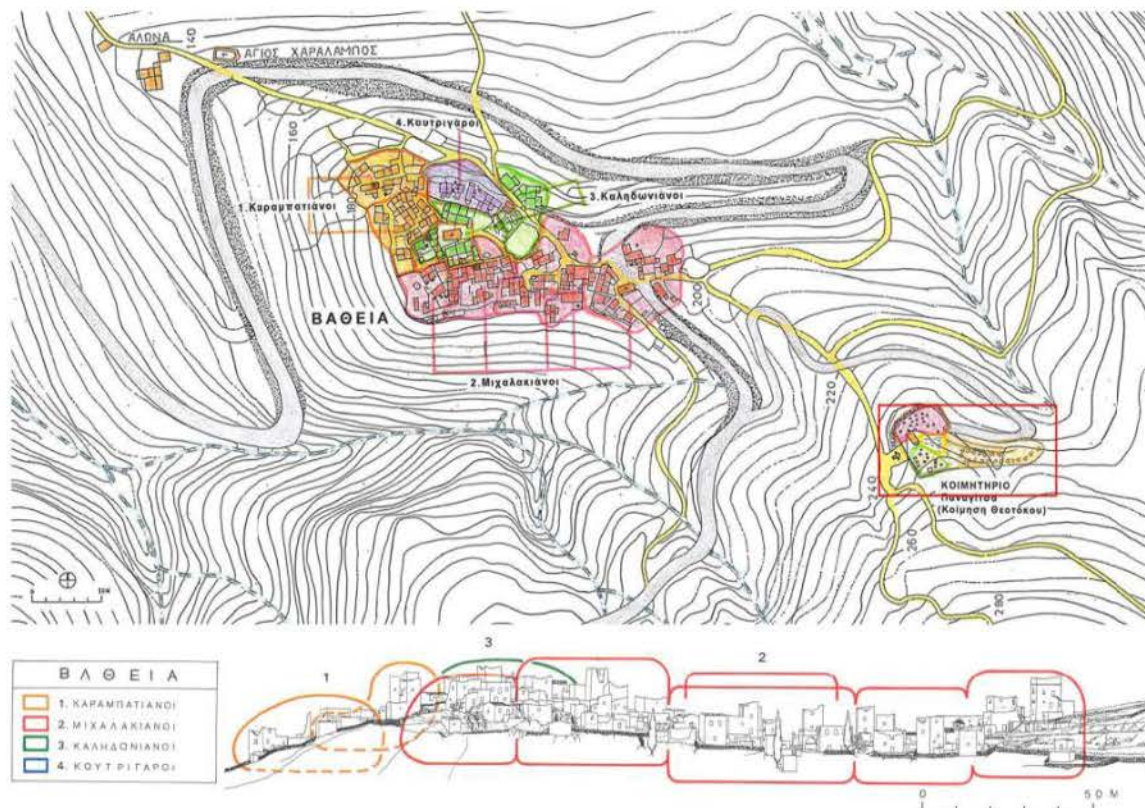


FIG. 38. The central village of Vathia (plan and southern elevation) with the quarters of the four larger genealogical groups and the above-lying central cemetery of Panagitsa (Koimisi tis Theotokou).



FIG. 39. The village of Vathia as seen from the cemetery area.

The cemetery with the double-apsed church of Ai Yannis (**FIG. 40**), dating to the 14th century, lies at a distance of 100 m from the hamlet of Goulas,³³ abandoned before 1950, with 8 houses and the war tower of the Lagoudiani. Some allied families are also buried there: Xypolitos, Athanasakos, Michelogonas. The church has a side-nave which contains the collective ossuary in a separate section. The eight old, family 'raised cists' (*sikota kivouria*) or vaulted cists (*kamaria*) are aligned in two grouped rows with grave marker stones upon which the initials of the dead are engraved as well as dates from 1865 to 1916. The plot for burials stands between these rows. Two more recent ossuaries/small 'houses' complement the whole.

³³ Saitas2009b, 1994 and 1987.

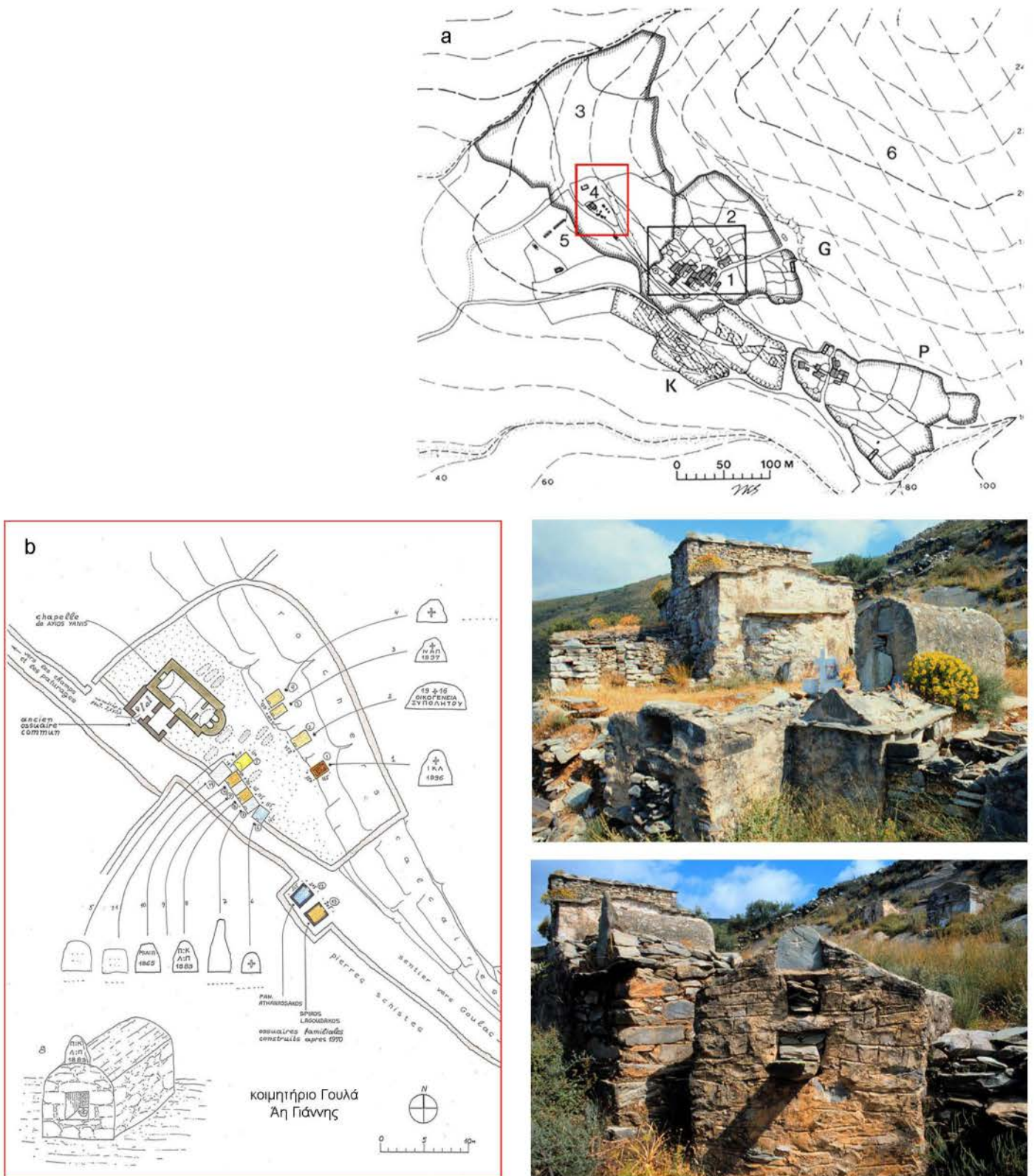


FIG. 40. a: the hamlet of Goulas (G), seat of the Lagoudiani family: 1: the building complex, 2, 3: the adjacent stone-walled fields, 4: the cemetery, 5: the beehives, 6: grazing and hunting- grounds. The megalithic hamlet of Kalyvia (K) and the more recent 'xemoni' of Petomoniastika (P), seat of the Xipolitiani, are further down the hill.

b: the Goulas cemetery (Vathia cemetery #2) with the 14th-century church of Ai-Yannis, the shaft graves, the 'raised chests' (sikota kivouria) with their marker plaques and the two more recent ossuaries- small 'homes'.

The Medieval and later Mani

The cemetery corresponding to the *xemoni* of Rogia, abandoned before 1950, with the 11 houses of the Koutrigari and Kalidoniani, is situated by the old church of Ai Ghitas, no longer in use since the beginning of the twentieth century (FIG. 41). It contains ten old raised chests with engraved inscriptions and dates 1875–1916. An ossuary has two plaques and a cross with inscriptions corresponding to the five brothers, all craftsmen, of the Gligorogonas family. They were the last male members of the family, which, after them, died out in 1910. This raised chest is the only material monument mentioning and preserving their name.

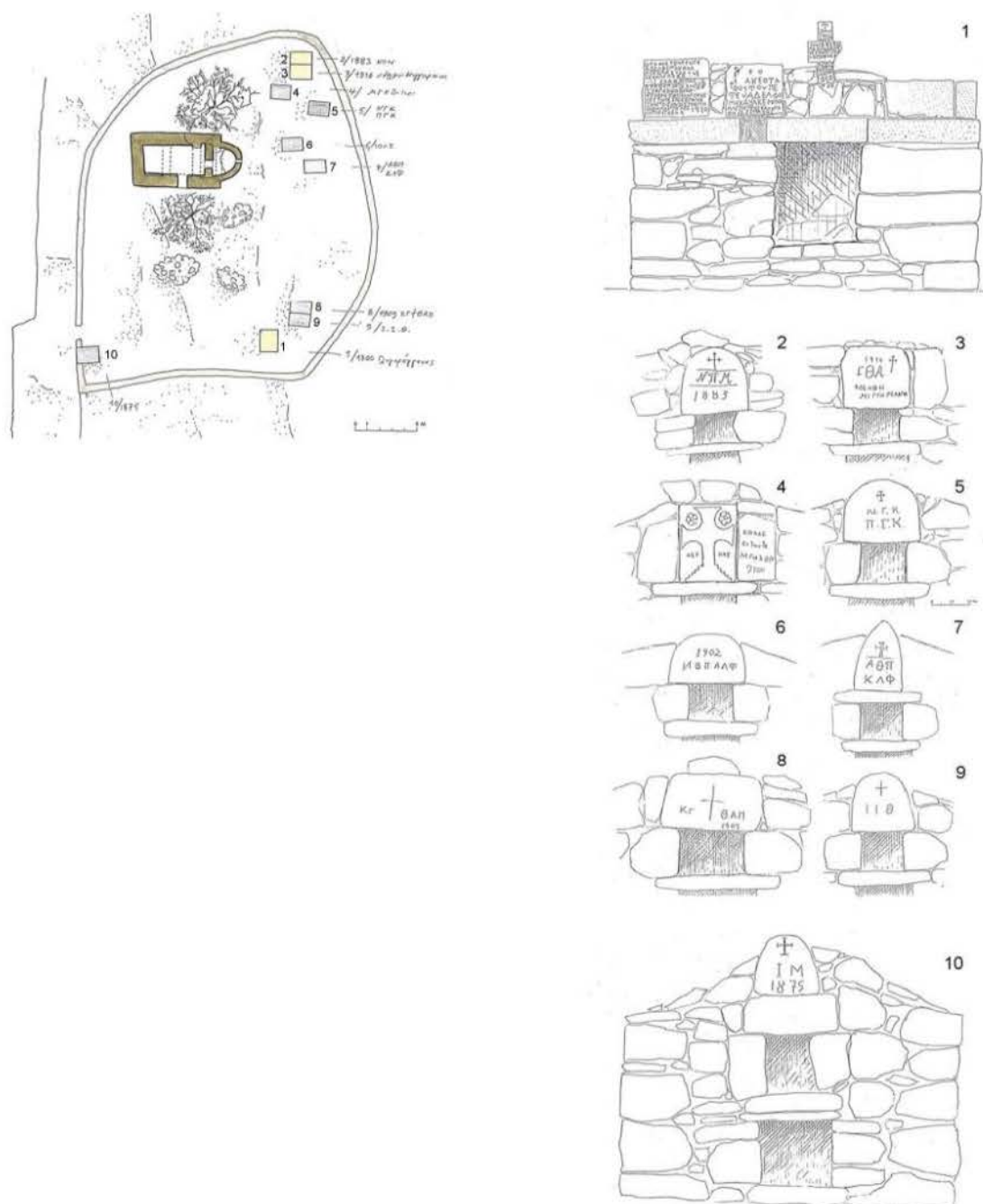


FIG. 41. The Rogia cemetery (Vathia cemetery #3) with the half-ruined church of Ai-Ghitas and the ten built chests. Details of the ossuaries' engraved plaques with inscriptions dating from 1875 up to 1916.

The unfinished church of Ayios Elias (1891) of the Kalidoniani is at the centre of the village of Vathia, probably on the site of an old cemetery (FIG. 42). The bones of the clan founder Mavroidis, who was descended from the Micheliani of Layia and had settled in Vathia later than the mid-18th century, were kept in a niche to the left of the altar. In the Koutrigari family church of Ayios Nikolaos there is an ancient marble sarcophagus in secondary use. (FIG. 43).

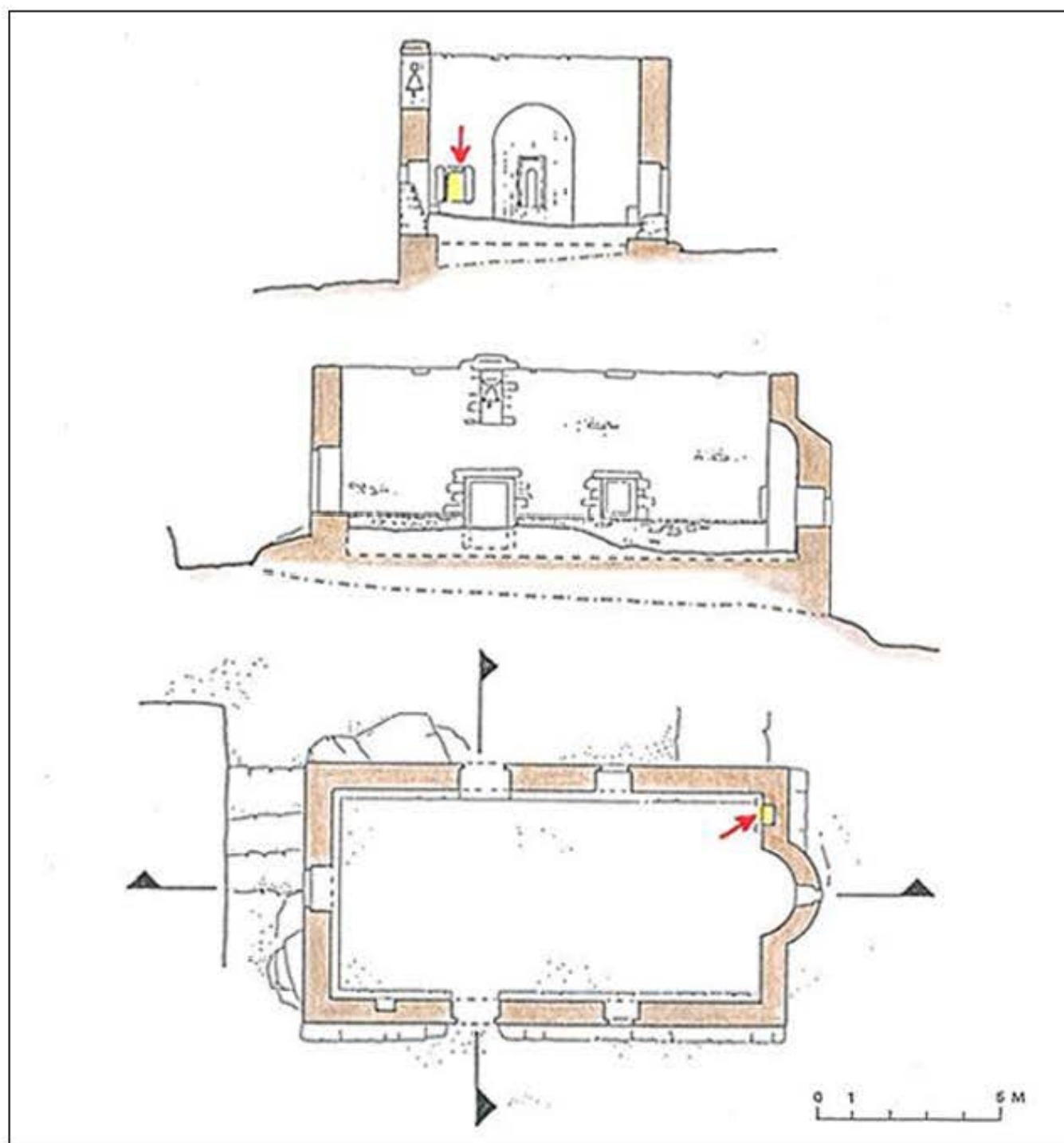


FIG. 42. The unfinished church of Ayios Elias (1891) of the Kalidoniani family at the centre of Vathia. The bones of the clan founder Mavroidis were kept in a niche of the sanctuary.



FIG. 43. The church of Ayios Nikolaos (frescoes of 1870) of the Koutrigari family in the village of Vathia with an ancient marble sarcophagus.

The small monastery with the church of the Taxiarches lies at the old site of Porrachia-Viskina, where there is a megalithic settlement with six buildings and one more recent, with six traditional houses. It is the site of a small abandoned cemetery with the two raised chests of the Stravokefali, descendants of the Aravouchi group which, it is said, were butchered by members of a rival clan inside the church of the Taxiarches (FIG. 44). An ancient marble grave plaque with an inscription is part of the church's altar, with mention of the priest Aristoteles Pryeos. The inscription was recorded by Ciriaco of Ancona when he travelled to Mani in October 1447.³⁴

³⁴ Sebbadini 1910.

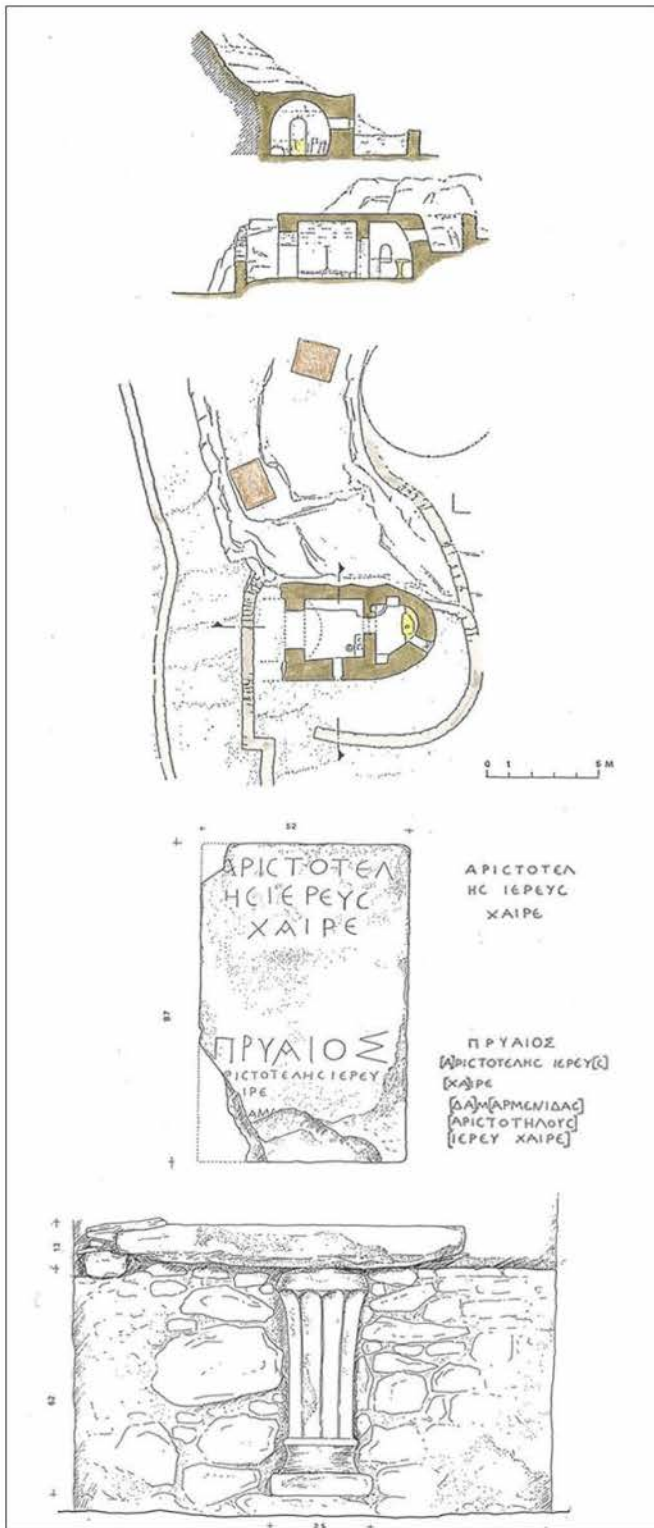


FIG. 44. The Porrachia-Viskina cemetery of the Aravouchi-Stravokefali family at Taxiarches (Vathia cemetery #6). The inscribed ancient marble grave plaque on the church's altar.

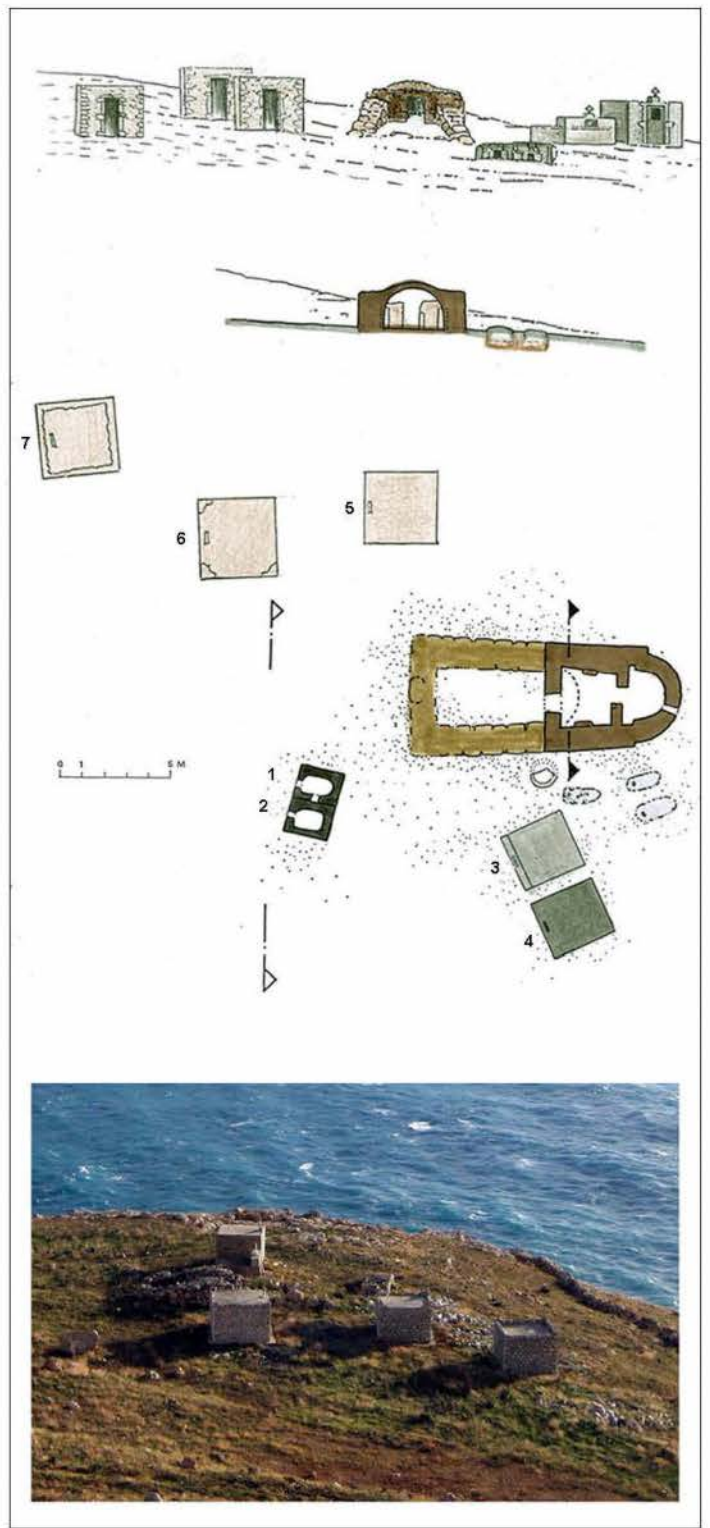


FIG. 45. The Kastri cemetery of the Fidopiasti and Balini families (Vathia cemetery #7) next to the ruined church of Ayios Nikolaos with seven older and newer ossuaries.

The Medieval and later Mani

At Kastri, with the 10 houses of the Fidopiasti and Balini families, lies the small cemetery nearby, at the site of the ruined church of Ayios Nikolaos. It contains two old, two recent and three modern ossuaries (**FIG. 45**).

The church of Ayioi Theodoroi stands at a site 300 m from the settlement of Mianes, which has 25 buildings of the Karabatiani clan. A cemetery with eight older and one more recent ossuary lies near it, among the ruins of an old megalithic settlement with 7 buildings (**FIG. 46**).

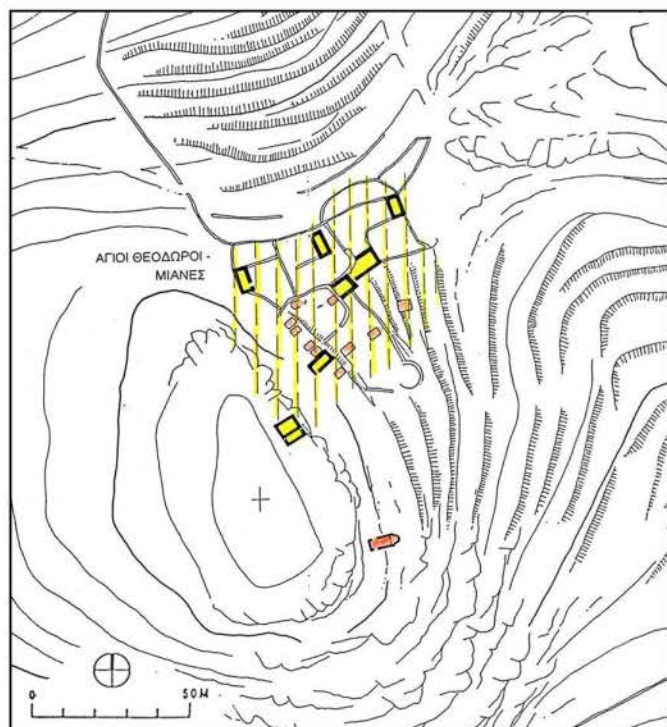


FIG. 46. The Mianes cemetery of the Karabatiani family (Vathia cemetery #8) with the church of Ayioi Theodoroi and eight older ossuaries and a more recent one.

Vathia's central cemetery is 300 m on the 'high road' attached to the church of Panagitsa (Koimissi tis Theotokou) (**FIG. 47**). As in the 1930s four of the eight small peripheral cemeteries ceased to be used, it now serves all the inhabitants of Vathia. It contains 63 ossuaries, 14 of which date to the second half of the 19th, 16 to the first half of the 20th and 33 to the second half of the 20th century. The 24 old and recent ossuaries of the Michalakiani are concentrated at the north-western (lower) older section of the cemetery, while the corresponding 14 of the other genealogical groups lie at the south-eastern (upper) older section. The plot for burials is in the central more level ground behind the church.

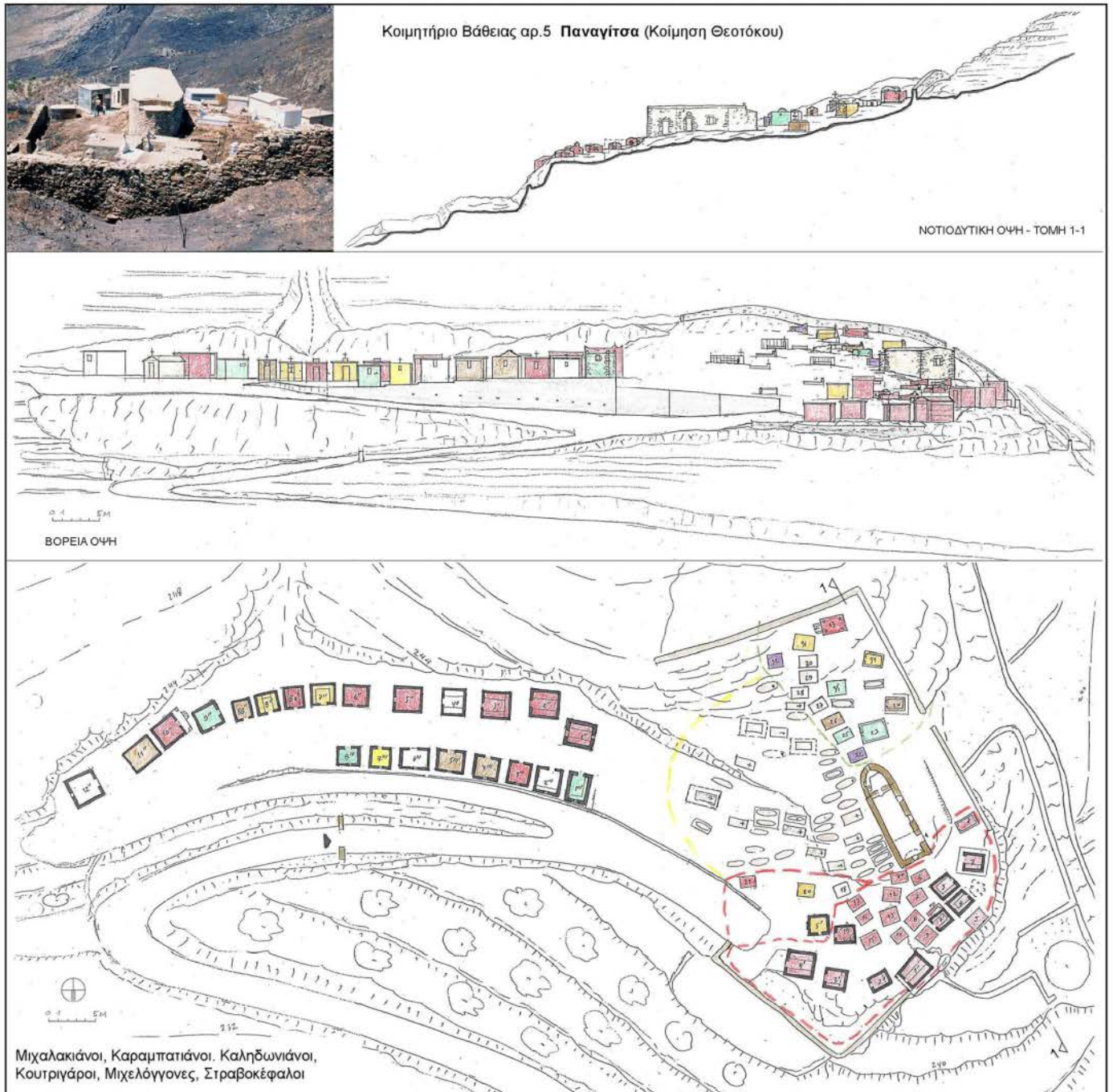


FIG. 47. The central cemetery of Panagitsa-Koimisi tis Theotokou (Vathia cemetery #5) with the grave shafts, the 41 old and recent ossuaries at the older western section and the 22 newer 'homes' ossuaries built from 1980 onward at the eastern modern extension. The distribution per genealogical group is depicted/indicated.



FIG. 48. The eastern modern extension of the Panagitsa cemetery, 1980 onward.

Certain stone-built ossuaries from the second half of the 19th century have grave marker plaques with an engraved cross and the name or names and the date of death (FIG. 49). Some other more recent ossuaries (1900–1950) have a decorated marble cross with an engraved inscription (FIG. 49).

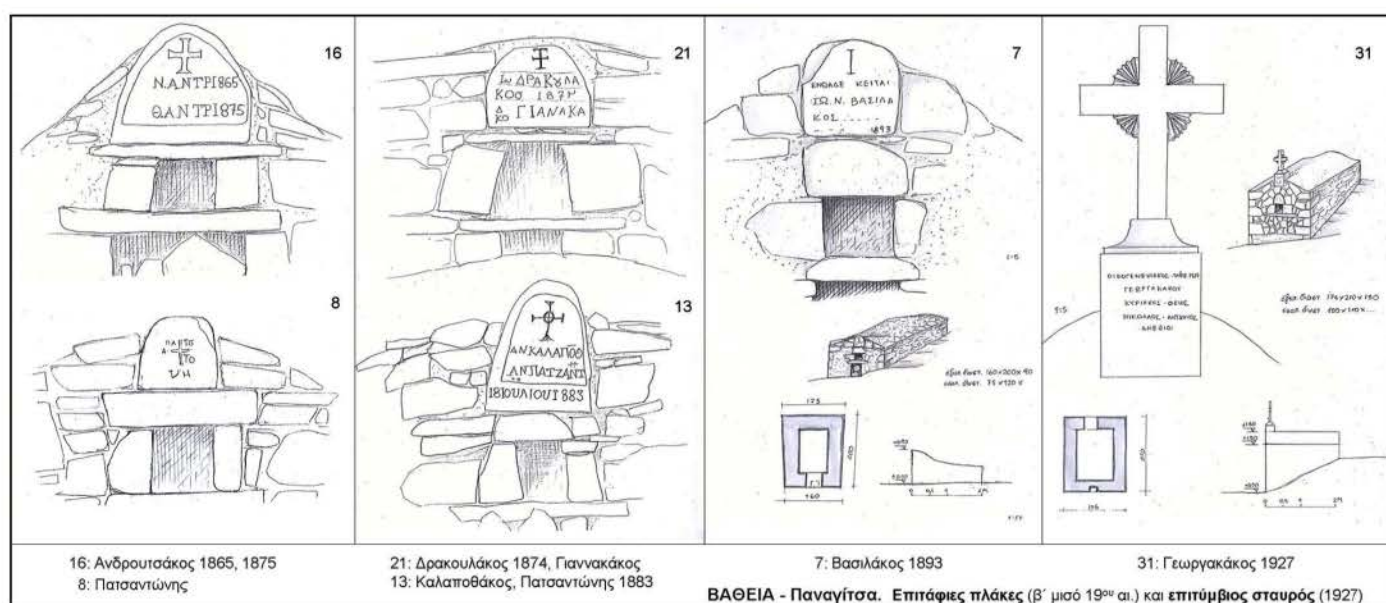


FIG. 49. Five engraved plaques from the second half of the 19th century and a decorated marble cross with an inscription from 1927 at the ossuaries of Panagitsa.

From the mid-1970s, in parallel with the realization of the Greek National Tourist Office's programme for the preservation and development of the village of Vathia,³⁵ some old ossuaries were renovated and some modern 'houses' were constructed. A marble plaque with engraved diagram showing the genealogical tree of the Kalidoniani, with eight successive generations, 1750–1970, was incorporated in 1975 into one of the modern 'houses' (FIG. 50).

³⁵ Saitas & Papantoniou 1992.



FIG. 50. Modern ossuaries-‘houses’ constructed from 1975 onward in the older western section of the cemetery of Panagitsa. A marble plaque (1975) with the genealogical tree of the Kalidoniani family has been incorporated into one of them.

From 1980 onward, after the donation of the land abutting it, a new linear extension of the cemetery was constructed in two phases, with 22 new ‘houses’. A first row was initially constructed by those concerned and later, on the initiative of the Vathiots’ Association of Athens a reinforced concrete wall was built, securing the space for a parallel new row so that the 22 new family ‘houses’ line either side of a central road (FIGS 47, 48). The cemetery’s 63 ossuaries, dated and not, are recorded by genealogical groups in TABLE 2.

The Medieval and later Mani

ΚΟΙΜΗΤΗΡΙΟ ΒΑΘΕΙΑΣ Αρ 5 : ΠΑΝΑΓΙΤΣΑ : ΟΣΤΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΑ / ΧΡΟΝΟΛΟΓΗΣΗ

ΓΕΝΕΑΛΟΓΙΚΕΣ ΟΜΑΔΕΣ	ΠΑΛΑΙΑ	Π	ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΑ	Σ	Π+Σ
1. ΚΑΡΑΜΠΑΤΙΑΝΟΙ (ΚΑΡ. 1-14)	1830-1900	1901-1950	1951-1970	1971-2000	
1. ΑΛΔΑΚΗΣ					
2. ΑΝΔΡΕΑΚΟΣ		20/1919, 1922			
3. ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΚΑΚΟΣ		31/1927		8"/1980-90	
4. ΓΛΗΓΟΡΟΓΓΟΝΑΣ					
5. ΚΑΚΛΕΑΣ (ΜΑΥΡΟΕΥΔΑΚΟΣ)				5"/1970-80	
6. ΚΑΛΟΦΑΚΑΚΟΣ		34/19.....			
7. ΚΑΤΕΛΑΝΟΣ					
8. ΚΟΥΤΡΟΥΒΗΣ					
9. ΛΑΓΟΥΔΗΣ					
10. ΛΑΟΣ					
11. ΜΑΓΕΡΗΣ					
12. ΜΙΓΓΗΡΟΣ				7"/1980-90	
13. ΣΥΠΛΑΝΤΟΣ					
14. ΠΑΝΑΓΑΚΟΣ					
2. ΜΙΧΑΛΑΚΙΑΝΟΙ (ΜΙΚΗ. 1-16)	1830-1900	1901-1950	1951-1970	1971-2000	
1. ΑΓΓΕΛΑΚΟΣ				6"/1980-90	
2. ΑΝΔΡΟΥΤΣΑΚΟΣ	16/1875			1"/1980-90	
3. ΓΕΡΑΚΑΡΑΚΟΣ (ΒΑΣΙΛΑΚΟΣ)	7/1893			2"/1980-90	
4. ΓΙΑΝΝΑΚΑΚΟΣ				5"/1980-90	
5. ΓΙΑΝΝΟΥΚΑΚΟΣ (ΠΑΡΦΟΛΟΓΟΣ)	9/.....				
6. ΔΡΑΚΟΥΛΑΡΑΚΟΣ	12/1875 21/1874			3/1970-80 3"/1980-90 10"/1980-90	
7. ΕΞΑΡΧΑΚΟΣ (ΑΡΘΑΝΑΚΟΣ)	6/.....			1/1970-80 6"/1980-90 9"/1990-00	
8. ΖΕΚΑΚΟΣ	17/.....			3"/1980-90	
9. ΚΑΛΑΠΟΘΑΚΟΣ	13/1883	15/1905		8α"/1980-90 1"/1970-80 7/1980-90 2"/1970-80	
10. ΚΕΡΑΜΙΔΑΣ	[10/.....]				
11. ΚΛΕΘΤΟΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ	11/1885	14/1904		2/1970-80 4/1970-80	
12. ΜΗΤΣΑΚΟΣ (ΦΙΚΑΡΔΟΣ)	5/.....				
13. ΞΑΝΘΑΚΟΣ				4"/1970-80	
14. ΠΑΤΣΑΝΤΩΝΗΣ	8/.....				
15. ΣΜΠΑΡΑΣ					
16. ΣΥΓΓΙΚΟΣ (ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑΚΟΣ)		33/1937-38			

ΓΕΝΕΑΛΟΓΙΚΕΣ ΟΜΑΔΕΣ	ΠΑΛΑΙΑ	Π	ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΑ	Σ	Π+Σ
3. ΚΑΛΗΔΩΝΙΑΝΟΙ (ΚΑΛ.)	1830-1900	1901-1950	1951-1970	1971-2000	
1. ΚΑΛΗΔΩΝΗΣ (ΚΑΡΑΚΙΤΣΑΚΟΣ/ΜΗΤΣΑΚΟΣ)	25/.....	35/1930 23/19.....	3	9"/1980-90 1"/1990-00 8"/1990-00	3 6
4. ΚΟΥΤΡΙΓΑΡΟΙ (ΚΟΥΤΡ.)					
1. ΚΟΥΤΡΙΓΑΡΟΣ		22/1913 32/1928	2	2"/1990-00	1 3
5. ΜΙΧΕΛΟΓΓΟΝΕΣ (Μ.ΛΟΓ.)					
1. ΜΙΧΕΛΟΓΓΟΝΑΣ (ΜΙΧΕΛΑΚΗΣ)			0	7"/1990-00	1 1
6. ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑΝΟΙ (ΑΘΑΝ.)					
1. ΑΘΑΝΑΣΑΚΟΣ			0		0 0
7. ΣΤΡΑΒΟΚΕΦΑΛΟΙ (ΣΤΡΑΒ.)					
1. ΣΤΡΑΒΟΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ (ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΟΣ)		24/19.....	1	88"/1980-90 11"/1980-90 4"/1980-90 5"/1990-00	4 5
8. ΦΙΔΟΠΙΑΣΤΕΣ (ΦΙΔΟ.)					
1. ΦΙΔΟΠΙΑΣΤΗΣ (ΚΟΚΚΙΝΑΚΟΣ)					0 0
2. ΜΠΑΛΙΝΗΣ					
ΣΥΝΟΛΟ 1 έως 8	13	11	24	0	30 30 54

Άγνωστοι (ανώνυμοι) με χρονολόγηση	25/1897-1917 27/1908	2		4"/1980-90 12"/1980-90 6"/1988-90	3 5
Άγνωστοι (ανώνυμοι) χωρίς χρονολόγηση	28/..... 29/..... 30/.....	4			0 4
ΓΕΝΙΚΟ ΣΥΝΟΛΟ	14	16	30	0	33 33 63

TABLE 2. List of the families of Vathia constituting the four larger and four lesser genealogical groups and the corresponding older (1830–1900, 1901–1950) and modern (1951–1970, 1971–2009) ossuaries standing at the central cemetery of Panagitsa.

In the village proper of Vathia the war memorial in the church of Ayios Spyridon's forecourt bears the names of those fallen in the wars 1912–1948. The monument, erected in 1961, was initially a free-standing stele with a plaque in bas-relief showing an antique symbolic female figure. The original site and aspect were modified in 2000. Another monument with the bust of a Vathiot who was president of the community has been erected by his descendants next to the family homes, in a spot on the central road traversing the village.

CONCLUSIONS

In several cemeteries of the central and northern sections of the Mani new modes of organization have appeared and the types of the simple graves found in other regions of Greece have prevailed (FIG. 51), but in the southern and more archaic sections of the peninsula particular adjustments prevail. In these new cemeteries, the clusters of built grave/ossuary structures and markers bring about a reconstruction of the neighbourhoods, reproducing the ancestral village in present circumstances (FIG. 52).



FIG. 51. The cemetery with modern-type graves at Neo Oitylo in the central section of Mani.



FIG. 52. The cemetery with built ossuaries-‘houses’ at Soloteri-Kokkala in the southwestern section of Mani.

They are the visible reconfirmation – reconstruction (‘resurrection of the dead’) of the old patrilocal groups, whose members have usually migrated far away but in this fashion are reconnected to the ancestral land. Physical distance does not present an insurmountable obstacle. The lower simpler grave monuments may be equated to the dwellings in the village. Their standing markers as well as the newer above-ground ‘houses’ stress the dimension of height, forming the new ‘tower-house’-like structures. The protection offered by the ‘collective’ war tower is ensured, symbolically, by the cemetery church of the patron saint – guide for the souls of the dead.

The graveyards of the Mani, with their structures providing for the cohabitation of kin after death, set their seal on the landscape as did the patrilocal settlements for centuries, dealing with the issue of memory and continuity in their traditional ways, expressed by an epitaph of a tomb in Layia: “the dead die only when we forget them”.

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The Medieval and later Mani

List of illustrations

FIG. 1. The distribution of the 130 cemeteries that have been examined up to 2009, in the 10 former local districts of Mani.

FIG. 2. Leaving the house for the last time (photo: C. Manos , A Greek Portfolio, 1972).

FIG. 3. The local entities of the Demoi (former municipalities) of Messi and Layia (1840–1912): The 87 settlements existing during the period between the 15th and 20th centuries, in correlation with more than 80 megalithic settlements.

FIG. 4. The local entities of the Demoi (former municipalities) of Messi and Layia (1840–1912): Classification and arrangement of the 87 settlements into 9 communities (1912–1998) in accordance with the size of the 'built shell' in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

FIG. 5. Tower-house and, in the cemetery next to it, the funerary monument of the Ladis family at Diporo.

FIG. 6. The hamlet of Marathos, seat of the Papadodemas family with the lineage's church and cemetery.

FIG. 7. The cemetery of Koimisi tis Theotokou, Pangia. The buildings of the village as well as the funerary structures of the cemetery are in clusters according to the patrilocal genealogical groups.

FIG. 8. The main village of Kitta with the sites of 4 or 5 old cemeteries next to the lineage's churches and two additional outlying cemeteries Γ and X; the village of Kaloni and the hamlet of Ayios Iossif with the corresponding old cemeteries Γ and Π; the newer communal cemetery (ΓQ) Grammatiki.

FIG. 9. The main village of Layia with the wards of 8 genealogical groups and the 9 'partial' old cemeteries. Z: the abandoned cemetery next to the 13th-century church of Ayios Zacharias. N: the 'collective' newer cemetery next to the church of Ayios Nikolaos; it includes 16 elaborate marble stelai, most of them works of Antonis Vouyouklakis.

FIG. 10. The old cemetery next to the 13th-century church of Ayios Georgios, Karinia with the tomb-ossuary T1.

FIG. 11. The old cemetery of Ayioi Theodoroi at Palaia Kardamyli with the two arcosolium type structures (T1, T2) and the three stone built sarcophagi – ossuaries (T3, T4, T5).

FIG. 12. The northern part (district 2a) of Layia's community: ancient quarries, ancient and mediaeval megalithic settlements, the ten traditional settlements (7–15a) and the corresponding eight old and newer cemeteries.

FIG. 13. The central part of the village Messa Demaristika, location Rizopyrgi: the megalithic ruins, the more recent vernacular buildings and the old cemetery next to the half-ruined double-apsidal 13th-century church of Ayia Paraskevi (1) with the surrounding shaft graves α–ζ, the semi-subterranean graves 6-7 and the built graves – ossuaries 1–5.

FIG. 14. Structure T1 (left) and structure T2 (right) at Ayia Paraskevi, Messa Demaristika.

FIG. 15. The village and the genealogical groups of Messa Demaristika with the wards of Rizopyrgi, Karlianika, Pyrgaros and the outlying 20th-century cemetery of Ayia Varvara with the corresponding clusters of the 43 funerary structures.

FIG. 16. Storage spaces of megalithic houses (a, a1, a2, a3), sheepfolds (b), shepherds' stone huts (c) and underground megalithic cisterns (k1, k2) in comparison with mediaeval and post-mediaeval grave-ossuary structures.

FIG. 17. Above: mediaeval and post-mediaeval burial - ossuary structures; below: individual and family built ossuaries 1830–1900, 1900–1950.

FIG. 18. The interior spaces of burial-ossuaries shells; (left): mediaeval and post-mediaeval structures; (right): bone chests and ossuaries, 1830–1900, 1900–1950, 1950 onward; upper row: inset with chests for the bones; raised 'kivouria' or 'kamaria'; middle row: elaborate ossuaries (early 20th century onward); lower row: newer semi-subterranean or ground level chamber 'homes' (oikoi).

FIG. 19. The cemetery next to the megalithic 10th-century church of Ayios Panteleimon at Pano Boularii with a cluster of three family ossuaries (1, 2, 3), late 19th –start of 20th century.

The Medieval and later Mani

FIG. 20. a1, a2, a3: minimal-size individual built chests-ossuaries. b1, b2, c1, c2: medium-sized raised family ossuaries 'sikota kivouria'-'kamaria'.

FIG. 21. Elaborate ossuaries (early 20th century): a1, a2: built chests-sarcophagi; b1, b2, b3, b4: ossuaries with marble stele and cross; c: tower-like ossuary behind a shaft grave.

FIG. 22. a, b, c: older (early 20th century) small stone built chambers-ossuaries. d, e, f, g: newer (1930 onward) semi-subterranean or ground level graves-ossuaries.

FIG. 23. Modern stone built family ossuary, of the chamber 'house' type, with two external lateral graves.

FIG. 24. The interior of modern semi-subterranean or above ground family grave-ossuary chambers with the relics in the chests, furnished with photographs, mementos, oil lamps, incense burners, flowers, also cleaning materials.

FIG. 25. Skulls on a wooden shelf and in chests in an abandoned church next to the village of Kipoula.

FIG. 26. Collective charnel-house at the cemetery of Megali Mantineia, comprising the older stone built domed structure (a) and the newer wood-roofed tiled chamber (b). From bottom to top: plan, elevation, section.

FIG. 27. The interior of the newer 'collective' charnel-house of the cemetery Ayia Paraskevi at Areopolis.

FIG. 28. Two funerary stelai, works of the local craftsman Panayiotis Vassilakakos from Kafiona. Upper left: at the cemetery of Kafiona stele (a) depicts four figures of three generations of the Vassilakakos family (one child, two parents and the craftsman grandfather). At the Mina cemetery, stele (b) depicts four members of the Xepapadakis family; this stele was first erected on a low ossuary and then placed at the newer, more spacious one.

FIG. 29. The funerary monument that the local craftsman Antonis Vouyiouklakis erected for his family at the cemetery of Ayios Nikolaos at Layia.

FIG. 30. Stele showing father and son, work of the sculptor D. Pissas from Piraeus, standing in the cemetery of Pano Boularii.

FIG. 31. Funerary ornamented stele with inscription erected in memory of Elias Katsis Mavromichalis who died in Munich in 1836. Old cemetery of Munich, design of the architect Leo von Klenze.

FIG. 32. The old cemetery next to the church of Ayios Nikolaos at Limeni with the well-built ossuary with a plain marble stele of the Germanos Mavromichalis family.

FIG. 33. In the cemetery on the shore next to the village of Limeni, the imposing funerary monument of Petrobey Mavromichalis dominates among the simpler graves and markers.

FIG. 34. Memorial monument erected in 1935 at the historic site of Verga Almiros, commemorating the victory of Maniot groups against the attacking army of Imbrahim Pasha, 21–24 June 1826.

FIG. 35. Memorial monument comprising the bust of an eminent person and a symbolic tower at the outskirts of Layia.

FIG. 36. Memorial monument of a victim at the site of a fatal car accident in the vicinity of Areopolis.

FIG. 37. Distribution of settlements, cultivations, genealogical groups, 28 churches and 8 cemeteries within the four sub-districts of the Vathia community.

FIG. 38. The central village of Vathia (plan and southern elevation) with the quarters of the four larger genealogical groups and the above-lying central cemetery of Panagitsa (Koimisi tis Theotokou).

FIG. 39. The village of Vathia as seen from the cemetery area.

FIG. 40. a: the hamlet of Goulas (G), seat of the Lagoudiani family: 1: the building complex, 2, 3: the adjacent stone-walled fields, 4: the cemetery, 5: the beehives, 6: grazing and hunting- grounds. The megalithic hamlet of Kalyvia (K) and the more recent 'xemoni' of Petomoniastika (P), seat of the Xipolitiani, are further down the hill.

b: the Goulas cemetery (Vathia cemetery #2) with the 14th-century church of Ai-Yannis, the shaft graves, the 'raised chests' (sikota kivouria) with their marker plaques and the two more recent ossuaries- small 'homes'.

The Medieval and later Mani

FIG. 41. The Rogia cemetery (Vathia cemetery #3) with the half-ruined church of Ai-Ghitas and the ten built chests. Details of the ossuaries' engraved plaques with inscriptions dating from 1875 up to 1916.

FIG. 42. The unfinished church of Ayios Elias (1891) of the Kalidoniani family at the centre of Vathia. The bones of the clan founder Mavroidis were kept in a niche of the sanctuary.

FIG. 43. The church of Ayios Nikolaos (frescoes of 1870) of the Koutrigari family in the village of Vathia with an ancient marble sarcophagus.

FIG. 44. The Porrachia-Viskina cemetery of the Aravouchi-Stravokefali family at Taxiarches (Vathia cemetery #6). The inscribed ancient marble grave plaque on the church's altar.

FIG. 45. The Kastri cemetery of the Fidopiasti and Balini families (Vathia cemetery #7) next to the ruined church of Ayios Nikolaos with seven older and newer ossuaries.

FIG. 46. The Mianes cemetery of the Karabatiani family (Vathia cemetery #8) with the church of Ayioi Theodoroi and eight older ossuaries and a more recent one.

FIG. 47. The central cemetery of Panagitsa-Koimisi tis Theotokou (Vathia cemetery #5) with the grave shafts, the 41 old and recent ossuaries at the older western section and the 22 newer 'homes' ossuaries built from 1980 onward at the eastern modern extension. The distribution per genealogical group is depicted/indicated.

FIG. 48. The eastern modern extension of the Panagitsa cemetery, 1980 onward.

FIG. 49. Five engraved plaques from the second half of the 19th century and a decorated marble cross with an inscription from 1927 at the ossuaries of Panagitsa.

FIG. 50. Modern ossuaries-'houses' constructed from 1975 onward in the older western section of the cemetery of Panagitsa. A marble plaque (1975) with the genealogical tree of the Kalidoniani family has been incorporated into one of them.

FIG. 51. The cemetery with modern-type graves at Neo Oitylo in the central section of Mani.

FIG. 52. The cemetery with built ossuaries-'houses' at Soloteri-Kokkala in the southwestern section of Mani.

List of tables

TABLE 1. Traditional settlements, churches and cemeteries in the four sub-districts of the Vathia community. Older and newer graves and ossuaries are recorded per genealogical group.

TABLE 2. List of the families of Vathia constituting the four larger and four lesser genealogical groups and the corresponding older (1830–1900, 1901–1950) and modern (1951–1970, 1971–2009) ossuaries standing at the central cemetery of Panagitsa.

CHAPTER 37

IG V.1 1124 THE DEAD OF GERONTHRAI FALLEN AT MANTINEIA

NICHOLAS SEKUNDA

IG V.1 1124¹ is an inscription from the modern village of Geraki, site of the ancient perioikic *polis* of Geronthrai. It was once housed in the church of Koimesis Theotokou (i.e. Dormition of the Virgin), and during festive occasions it was used for standing the cross on. The inscription informs us that one Eualkes fell in war at Mantineia: Εὐαλκῆς | ἐν πολέμοι | ἐν Μαντινέαι, as transliterated by Jeffery.² The natural assumption is that Eualkes was a *perioikos* from Geronthrai.³

Since its first publication the preference has been to associate this inscription with the first battle of Mantineia in 418, rather than the second battle in 362. This preference is determined by the perceived archaic nature of the letter-forms. To quote from Jeffery the inscription is 'somewhat archaic in its *nu* and *upsilon*, but presumably belongs none the less to the battle of 418'.⁴ The implication in these words is that on the basis of its letter-forms the inscription should be placed even earlier than 418. Nevertheless, the conclusion of Jeffery and of a host of other scholars is that Eualkes took part in the first battle of Mantineia in 418.

This causes considerable problems for our understanding of the organization of the Lakedaimonian army at that time, for it seems that the Spartiates continued to fight in five *lochoi* separately from the perioikic *lochoi*, as they had done at Plataea.

Thucydides' description of the Lakedaimonian forces at the first battle of Mantineia is reasonably clear and easy to understand. There is only one problem hindering our interpretation of this passage, which is that Thucydides tells us there were seven Lakedaimonian *lochoi* present at the battle, plus the Skiritai. This creates an apparent contradiction with the tradition that there were five Lakedaimonian *lochoi*. The contradiction is only apparent, however, for of the seven Lakedaimonian *lochoi* at Mantineia, only five were the traditional *lochoi* of Spartiate citizen troops, and the other two were the newly-formed *Brasideioi Stratiōtai* and the *neodamōdeis*, which were both *lochoi* of former Lakedaimonian helots without the full status of

¹ = Jeffery 1961, p. 202 no. 60

² 1961, 407.

³ E.g. Lazenby 1985, 15.

⁴ 1961, p. 197–8.

homoioi. Thucydides (5.67.1) describes the Lakedaimonian Army at First Mantinea as follows.

At that time the Skiritai were stationed on the left wing, they alone of the Lakedaimonians always held this position by themselves. Beside them the Brasideioi Stratiōtai from Thrace, and neodamōdeis alongside them. Thereafter the Lakedaimonians themselves stationed their lochoi one after another, and beside them Arcadians of Heraia, alongside these Mainalioi, and on the right wing Tegeans and a few of the Lakedaimonians holding the end of it, and their cavalry on each wing.

Those troops whom Thucydides calls ‘the Lakedaimonians themselves’ (Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοί) are the five citizen *lochoi*. We are told (5.64.2) that for this campaign the Lakedaimonians had sent out an army consisting of ‘themselves’ and of the helots πανδημεί (in full strength). The helots referred to are presumably the *Brasideioi Stratiōtai* and the *neodamōdeis*. It is presumed that the ‘few Lakedaimonians’ on the extreme right flank are the ‘300 who are called *hippeis*’ who are mentioned later on (5.72.4) fighting around King Agis in the centre of the line.

So it is reasonably certain that the five Lakedaimonian citizen *lochoi* at Mantinea were entirely composed of Spartiates, and that at this stage the *perioikoi* were not included in their ranks. The *perioikoi* in general are not mentioned in the account of the battle; which one might expect given the fairly detailed account given by Thucydides, nor is any individual *perioikos*. It is generally held that the mobilization before the battle was too swift to allow the *perioikoi* to be included.⁵ This seems a reasonable explanation, and compares well with the information given by Thucydides on the Pylos Campaign, for we are told that the Spartans themselves, and the *perioikoi* who were in the neighbourhood of Pylos, came at once to its relief, following the Athenian landing, but the other Lakedaimonians were slower in coming (Thuc. 4.8.1). This implies that the Spartans and the *perioikoi* were organized into different *lochoi*.

So, all the evidence points to a situation in 418 where the perioikic contingents had not yet been incorporated into the Lakedaimonian army as a whole, and were absent from the first battle of Mantinea. In fact it seems that the *perioikoi* were only incorporated into the same military units along with the Spartiates at some time after 418, with the introduction of a new military unit, the *mora*, which is first mentioned in 403 BC (Xen., *Hell.* 2.4.31). I have indicated elsewhere that this restructuring of forces may have been connected with the changed strategy of the Dekeleian War, which began in 413.⁶

A number of suggestions have been made to resolve this problem. Cartledge notes that Eualkes was commemorated with a laconic epitaph (the fuller formula of

⁵ Lazenby 1985, 125.

⁶ Sekunda & Hook 1998, 15.

The dead of Geronthrai

words should be ἐν πολέμῳ θανόντων) 'exactly as if he had been a Spartiate'.⁷ There is no evidence, however, that epitaphs of this type were restricted to Spartiates alone, as opposed to all Lakedaimonians, *perioikoi* as well as Spartiates. Lazenby, whilst noting this limitation in the interpretation, nevertheless suggested that Eualkes may have been a Spartiate, 'whose estates, for example, lay near Geronthrai', or that he may have been a *perioikos*, but if so a volunteer forming part of the King's staff.⁸ Neither of these proposals is, in my view, convincing.

Of course, if Eualkes, as a *perioikos* of Geronthrai, died in war at Mantinea later than 418, and later than the introduction of the *mora* very shortly after, then all these problems disappear. I am not going to propose that the inscription should be down-dated as late as the second battle of Mantinea in 362 BC. Rather, I believe it most probable that Eualkes died in Lakedaimonian military operations which took place in Mantinea in 385, more than 30 years after first Mantinea, but still more than 20 years before second Mantinea.

These military operations are described rather superficially by Xenophon (*Hell.* 5.21–7). The Mantineians were ordered to tear down their city walls and refused. The Lakedaimonians under Agesipolis invaded and laid waste the land, then dug a trench around the city wall, then a wall, and then finally dammed the river running through the city, which brought down the mud-brick city walls, and brought about the surrender of the city. According to the account of Diodorus (15.5.3–5; 15.12.1–2) the military operations consisted only of a siege, although he states that the Mantineians put up firm resistance. Ancient Greek siege operations were never entirely passive; they frequently involved escalades on the walls by the besiegers, and outward raids by the besieged. Plutarch (*Vit. Pelop.* 4.4–5) says that the friendship of Pelopidas and Epameinondas went back to the campaign in Mantinea, where they fought in a pitched battle alongside king Agesipolis and the Lakedaimonians against the Arcadians. The contradictions between these passages are hard to resolve,⁹ and some modern authorities would respect the silence of Xenophon over these matters.¹⁰ Nevertheless, whatever the level of intensity of the operations at Mantinea was during that campaign, it is perfectly possible to place the death of Eualkes of Geronthrai in war in Mantinea in 385 from a historical point of view, but can this work epigraphically?

A limestone stele from Thespiiai (*IG VII* 1903–4: Thebes Museum inv. 1598) was first used as a gravestone about 450, and was later re-used and inscribed with an epitaph to one Εἰποκλέες (Ἰπ[π]οκλέης) Λακεδαιμόνιος. Dittenberger connected this inscription with the establishment of a Lakedaimonian garrison in Thespiiai in 378.¹¹ Jeffery did not include this inscription in her initial edition of *LSAG*, but

⁷ 1979, 257 and 1987, 42.

⁸ 1985, 15.

⁹ Cf. Buckler 1980, 184–5.

¹⁰ Cartledge 1987, 226.

¹¹ Poralla 1913, no. 390.

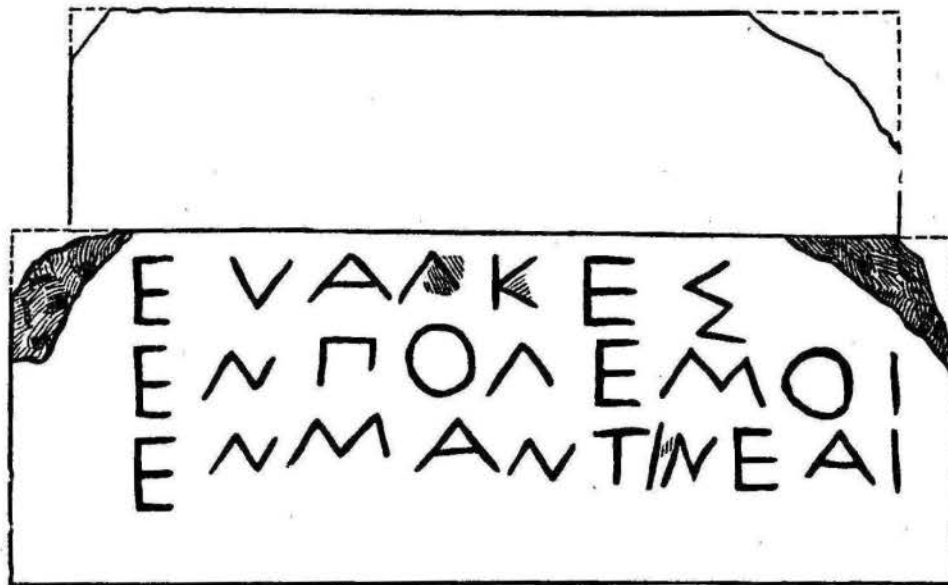
Johnston, whom I thank for the figure published in this article, did in the second edition.

In 378 Agesilaos invaded Boeotia and made his base for operations against the Thebans at Thespiiai (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.38). A military encounter then took place between the Lakedaimonians and Thebans and Xenophon (5.4.39) states that a large number of peltasts were killed, but also among the cavalry the Spartiates Kleas and Epikydidias, and of the *perioikoi* Eudikos. Cartledge has sought to connect the death of Hippokles with this specific military encounter.¹² This seems unlikely, given that Xenophon quite clearly states that three Lakedaimonian cavalrymen died, not more. Agesilaos then fortified Thespiiai and appointed Phoibidas as its harmost. Following the defeat and death of Phoibidas the Lakedaimonians garrisoned Thespiiai with a *mora* commanded by a polemarch (4.4.46). The death of Hippokles presumably occurred some time shortly after. In the revised edition of *LSAG* by Johnston the inscription is dated to c. 375?¹³ It is true that the epitaph does not contain the ἐν πολέμῳ formula, and so it is possible that Hippokles did not die in battle, but many soldiers die on campaign of illness and accidents as well as in battle. Given that the inscription is carved on a re-used fifth century inscription, however, it is difficult to see how Hippokles could have died at any other date.

The parallels in letter-forms between these two inscriptions are very close, notwithstanding the absence of the V-shaped *epsilon*: the inscription from Thespiiai also has the four-barred *sigma*, the *lambda* with the right stroke shorter than the left, and in particular the 'archaic' *nu*, specifically noted by Jeffery in the case of the Euakles inscription from Geronthrai. Nothing epigraphically stands in the way of these two inscriptions, both privately inscribed, perhaps by a not too skilled hand, and not official monuments, being separated by ten years or so.

¹² 1987, 231.

¹³ Jeffery 1990, p. 447 no. 62a.



¹ΕΥΑΛΚΕΣ ²ΕΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ ³ΕΝ ΜΑΝΤΙΝΕΑΙ.

FIG. 1. Drawing of the Eualkes inscription from Geronthrai as published in *IG V.1* 1124.

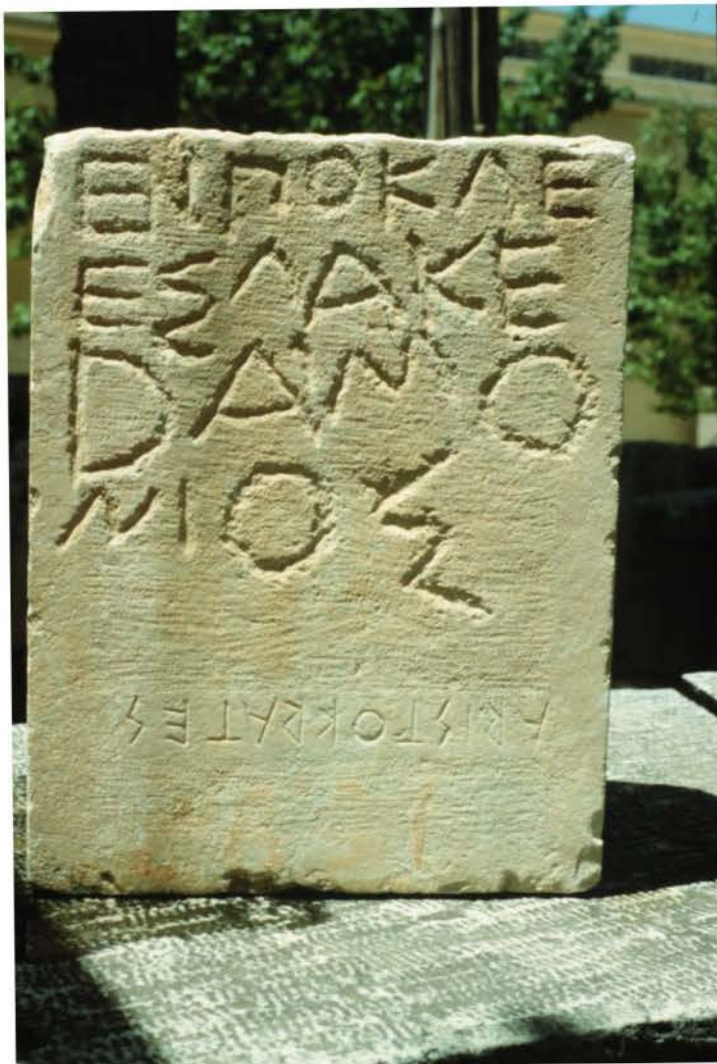


FIG. 2. The limestone stele from Thespiiai (photo: A.W. Johnston).

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List of illustrations

FIG. 1. Drawing of the Eualkes inscription from Geronthrai as published in *IG V.1* 1124.

FIG. 2. The limestone stele from Thespiiai (photo: A.W. Johnston)

CHAPTER 38

ANTIPHONY, RITUAL AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF TRUTH

C. NADIA SEREMETAKIS

Based on long-term fieldwork on death rituals in Inner Mani of the Southern Peloponnese,¹ this paper presents an alternative and historically actual model of truth-claiming and space-claiming, via memory and pain, by women in a male-dominated public terrain. Their logos is established and legitimized in a dialogical performance, the technique for which is antiphony.

CONTEXT

Situated in the arid and mountainous regions of the Southern Peloponnese, Inner Mani has been known for its endemic feuding, patri-clans, pre-capitalist subsistence economy, brigandage and social banditry, extreme poverty, and political resistance to state systems (Turkish, Venetian, and Greek). Many of these structures and tendencies persisted into the early twentieth century. The central unit was the *yenia* or patri-clan, which mixed patrilineal and bilateral kin ideologies and ethics. This organization was augmented by a mosaic of fictive kinship and client relations motivated by the logistical necessities of military alliance, brigandage and piracy expeditions. Maniat villages were and are nucleated settlements centred around multi-storied, dry-stone war towers and tower-houses which designated the territory of segmentary lineages. Several such 'tower-societies' would comprise a village consisting of related and unrelated clans.²

Prior to the late nineteenth century, the region had a diversified subsistence agricultural/pastoral economy that was necessitated by the arid rocky ecology and shallow soils. The subsistence economy was supplemented

¹ This fieldwork, which officially started in the mid-80s, culminated in the ethnography *The Last Word: Women, Death and Divination in Inner Mani* published by the University of Chicago Press and in Greek by Livanis Publishing Organization.

² Andromedas 1962; Alexakis 1980; Seremetakis 1991.

by piracy and brigandage that fed off feuding, adjacent mercantile centres and commercial sea lanes. Olive cultivation was introduced by the Greek state in the late nineteenth century, in a problematic attempt to integrate the region with centralizing market economies. In contemporary Mani, women are deeply involved in olive tree cultivation, although mainly as subsistence crop. In the past, women's labour dominated agricultural and pastoral domains. Women also shared hunting and fishing tasks with men. Maniat women had a task-oriented mobility in the subsistence economy that did not confine them to the household space and its domestic chores.

Since the turn of the century, and particularly in the post-war period, Inner Mani underwent severe depopulation in tandem with intensified contacts with commodity and labour markets and state centralization.³ The nucleation of households that has resulted from depopulation and the incremental devaluation of the cultural, economic, and political authority of the extended family, has pushed the social life of women into the confines of the domestic space. Contact with the market economy, understood as a male preserve, has reinforced the traditional low status of women's labour, which is now closely associated with pre-capitalist subsistence strategies.

Two activities have countered the increasing privatization of women's social life: olive harvesting and mortuary ceremonies. Urban Maniats return to natal villages on a regular basis for these events, which function as public performances of clan solidarity and reciprocity. The participation of urban and urbanized Maniat women with their rural counterparts in mortuary rites and olive harvesting often involves radical code-switching in their dress, discourse, and demeanour. Mortuary events and the annual olive harvest are not occasions for romanticizing the past. Rather, they are public events that engage and articulate contemporary issues bearing on kinship, family and village politics.

From the eighteenth century traveller accounts to the rare histories, folklore collections, and community studies of Inner Mani in this century, outside observers have agreed on the centrality of mourning rituals and on the pivotal role of women in these performances. This is a perspective with which Inner Maniats concur. Death rituals have not been just one life-cycle event among others (such as birth, initiation or marriage), but the paramount public event of the culture, and the primary resource for the production of aesthetic forms (music and poetry), of kin ideology and indigenous oral history.

The singing of *moiroloi* (lament) connotes 'crying one's fate (*moira*)'. The lament is an improvised poetic composition of stressed eight-syllable verses

³ Allen 1974; Seremetakis 1991.

The construction of truth

focused on the biographies of the deceased and/or the mourner and the history of corporate groups. Inner Maniats sharply differentiate this lament from song and poetic genres that have been imported from other parts of rural Greece. The fifteen syllable epic-heroic ballads and laments, which have nationalistic evocations, are associated with the performances of men, while the eight-syllable laments are identified with the discourses of women. The latter are also considered a genre distinct from official church liturgy (although both narrative-musical forms coexist in the mortuary cycle).

CENTRE AND BACKSTAGE

Maniat women move discreetly and swiftly in their towers and through the narrow streets between towers. They move close to walls and avoid public spaces defined as male. They emerge from the low entrances and exits of their towerhouses, from underneath a heavy load of wood or water carried on their backs, only to bend again over a rocky terrain during agricultural work, over an open or covered grave in the cemetery, over the protected cistern at the bottom of their towers. When the 'whisper' of death comes, these bent women, creatures of the back alleys, stand up. They stretch their upper body and throw the head back, pulling out their loosened hair. They raise fists against the sky, beating their chests in anger, scratching their faces, screaming. It is then that one sees women of Inner Mani in their full height.

*Hey, you God from high above
Where the gun can't reach you!
Why don't you descend below
To talk about rights?
We have the most [rights]
For we are left without a child....*



Women represent the violence of death through their own bodies. Through this imagery of bodily disorder and movement, they establish their shared substance with the dead; they also establish themselves as the iconic representatives of the dead in the world of the living – an imagery which is in sharp contrast to that of their everyday social life.

C. Nadia Seremetakis

If death puts people, symbols and things in motion, and its first announcement with screaming brings people out into the streets, the gathering of kin for the mourning ritual implies a movement towards the centre. The movement of ingathering (*mazema*) implies the return of the scattered elements of the clan to a topographic centre inscribed by the death event.

The corpse on display, at home, in local church or village square, is the centre where mourners formally establish their relation of shared substance and therefore their status in the ceremony. As the mourner states: *"we were raised together with one food, one water."* The mourner creates the centre with her physical presence by moulding her body through gestures, caresses, and improvised discourses around the space of the corpse. Mourning necessitates touching and caressing the dead, leaning over the dead with tender gestures as if talking to a sleeping child. Thus she interiorizes the dead as an element of the outside.

The logic of agricultural interiorization is found in the interiorization of death. As the mourner states: *"she reaped them, she threshed them in the middle of the threshing floor."* With these verses the mourner stresses the social value of women's labour, which refers to the act of ingathering, of bringing scattered elements into a central place. This act is embodied in the task of collecting grain within the circular space of the threshing floor. When the corpse is absent, an imaginary centre is created. The mourners play with presence and absence by standing in as doubles and surrogates of the dead.

Creating a centre around the corpse is not an attempt to bring death into the social order, but rather (as in agriculture) to break with a residual margin to move beyond borders, such as segmentary kinship. From this movement, an emergent enclosed space is created in which the living and the dead can be together. This unique space is of course transgressive, because it constitutes a contradiction, a topological anomaly. It is neither the exclusive space of the living nor of the dead. The dead completely separated and sundered from the spaces of the living are not polluting. Death is polluting when the dead intermingle with the living. Women know well the power of such a ritual space.

The mourning ritual in Inner Mani was the central site for the production and reproduction of discourse, dialogical expression of contrasting views and conflict, and the construction of oral history. Women's ritual was *not* an expressive and momentary practice but intervened in public life. It was the site for the legitimization of discourse, the eight-syllable poetic as well as extra-linguistic improvisation of women. The dialogical technique for the production, memorization and dissemination of discourse as oral history was antiphony.

The construction of truth

Antiphony has been described as a prevalent pattern of Greek lamentation from antiquity to the present. Since antiphony characterizes the form of Greek lament, it has been understood by commentators as an aesthetic device and a literary genre. In contrast, among Maniats antiphony is (a) the social structure of mortuary ritual; (b) the internal acoustic organization of lament singing; (c) a prescribed technique for witnessing, for the production/reception of jural discourse, and for the cultural construction of truth; and (d) a political strategy that organizes the relation of women to male-dominated institutions.

In Greek, the concept of antiphony (*antifonisi*) possesses a social and juridical sense in addition to its aesthetic, musical, and dramaturgical uses. Antiphony can refer to the construction of contractual agreement, the creation of a symphony by opposing voices. It also implies echo, response, and guarantee. In Greek, the prefix *anti-* does not only refer to opposition and antagonism but also equivalence, "in place of", reciprocity, face-to-face. These meanings are embedded in the vocabulary of laments. Mourners in their improvised eight-syllable laments claim to "come out as representative" (*na vgho antiprosopos*) of the dead (*prosopo* means face or person, and *antiprosopos* means representative). A related and emotionally laden phrase is "to witness, suffer for, and reveal the truth about" the dead (*na tone martirisoume*).

The term *marturion* (witness) appears in Herodotus and is associated with the oracles of the dead (*nekromanteion*) (duBois 1988). The *marturion* was also a coded message composed of two incomplete halves, one each in the possession of sender and recipient. Completion and decipherment of the message required joining the two parts.

To "witness," "to suffer for," and "to come out as representative for" are narrative devices in laments that fuse jural notions of reciprocity and truth claiming with the emotional nuances of pain. A related phrase, which is asked of the dead at the beginning of burial procedures and at certain commemoration services, is "Are you coming back? for this is the last trial (*dhiki*)."

The concept of trial here evokes the "judgement of the dead," the notion of ordeal, and the last opportunity to be witnessed and represented by the living.

Gernet describes customary law in ancient Greece as a "system of conventions in which the signifier tends to absorb the signified" (Gernet 1981). By this he means that truth lies in the dramatization and ritualization of gestures and discourse that establish the authority of the witness as a guarantor. In this customary legal system, the act and role of witnessing is structured as ritual passage, as an ordeal. According to Gernet, the demarcated space of witnessing is characterized by oath taking which involves proximity to polluting yet sacrilized substance.

C. Nadia Seremetakis

In the Inner Maniat ritual the mourners make declarations of shared substance that not only sacralize the corpse-mourner relation, but also presuppose the separate, polluted character of the corpse, its oppositional relation to the social order. Through declarations of shared substance, the mourner establishes the juridical authenticity of her mourning discourse and then attempts to incorporate the chorus as collective witness of her shared substance with the dead. This takes the form of interrogatory appeals from the mourner to members of the chorus to come closer, to form a contiguity with the soloist and the corpse, to enter into and construct antiphonic relations.

In the following lament for instance, she calls on a male affine to "witness" her discourse:

*...Eh, Aloghako, come close
For me to speak this
And you to hear it.
Am I speaking truth or lies?*

The mourner here knows well that the male affine, she is calling to "witness", will not cross the gender boundaries of the lament session. Thus, the appeal for validation is also addressed to the chorus of women; it is the validation of her discourse through dialogical performance. She appeals "Come close for me to speak and you to hear ...". The expression "to hear" in this case does not have the passive or purely receptive implications that the term has in English. "To hear" is to play an active role in the production of a juridical discourse. The act of hearing carries the value of the soloist's discourse. Hearing in antiphonic relations is not external to speech but metonymical to it. *Hearing is the doubling of the other's discourse.* Through the hearing of the chorus, the discourse is disseminated to the rest of society. The absence of hearing is equivalent to the "silent" death, which in Mani is a "bad death". The "silent" death is also the social death of the mourner without witness.

Antiphony is an extension of the ethic of "helping". This ethic has connotations that range from the domain of agricultural labour to that of the mourning ritual itself. In agricultural practice, it means assistance from others that facilitates the completion of a work cycle. In the context of the mourning ceremony, the ethic of helping permeates all practices, from laying out the body to exhumation. Helping is a loaded term referring to a complex system of social exchange in which individual grief is but one component.

Laments are about both the pain of the survivor in the throes of mourning and the pain that the deceased bear during the course of their lives. *Pain (ponos) is plural.* It refers to a multiplicity of pains that at the moment of death cohere

The construction of truth

into a metaphor for the deceased's life and the mourner's life. Maniats understand pain as "burning" and "fire" (imagery that is found throughout Greece). "Burning pain" (*kaïmos*) "melts" the subject, "liquefies the self" (*lioni, revi*). Crying and tears, as material signs of liquefaction, are expressive complements to the inner experience of burning pain.

In laments, "burning pain" is also metaphorized as a "holocaust" (*olokaftoma*). This term refers to pain as consuming the self, as a sacrificial expenditure, and as the labour of enduring pain. Labour is understood as the deceased's (and by reference to mourner's) "fate" (*moira*), "share" or allotment.

The endurance of fate is conceptualized as a labour task. To endure or complete an arduous task in the agricultural and domestic spheres is often described as *martirisa* (I witnessed); a concept that links labour, suffering and pain. Through pain, Maniat women link kinship, the division of labour, agricultural and domestic economies—all male dominated institutions—into an experiential continuum. The truth claims that arise from the ritual, then depend on the emotional force of pain and the jural force of antiphonic confirmation. *Discoursed pain and discourse in pain constitute truth.*

By stating that they cannot properly sing laments without the help of others, Maniat women reveal that pain, in order to be rendered valid, has to be socially constructed in antiphonic relations. Antiphony is a jural and historicizing structure. Its dyadic organization (soloist/chorus) guarantees a built-in record-keeping function. Antiphonic performance entails both the original declarations of the *korifea* (soloist) and the repetition, response, and historicization of the latter's discourse by the chorus. To hear a lament improvised is not to merely hear a person sing, but to hear an entire ensemble vocalize.

Women perpetuate antiphony as they leave the ritual space to form an improvised "women's café" (*rougha*). There the events of the ritual and aspects of its discourse and performance are disseminated, reconfirmed, and established as oral history.

The only way by which an ethnographer, historian or other could enter into the feminine space of divination and/or death is to enter as a member of the chorus, as a witness with contractual obligations. For Maniat women, the ethnographer who is accepted can function as another vocality of concordance and, in this role, facilitate the construction and dissemination of social memory.

There have never been paid mourners in Inner Mani, as there had been in ancient Greece, or elsewhere. *Tears shed without a common history of reciprocity are matter out of place.*



The day I met a well-known mourner, often referred to as a record keeper, I was walking in the street with a relative. She immediately noticed my tape recorder and camera case. When my relative explained I was "collecting stories and laments", she declared she was very busy and pointed with her body to the direction of her tower. Ready to walk away, she asked who I was. When she heard the kinship connection, she turned her body again to face me, "Thodoros's granddaughter?! Our own child, that is!"

We sat in the middle of her old, spacious tower, just the two of us, in the cool empty space, far away from the small door, the only source of daylight. She treated me to a candy and said, "Since you are one of our own, I'll tell you a couple of laments I like, provided of course that you will accompany me." I felt my hands freeze as she left me no space to react. She started by alternating between prose and poetry to give me a *moiroloi* and its context. As she continued mourning quietly, she stared at me with piercing eyes till my lips moved. I was humming along, at first with each verse's last syllable, then the whole verse as her head and body movements encouraged me to follow. The more I entered her rhythm, the more her mourning intensified. With pain in her face and eyes, she turned at key moments of her *moiroloi* to seek my nodding, my voice, leading me to taste her pain till I burst into tears.



GENDERING HISTORY

For centuries Inner Mani was a stateless society, devoid of any codified laws or specialized juridical and administrative institutions. There were two kin-based institutions that assumed those political-legal functions currently assumed by the state: the *yerondiki*, the all-male council, and the *klama*, the women's mourning ceremony. These institutions both complemented and opposed each other in terms of their respective position in the social structure.

The *klama* could reinforce the decisions of the *yerondiki* as much as it contested them. Further, it could impose decisions on the *yerondiki* through the appeal to collectively held moral obligations, such as the fulfilment of revenge code ethics; an action that did not always conform to the political interest of the *yerondiki*. The *klama* could also reclaim history:

The construction of truth

*...I am the Verga of Almyros
I hold and withstand all ill fated attacks
For I have the rounded belly of a storage vase⁴
I can open the earth and bring all that is up down
I can throw it in the deep sea as well...*

Verga and Almyros are the locales where the famous battle took place between the Maniat clans and the invading army (Turkish army in lay memory) led by Ibrahim Pasha during the Greek Revolution. In official written history the battle of Almyros is valorised as male victory at which women simply aided by fighting with their sickles against a second army sent by Ibrahim to occupy Mani while Maniat men were fighting at Almyros. Women's victory is a backstage victory. The above verses reclaim the battle as women's history.

In the first verse, the female mourner becomes, not just the battle, but the place where the battle was fought. *Men occupy places, women become spaces*. She comprehends the particular event and place through her body and in the second verse states that no matter what violence and evil assaults her, she will embody, hold, contain, and devour affliction in the same manner that the Maniats "devoured" the invading Turkish army. Like a fighter (*levendis*), she remains erect in contrast to all bodies that have fallen.

The lament deals explicitly with cosmological imagery. In Maniat memory this battle is an event of cosmic proportions.

The metaphor of the belly, of the interiority of women in the third verse, engenders cosmos and history as female. The continuum of historical destruction is thus comprehended through a metaphor of ingestion, eating, and forceful interiorization. Historicization as an oral practice replicates this process of cosmic ingestion. The female body, like the "opened earth" and the cosmos itself, is the ultimate vessel of storage and memory.

If the cosmos is conceived as a gendered space of interiority, then likewise each woman's interior replicates the cosmos as a fragment of the whole. The cosmos never attains full presence. It is always presented through fragments, through each woman's individual interiority. The gathering together of women in lament performances is the assemblage of these fragments of the cosmic. Lament performances, divination, oral history, women's logos and bodily practices are *the acting out of exchanges* between the detached part (women's interiority) and the whole (cosmological interiority). Women translate individual

⁴ See du Bois 1988 for the same image of the female body as vase, earth, and place for cosmological storage, in fifth-century Athens.

C. Nadia Seremetakis

experience into cosmological generality, and return cosmological totality to the particular. This is the Maniat women's cultural power.

The linkage between historical destruction and cosmological ingestion in women's poetics demonstrates a self reflexive awareness of the historical disappearance of Maniat reality itself. For those women who have been the record keepers of cosmological process, historical finality remains embedded in their poetics and written on their bodies.

AFTERTHOUGHTS

In contemporary history, Maniat women's mourning rituals discussed above, are an example of dialogical performance. Dialogue is a Greek cultural form. Whether we are referring to Plato, Socrates or the poets of Tragedy, we are talking about dialogue. Greek tragedy, however, unlike the Socratic-Platonic dialogue, proposes dialogical performance. Tragedy, that is, is not a monological play, nor does it refer to dialogue in the conventional sense, that is a conversation between equals; rather, it is an interrogation of the Polis, a critique that occurs in public space and constitutes a collective, participatory process. It is a technique of moving the Polis to develop a self-reflexive relation to its own ethics, politics and history. Dialogical performance we also encounter in contemporary Maniat rituals.

Moreover, in Inner Mani, dialogical performance is not about communication of the moment or the present, but a technique of historicization and remembrance. What Inner Mani teaches us then, is that the dialogical which provides the foundation for freedom of expression is about memory—without memory there can be no freedom of expression. We tend to think of memory as rigid and restrictive, but in the Maniat case, cultural, embodied and gendered memory provided the foundations for improvised poetry, the ultimate example of freedom of speech.

Maniat women historicize and claim public space from the position of death—that is from the borders of the "inside"—, they perceive history through their body, claim truth with memory and the emotional force of pain and their discourse is legitimized and transferred as oral history via the dialogical technique of antiphony. Thus, they challenge us to "dialogue" today: Which are the limits of the different perceptions of public space in contemporary Greece? Of the male dominated space? Of the space of the nation state? Of the transnational space of the European Community? In what context do Greeks claim truth today? In the male dominated public sphere of modernity, truth is not of course

The construction of truth

claimed with memory and pain, but rather without them (is it perhaps why, for example, the terrorist organizations mimic memory through arbitrary deaths?).

In the historical example of Inner Mani discussed here, women did not claim public space in order to simply insure a place for themselves, to enter this space without memory and to simply repeat that which is allowed to be said, but rather to question at the same time the structure and organization of that space. They used memory of shared substance and reciprocity and of the imprint of women's labor on agricultural space (as mnemonic space) in order to challenge the public order of space itself.

Like Antigone in ancient tragedy, they had to decide between two conflicting laws, the one required by the state and patriarchy, and the other required by shared substance and emotional reciprocity. Antigone's law too, which is based on memory, which transcends death and overcomes forgetfulness brought by *xenitia*, absence, stood against the law of the powerful king Creon when Creon and the Polis barred her brother's body from burial and implicitly from the city.

One of our main tasks, then, today should be the recuperation of the alterity of women's everyday experience; for, when it comes to the political recovery of the validity of women's everyday life structure, there is a wealth of material from the periphery – in Greece, in the rest of Europe, and elsewhere – yesterday and today, that can serve as valuable resource, allegory and symbolic capital.

Finally, the lost history of women's *poesis* of history (in Greek *poesis* means both making and imagining),⁵ which includes the poetry of oral history and memory, is part of the Greek 'male' history, of the official records. As long as this part is missing, the full antiphonic depth of Greek history has not yet been recuperated.

And as a lot is being discussed today in Greece and beyond, about how Greek history is written and whether there is or there is not an example of "women's writing", female poetry, or decision making, *History* smiles next to us...

⁵ see Seremetakis, 1991.

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CHAPTER 39

REMARKS ON THE USE OF PLASTER IN THOLOS TOMBS AT MYCENAE: HYPOTHESES ON THE ORIGIN OF THE PAINTED DECORATION OF TOMBS IN MAINLAND GREECE

NAYA SGOURITSA

Prehistoric Aegean societies expressed their feelings and thoughts regarding death through a variety of mortuary practices, simple or complex, according to the social identity and status of the departed, but also of the living relatives. The number and kind of offerings, the care of the tomb and especially the effort to make a tomb monumental are the most important archaeological data which provide evidence about the honours accorded to the dead.¹ Differentiation concerns the quality of the offerings and the labour invested in the construction of a tomb. The elaborate construction, the size, and the decoration (in a few examples) are the main factors determining the hierarchy among the diverse types of the tombs. The first two are elements contributing to the monumentality of a tomb. The third, the decoration, appears only rarely. Still, there are variations in the type, number and quality of the decorative motifs: relief decoration, usually simple, was the most common kind, made by the arrangement of the architectural members of the tholoi, among which only three had elaborate patterns. Incised decoration was also simple, sometimes combined with painted decoration, and in only two tombs were the designs complex. Painting, used almost at the same time as relief, appeared in two tholoi and in a few chamber tombs, located in the Argolid and later also in Boeotia. Painted decoration was usually applied on the façade and was mostly simple; the greater number of the decorated examples presented simple plastered surfaces, sometimes coloured, whereas elaborate frescoes are observed in only a few cases.

Plaster is a kind of mortar with wide applications even in prehistoric times. It served various requirements, structural at the beginning and mainly decorative later, such as pointing joints, coating walls, floors and ceilings, and

¹ Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 124, 125–7.

as a foundation for frescoes. It is composed of lime and other additives, the type of which depends on the use.²

From the Neolithic era plaster was applied, in parallel with the more common mud mortar, as a binding and coating material, aimed at waterproofing but also at aesthetically more pleasing results.³ Even at these remote times coloured and frescoed stuccos were used on the walls,⁴ whilst plaster floors have also been found.⁵ Later, during the Early Bronze Age, examples of plaster appeared in the Aegean in larger numbers, and in some cases the plaster was coloured.⁶ Interestingly, it was used in buildings of careful construction and special character, on Crete⁷ and mainland Greece.⁸

During the period of the Old Palaces plaster was used more frequently on the walls, floors and ceilings in palatial and ordinary buildings on Crete, and in several cases it was painted.⁹

THE USE OF PLASTER IN BUILT TOMBS: THOLOI AND TOMB RHO

Plaster was applied to the joints of walls and slab floors of LM/LH rooms, in palaces and ordinary buildings, creating a surface suitable for painting; it was also used for coating the walls, floors and ceilings inside and outside.¹⁰ Apart from such uses, plaster was also used, as early as the first half of the 15th century BC, in Mycenaean tombs. On the walls of the doorway of the monumental LH IIA tholos tomb A (1) at Peristeria there was plaster in the

² For plaster in general, see Papagiani & Stefanidou 2006, 151. Küpper 1996, 4, 5. For Minoan plasters, see Shaw 2009, 144–7 (for the preparation and technique of applying, 146–7).

³ Cameron 1972, 310.

⁴ *Idem*, 311. Cameron 1974, pl. 1A (EN IB period, roof plasters from Knossos), pl. 1B (MN period, plaster on inner wall face, from Knossos) Also, Altan Çilinreğlü *et al.* 2004, 32, with references. Todd *et al.* 1985, 76–7. Todd *et al.* 2005, 378.

⁵ For example in the Neolithic settlement at Nea Makri, Attika, Pantelidou-Gofa 1993, 156–7, with references, and on Saliagos, Evans & Renfrew 1968, 15–6. For coloured plastered floor of sub-neolithic period on Crete, see Hirsch 1977, 14–5. Cf. Todd *et al.* 1985, 185.

⁶ Cameron 1972, 305–9, 310, 314. For examples, see Cameron 1974, pl. C, D, E, F (EM I–II (or III) period. Soles 1979, 155. Tsipopoulou 1999, 84.

⁷ See *supra* no. 6. Shaw 2009, 148.

⁸ As for example in some Corridor Houses, Walter & Felten 1981, III, 1, 12 (Haus am Felsrand, Stadt II), 16, 17–8 (Weisses Haus, Stadt III). Wiencke 2000, 275–9 (Lerna). See also Immerwahr 1990, 24.

⁹ See Immerwahr 1990, 11, 22. For the coloured and painted floors on Crete and mainland Greece, Hirsch 1977. Shaw 2009, 148.

¹⁰ Immerwahr 1990, 13–5. See also Hirsch 1977. Darcque 2005–6, 101, 103–5, 133–4, 165–6, 332. For examples, cf. Shaw & Betacourt 2009, 113–9 (mainly 113–7). Mylonas–Shear 1987, 11–12, 136 ff. Shaw 2009, 149 ff.

Origin of painted decoration in tombs

joints and, to a lesser degree, on the surface of the limestone blocks.¹¹ Plaster was also laid over the joints and clefts of the stones of the jambs in the contemporary tholos at Vapheio.¹² In some LHIIA and later tholoi at Mycenae and in neighbouring regions plaster sealed the joints of poros and conglomerate blocks. According to Wace, it appeared mainly in the tombs of the second group of tholoi, which already had a simple relief decoration on their façades.¹³ Furthermore, plaster was used in the tholos of Aegisthus,¹⁴ the last tomb of the first group, as well as in the LH II/IIIA tholos of the Genii, also provided with a simple relief decoration on the façade.¹⁵ The first excavators of these tombs, Chr. Tsountas and A. J. B. Wace, reported the presence of plaster, whereas Ol. Pelon who collected and noted in detail all the data concerning tholoi, believed that the use of plaster was of decorative character.¹⁶

The joints of the poros blocks which faced a part of the limestone wall of the dromos of the Panagia tholos, at a distance of 1.13 m from the façade, were pointed with plaster, as well as the joints of the conglomerate masonry of the doorway (**FIG. 1**).¹⁷ In the second tomb of this group, the tholos of Kato Phournos, the use of plaster was more extensive. It sealed the joints of the poros blocks of the dromos and of the conglomerate blocks of the façade and the doorway¹⁸. In the Lion tomb, the last of this group, the joints of the carefully dressed poros blocks which faced the limestone wall of the dromos,¹⁹ *in situ* only in the eastern part, were pointed with a thick layer of plaster (**FIG. 2**). During the cleaning of the poros masonry in the summer of 2008, it was noticed that between the poros and the limestone blocks there was clay (plessia) mortar, obviously intended as protection against damp.²⁰ Moreover, the joints of the poros masonry that faced the conglomerate walling of the façade and of the doorway were also pointed with plaster (**FIG. 3**). It was reported that the floor of the doorway and the tholos were coated with

¹¹ Pelon 1976, 208. See also Immerwahr 1990, 11, where it is stated that plaster coated the whole surface of exterior walls, usually of ashlar masonry. For an opposite view concerning Crete, Shaw 2009, 76. During the historical era plaster coated the surface of walls made of poros blocks in several examples, Orlandos 1994, 52–3.

¹² Pelon 1976, 184.

¹³ *Idem*, 162–6.

¹⁴ *Idem*, 162.

¹⁵ *Idem*, 167.

¹⁶ *Idem*, 292, 305.

¹⁷ *Idem*, 163.

¹⁸ *Idem*, 164. Furthermore, another kind of plaster covered the floor of the doorway and the chamber.

¹⁹ Wace 1949, 40, 41; it is stated that the investment with poros masonry was made “for the sake of appearance”. For the use of poros blocks, Küpper 1996, 3–4.

²⁰ This native clay was used in several constructions at Mycenae for protection against humidity, already in LHI, for example see Mylonas 1973, 244–5. In the dromos of the Lion tholos plaster prevented also the drying-out of the clay mortar, cf. Shaw 2009, 73.

plaster, which still retained the red colour when Tsountas excavated it in 1892.²¹



FIG. 1. Panagia tholos. Part of the dromos and the façade (photo by the author).

²¹ Pelon 1976, 165. For other examples, *idem*, 361–2.



FIG. 2. Lion tholos. Poros Blocks in the dromos (detail of the stucco in the joints, photo by the author).



FIG. 3. Lion tholos. Conglomerate masonry in the doorway (detail of the stucco in the joints, photo by the author).

Though limited, there was also plaster, as well as clay (plessia) mortar, in the joints of the poros facing of the rubble masonry of the doorjambs of the tholos of Aegisthus.²²

The practice of pointing the joints with plaster was also used in the LH IIB/IIIA tholos of the Genii, in the joints of the conglomerate masonry of the jambs and the doorway.²³

An analogous use was practised in a tomb of a different type, the LHIIA built chamber tomb Rho in Circle B; it was built of poros blocks; plaster and plessia mortar were applied to the joints of the walls of the chamber, the façade and the dromos, whilst plessia was also used in the joints of the slabs of the vault of the chamber. In this tomb plaster was laid over plessia, it was painted alternately black and red in the chamber, and it covered the whole surface of the façade and that part of the dromos on either side of the entrance which was painted red.²⁴ In the chamber and the façade plaster does not seem to play only the practical role of protection against humidity; it is likely that the coloured plaster in this tomb contributed to the the visual impact, although the decorated parts of the tomb were visible during a limited time span.

Plaster, as suggested for the five tholoi at Mycenae mentioned above, seems to have been used initially for waterproofing constructions made of poros and, in a few cases, of conglomerate blocks; whereas its use for the sake of appearance can only be inferred. By contrast, the masons of the built chamber tomb Rho may have pointed the joints of the poros blocks with coloured plaster also in order to improve the whole appearance of the tomb.

In addition to the tombs at Mycenae, plaster sealed the joints of the poros facing of the façade of the LHIIA tholos at Berbati,²⁵ as well as the joints of the poros facing of the dromos, the limestone and the conglomerate masonry of the jambs and the doorway of the contemporary tholos tomb at Prosymna, where the exterior conglomerate block, of the three which composed the lintel, was coated with plaster.²⁶ On the rock-cut façade of the LHIIIB/IIIA1 tholos tomb at Kokla there was a thick layer of plaster. On the off-white ground a band of blue and red discs, imitations of the wooden beams of a roof, was depicted.²⁷ Spirals were painted on the plastered doorjambs of the

²² *Idem*, 161.

²³ *Idem*, 16., see also *supra* no. 18.

²⁴ Mylonas 1973, 218, 219. Papadimitriou 2001, 26–28, 159. Cf. the colored plaster in the interstices between the slabs of the floors of the New Palace at Phaistos, Hirsch 1977, 18–20. For analogous earlier examples of coloured plaster in the interstices of slabs see Tsipopoulou 1999, 651 (Petras, Old Palace period). Driessen & Farnoux 1992, 739 (MMII Batiment X, 8 in Quartier NU at Malia).

²⁵ Pelon 1976, 178.

²⁶ *Idem*, 176–7.

²⁷ Demakopoulou 1990, 113. For the pottery of the tomb, imported from Crete or ‘minoanized’, see Demakopoulou 1997, 104–8.

Origin of painted decoration in tombs

contemporary tholos tomb at Tiryns, whilst traces of red colour were also preserved on its lintel.²⁸

DECORATED CHAMBER TOMBS

The largest number of chamber tombs with a simply plastered or frescoed entrance or, rarely, chamber has been found in the LH Argolid. Several such tombs were discovered at Mycenae, three at Argos, and one at Prosymna, Asine and, probably, Dendra. The decorative motifs included patterns²⁹ which are also known from later frescoes in the Mycenaean palaces and a few ordinary buildings, as well as from the relief decoration in the Treasures of Atreus and Minyas and the tholos of Klytemnestra.

The façade of the chamber tombs was usually simple. Still, in several examples the surface of the entrance was very carefully cut, a practice aiming at an elaborate appearance.³⁰ In a few cases the lintel was triangular, which may be an effort to imitate the relieving triangle of a tholos tomb.³¹ Moreover, in some instances there were other features which are usually characteristic of tholoi.³²

Chamber tombs with painted decoration on their façade were discovered at Mycenae at the end of the 19th century by Christos Tsountas. Tomb 52 was the first one to be found; its doorjambs were plastered and probably painted red.³³ In 1890 tombs 53 and 54, according to Tsountas' diary, were excavated nearby, on the hill of Panagia.³⁴ A fragment of the wall painting of the façade of tomb 53 was preserved; it consisted of a narrow red band and another wider band with a series of rosettes and triangles in the

²⁸ Pelon 1976, 181.

²⁹ Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1987, 152–3. Gallou 2005, 67–9.

³⁰ For examples, see Papadimitriou 1952, 469 (Mycenae). Demakopoulou 1998, 23, (tomb 10 at Aidonia, Corinthia), 31 (tomb 9 at Aidonia, Corinthia). Blegen 1937, 181. Papademetriou 1954, 75 fig. 2 (Alyki Glyfadas, Attika). A few LM chamber tombs, of Mycenaean type, were also provided with an elaborately cut facade, see below n. 32.

³¹ For examples, see Papademetriou 1954, 84 fig. 10 (Alyki Glyfadas, Attika). Daniilidou 2000, 167 (Messenia), 170–1 and 172 (Arcadia).

³² For example see the tomb 530 at Kalkani, Mycenae, with an incised fascia on the façade and the doorway, imitating the relief decoration of tholoi, ChT, 106, 132. See also French 2002, 44. Cf. for Minoan chamber tombs of Mycenaean type, Hood & Coldstream 1968, 206, pl. 51c, with references. Alexiou 1953, 301, 302 fig. 1. Chatzidakis 1918, 65 fig. 10. Small stone walls were constructed in a few chamber tombs at Kalkani; still, this practice aimed at strengthening the soil, ChT, 133, 143. For analogous examples see, Deshayes 1966, 238 and also Vollgraff 1904, 368–9. Blegen 1937, 239–40.

³³ Tsountas 1891, 1–4 and Sakellariou-Xenaki 1985, 131–2.

³⁴ Sakellariou-Xenaki 1985, 31–5. Apart from the three aforementioned chamber tombs, the richest tombs at Mycenae came to light on this hill, among them the monumental tomb 81 and five out of the nine tholoi, *eadem*, 313–4, 320 and Wace 1949, 33.

intermediate space, in red, yellow and black on white plaster, which covered not only the façade, but also the doorway and the walls of the chamber on either side of the entrance. Tsountas reported that pure lime was used in this plaster, which was still wet when the doorway was blocked and the dromos filled with earth.³⁵ The decoration of chamber tomb 54 was not preserved; however, Tsountas wrote that, in addition to the façade, the doorway was also plastered and decorated.³⁶ Although the existing offerings deposited in tombs 53 and 54 are not safe evidence for dating, it is possible that these tombs belonged to the LH IIIA/B period.³⁷ In 1894 Tsountas excavated the monumental and rich tomb 81, also situated on the hill of Panagia. The jambs were plastered and painted red, bordered by a white band. Their bases were painted blue, with large bands, as were the capitals, which were separated from the rest of the decoration by an incised line. Above the lintel and the capitals the decoration was composed of three horizontal bands: the first one was red, the second consisted of a series of red discs with an incised circumference, on the white ground of the plaster, and the third was also red. The sides and the ceiling of the doorway were plastered. Along the four sides of the almost rectangular chamber there was a built bench. Above the bench, the rock-cut walls were plastered to a height of 1.35 m with three bands in red, yellow and blue.³⁸ Unfortunately, no vases were found among the offerings which would safely date the construction and the use of the tomb. Nevertheless, its construction may belong to the end of the LHII period.³⁹ To the four tombs excavated by Tsountas, tomb 78, another rich tomb, located at Kalkani, should be added, as its façade was coated with a greenish clay.⁴⁰ Wace stated that in this region other chamber tombs with plastered or frescoed jambs and lintels had been discovered.⁴¹ Moreover, Papadimitriou excavated a chamber tomb near Circle B with plastered and frescoed façade

³⁵ Sakellariou-Xenaki 1985, 165–6.

³⁶ *Eadem*, 167.

³⁷ Apart from a fragment of the fresco of tomb 53, which was recorded, a few small remains from gold items, beads of faïence, pieces from ivory objects with nautilus designs and a bronze bowl, which was discovered upside down, covering a skull, were referred to in the diary, but never found: Sakellariou-Xenaki 1985, 166. From tomb 54 three seals were recorded, *eadem*, 167–68, pl. 67, nos. 2572, 2573, 2574, belonging to the Mainland Popular Group. Though a dating supported by finds of this kind is not safe, *eadem*, 317–8, it is probable that these tombs belonged to the LH IIIA/B period, see *eadem*, 319.

³⁸ Sakellariou-Xenaki 1985, 224–31.

³⁹ *Eadem*, 319.

⁴⁰ *Eadem*, 216, 321. In Gallou 2005, 68 it is stated that on the façade of tomb 78 there was greenish stucco; however, Tsountas noticed the presence of greenish clay, which appears in several cases in the Argolid, cf. tomb XII at Deiras, Argos, where decorative plaster was applied onto a layer of greenish clay, Deshayes 1966, 33, 239. Cf. Keramopoulos 1917, 129 (tomb 4 at Kolonaki, Thebes).

⁴¹ Wace 1949, 33.

Origin of painted decoration in tombs

and doorway; the decoration was linear, in red, blue and black.⁴² Furthermore, Sakellariou noted that another chamber tomb had been found to the south of the Cyclopean Tholos, with plaster and decoration not only on the façade but also in the chamber.⁴³

In the cemetery at Prosymna, Blegen excavated one of the largest tombs, tomb II, with decoration on the jambs and the lintel; its use, according to the pottery found, covered a long time span, from the LHIIA until the LHIIIA2 period. The plaster was thick and the decoration consisted of running spirals (in orange, red, blue and black) and bands. Blegen believed that the decoration did not belong to the time of the construction of the tomb, but had been carried out later, at an unknown time.⁴⁴ According to Blegen, chamber tomb III would have been decorated, as indicated by the preparation of the surface of its façade.⁴⁵

During the excavations by Vollgraff at Deiras two decorated tombs were unearthed, tombs V and VI. On the façade of the first running spirals were painted, with a floral or palm-tree motif in the corners, in yellow, blue, red and dark red.⁴⁶ The façade of the second tomb was plastered and painted red.⁴⁷ The pottery of tomb V is not known. On the other hand, the rich tomb VI yielded two LHIIA palace style amphorae. One of them, decorated with birds, had been imported from Crete or was the product of a craftsman trained in Minoan art.⁴⁸ Moreover, a motif was depicted, which could belong to a stirrup jar of the early 12th century BC.⁴⁹ According to this evidence, the use of the tomb covered the period from the 15th until the early 12th century BC. During the later excavations at Deiras, another tomb, the largest in the cemetery, chamber tomb XII, came to light, with decoration on the façade and the doorway. Though plundered, small pieces of gold were found in its chamber and to judge from the remaining pottery its construction belonged to the LH IIIA2 period.⁵⁰ In the cemetery at Asine, the façade and the chamber of the large, rich tomb 2, the use of which covered the period between LH IIA

⁴² Papadimitriou 1952, 468–70 (mainly 469).

⁴³ Sakellariou-Xenaki 1985, 320.

⁴⁴ Blegen based his view on the fact that the fresco was careless in comparison with the decoration of the two LH IIA palace style amphorae; still, one must bear in mind that wall-paintings were usually of low quality.

⁴⁵ Blegen 1937, 174 (tomb II), 181 (tomb III), 238.

⁴⁶ Vollgraff 1904, 369–70. Tomb V was among the largest in the cemetery, with a dromos of 19 m., *idem*, 368.

⁴⁷ *Idem*, 370.

⁴⁸ *Idem*, 377 ff. See also Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, 73–4, 209 (VII.H). For the finds of tomb VI, Vollgraff 1904, 375–87.

⁴⁹ Vollgraff 1904, 376 fig. 2.

⁵⁰ Deshayes 1966, 33, 34, 37, 238. For the decoration of rectangles cf. the triangular motif between the rosettes of tomb 53 at Mycenae, Tsountas 1891, 4 and colour plate.

and the LH IIIC middle phase, were also plastered.⁵¹ Among the tombs in the necropolis at Dendra, chamber tomb 16, dated to the LH IIIA period (still unpublished),⁵² is reported to have been provided with a plastered chamber.

Three or four more chamber tombs should be added to the above group of plastered or decorated examples. They were located at Thebes and were monumental. Tomb 15 at Kolonaki was excavated by Keramopoulos, who reported that the jambs and the walls of the doorway were decorated with multicoloured designs. The chamber had a bench along three sides and was in use from LH IIIA2 until the LH IIIC early/middle period – according to the pottery depicted – and the offerings included gold, bronze and lead artefacts.⁵³ Moreover, Keramopoulos referred to another tomb (tomb 24) with remains of plaster on the walls and the floor of the chamber.⁵⁴ Some decades later Spyropoulos excavated at the hill of Megalo Kastelli two more decorated chamber tombs, one of which was stated to be royal.⁵⁵ Its chamber was rectangular (11.50 m x 7 m) and provided with a built bench along the long sides,⁵⁶ which was plastered and frescoed; on the horizontal surface red bands were painted, whilst on the vertical there were multicoloured papyrus motifs and spirals.⁵⁷ Moreover, the second entrance to the tomb and the chamber were decorated with frescoes representing spirals, bands and rows of discs, scenes with women and a palanquin, as well as a rocky landscape with traces of a red circle above it.⁵⁸ Although the information is still limited, it seems that there were common features between these tombs at Thebes and those in the Argolid, a fact that may indicate another case of masons working in both these regions during the era of the great development.⁵⁹

The evidence collected by Tsountas concerning the tombs at Mycenae,⁶⁰ indicates that the plastering and decoration of the façade and the doorway took place just before the interment and the closing of the tomb. Papadimitriou referred also to this practice for the decoration of the façade of

⁵¹ Frödin & Persson 1938, 162, 163. The excavators stated that the plastering of the walls and probably of the roof of the chamber aimed at the appearance of the tomb.

⁵² Deilaki 1990, 91. In the explanatory text on the tablet erected at the archaeological site at Dendra it is reported that the chamber of tomb 16 was plastered.

⁵³ Keramopoulos 1917, 159–60.

⁵⁴ *Idem*, 185–7; still he hypothesized that the fragments of plaster came from the cover of a wooden larnax, made from or coated with plaster.

⁵⁵ Spyropoulos 1972, 310–11. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 68. Gallou 2005, 69, 127. Spyropoulos 1973, 253, where it is noted that the plastered façade was painted red.

⁵⁶ It has to be stressed that the larger percentage of the decorated tombs had a built or rock-cut bench in the chamber, Demakopoulou 1990, 119, 122. Gallou 2005, 72–3.

⁵⁷ Cf. the decoration of the façade of chamber tomb V at Deiras. Vollgraff 1904, 369 « ... corolles de fleur ou palmettes ».

⁵⁸ Spyropoulos 1971, 161–4. See also Spyropoulos 1972, 310 and Gallou 2005, 69. For the date of the tomb to LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB period, see Spyropoulos 1972, 311.

⁵⁹ Pelon 1976, 414–5. See also *idem*, 289, 290, 329, 330–31, 333, 341.

⁶⁰ Sakellariou-Xenaki 1985, 166.

Origin of painted decoration in tombs

the built chamber tomb R.⁶¹ Unfortunately, there is no evidence for the exact time of decoration at the different stages of the use of a tomb.⁶²

Only two chamber tombs had incised decoration.⁶³ The large tomb 13 at Antheia in Messenia, with a rock-cut bench along one of the sides of the rectangular chamber, was provided with a series of incised discs above the lintel.⁶⁴ The façade and the chamber of the large chamber tomb at Pellana in Laconia were also decorated with an incised lion and a griffin, as well as a palm tree, respectively.⁶⁵

CONCLUSIONS

It has become evident that the plastered and frescoed Mycenaean tholoi and chamber tombs were a minority and were mostly located in the Argolid. A few such tombs appeared also in Boeotia, Messenia and Laconia. Undoubtedly, they belonged to the ruling class and the elite of the above regions, which were important Mycenaean centres. Interestingly, the decorated chamber tombs shared some common features: they were the largest (or among the larger) tombs in the cemeteries, carefully constructed and, apart from the tomb at Prosymna, of a rectangular plan; most of them had benches, rock-cut or built, some of them were provided with saddle-shaped roofs and two with grooves in the entrance.⁶⁶ The presence of rich offerings, even though most of these tombs were looted, should be pointed out, as well as that some of the grave goods were of Cretan origin or highly inspired by Minoan tradition.⁶⁷

From the existing evidence it can be surmised that plaster was originally used in the tholoi for the purpose of waterproofing, especially in the

⁶¹ Nevertheless, Mylonas rejected this statement, Mylonas 1973, 219.

⁶² According to French, the decoration of the chamber tombs does not belong to the earliest phases of their construction, French 2002, 44.

⁶³ About the incised depictions of ships on a block supposed to have been a doorjamb of a LHIIA tholos tomb at Drameši Boeotia, see Gallou 2005, 48. For an incised ship in the Temple Tomb at Knossos, *eadem*, 48. Besides the incised elaborate designs of the two LH chamber tombs, it would be worth mentioning that in some tombs, such as tomb 81 at Mycenae and the tomb at Kokla, the painted decoration was combined with incisions.

⁶⁴ Xatzi-Spiliopoulou 1998, 235–6. Although the tomb was looted, the few gold pieces that were collected indicate that it would have contained valuable offerings. According to the excavator (personal communication), it would have been constructed during the LH IIIA1 and was used until the LH IIIB period.

⁶⁵ Spyropoulos 1982–1983, 113–128.

⁶⁶ Gallou 2005, 70 ff..

⁶⁷ For example the tomb at Kokla (Demakopoulou 1997, 104–108) and tomb VI at Deiras (*supra* no. 48).

constructions made of poros blocks, which were preferred as a refinement for the tombs.

It seems that the use of plaster on the walls of houses followed the same evolution. From Minoan architecture it is known that the pointing of joints with plaster (in the composition of which clay prevailed originally) was mainly connected with the protection of the walls and the wood set inside them against humidity.⁶⁸ Possessing long experience, Minoan masons during the Old Palace period used plaster where lime was a major constituent, and succeeded in creating the hard pure plaster of the New Palace period.⁶⁹

From the initial practical use of plaster in the entrance of a few early tholoi at Mycenae its decorative use can, plausibly, have developed as early as the 15th century BC. It must be emphasized that the earliest Mycenaean wall-paintings are those in the tombs.⁷⁰ In addition to the examples at Mycenae, where plaster may have played both roles, the decorative plastering of the façades of the tholoi at Kokla and Tiryns was definitely ornamental.⁷¹ However, painted decoration remained extremely rare in tholoi, where relief was preferred, simple at the beginning and elaborate later, such as in the Treasury of Atreus, the tholos of Klytemnestra and the Treasury of Minyas.⁷²

On Crete the practice of decorating tombs was not common. The only known examples of Minoan tombs up to now which include painted decoration are the Temple Tomb, with the blue ceiling of the burial chamber,⁷³ the pillar crypt in tholos tomb B at Archanes, from which came fragments of wall paintings,⁷⁴ and some other rooms in the same complex at Archanes, where pieces of white and coloured plaster were discovered;⁷⁵ still, apart from the Temple Tomb, the frescoed rooms of Complex B at Archanes did not have a burial character⁷⁶ and belonged to the upper floor. Furthermore, a part of the floor in the LM IIIA1/2 chamber tomb H at Katsabas, of Mycenaean type, was painted blue, without an intervening coat of plaster,⁷⁷ whereas the walls of the rectangular chamber of the LHIIIA2/B1 chamber tomb 1 at Sellopoulo (still unpublished) were decorated with two

⁶⁸ Shaw 2009, 79.

⁶⁹ Immerwahr 1990, 11. It is worth mentioning that the first pure lime plaster on Crete belonged to floors and not walls, Shaw 2009, 144.

⁷⁰ Demakopoulou 1990, 113.

⁷¹ Although at Kokla it also supported the soil.

⁷² For similarities between the tholoi at Mycenae and Boeotia, especially between the Treasures of Atreus and Minyas, see Pelon 1976, 289, 290, 329, 330–331, 340, 341, 414–415.

⁷³ Evans 1935, IV, 967–8, 1074–5.

⁷⁴ Sakellarakis 1997, 177. These fragments must be dated, according to the excavator (personal communication), to the LMIB period.

⁷⁵ *Idem*, 178, 491. These pieces can be dated earlier than the fragments from the pillar crypt.

⁷⁶ For the Temple Tomb and Complex B, see Driessen & Macdonald 1997, 167.

⁷⁷ Alexiou 1967, 35. Cf. *supra* no. 21. For the attribution of the tombs at Katsaba to the Mycenaean conquerors, see Demakopoulou 1997, 102.

Origin of painted decoration in tombs

incised bands imitating veined stones.⁷⁸ It has to be stressed that the LM tholoi were not decorated.

Among the decorative designs used in LH tombs were patterns already known from Minoan frescoes, such as simple bands, running spirals,⁷⁹ rosettes, discs, papyrus or palm-tree motifs and triangles, in blue, yellow, red and black, whilst in some cases orange and dark red were also used.⁸⁰

Pictorial decoration, painted and incised, was used in only two chamber tombs, at Thebes and Pellana, respectively. In the Mycenaean chamber tombs the decoration involved mostly the façade, sometimes the doorway and, in a few cases only, the chamber.

To the present day, the finds are limited and many questions remain without an answer. After all, it is clear that the LH decorated tombs had no possible Minoan prototypes and the idea of this decoration could well have evolved as a special Helladic initiative, arising from the need for ostentation and a claim for status, as well as a manifestation of specific ritual practices. Still, the process whereby it developed remains obscure. Nevertheless, research continues and will provide clues for verifying or overturning hypotheses or for creating new ones. Decoding symbols in burial archaeology is a difficult task and this study should be taken only as a starting point for further suggestions.

⁷⁸ *KrChron*, IA 1957, 332–3.

⁷⁹ For this motif, see Hiller 2009, 295–6.

⁸⁰ For the colours, see Mylonas-Shear 1987, 11–12, 136–7.

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List of illustrations

FIG. 1. Panagia tholos. Part of the dromos and the façade (photo by the author).

FIG. 2. Lion tholos. Poros Blocks in the dromos (detail of the stucco in the joints, photo by the author).

FIG. 3. Lion tholos. Conglomerate masonry in the doorway (detail of the stucco in the joints, photo by the author).

CHAPTER 40

EXEMPLARY DEATHS IN THE PELOPONNESE: PLUTARCH'S STUDY OF DEATH AND ITS REVISION BY GEORGIUS TRAPEZUNTIUS CRETENSIS

GEORGIOS STEIRIS

PLUTARCH OF CHAERONEA ON DEATH

Plutarch of Chaeronea was an eminent philosopher of Middle Platonism, a philosophical movement which extended from Antiochus of Ascalon (130–68 BC) to Plotinus (204–270 AD). The Middle Platonists focused on the philosophy of Plato in an attempt to purify platonic philosophy from the seeds of scepticism. The philosophers of Middle Platonism declared the primary harmony of all the major schools of philosophy, namely those of Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics and the Neopythagoreans. The Middle Platonists also developed a peculiar syncretism under the strong influence of Gnosticism, Hebrew and Egyptian religion and apocryphism.¹ Plutarch was mainly a Platonist, but he was also indebted to Aristotelian and Stoic philosophy, although he often attacked the latter.²

As a result of his profound religious piety, Plutarch raised doubts about the ability of the human mind to grasp the divine, an effort better accomplished through divine revelation. According to Plutarch humans are in an endless struggle to achieve likeness to God, the One, which Plutarch calls also the Good.³ Good struggles to overcome an evil principle, the Dyad. In other words, reason struggles with unreason. Plutarch supported the dualism between body and soul, where the latter is immortal. Another crucial dualism in Plutarch's thought is that between soul (*ψυχή*) and intellect (*νοῦς*). *Ψυχή*, which is subject to passions, is superior to the body, while *νοῦς* is better and closer to the transcendental than both of them. As a consequence, God cannot

¹ Georgoulis 2004, 475–485; Dillon 1977, 43–51; Hilary 1983, 141–156; Merlan 1967, 53–83; Zeller & Nestle 2004, 365–371.

² Dillon 1977, 186.

³ Plut. *De Sera*. 550d.

be the source of evil. The cause of evil is another principle, the World-Soul, which is divided into a rational and an irrational part.

Plutarch's ethics were strongly influenced by the peripatetic tradition, since he recommended a mean between excess and defect. Affections, if moderate, are very useful in human life, a view which stands in opposition to stoic ethics. Moreover, Plutarch's ethics are characterized by the defense of free will. He is a faithful opponent of fatalism, although he does not deny the existence of divine providence. But divine providence requires the interaction of divine agency and human will.⁴ Emotion is the subject-matter of moral virtue, while reason is its form.⁵ Despite the fact that Plutarch was dependent on Aristotelian ethics, he described virtue as "an activity and faculty concerned with the irrational... which reduces each passion to moderation and faultlessness".⁶ Plutarch's insistence on ethics is proved by his vast *Moralia*, which consist of almost eighty treatises, although many of them are of disputed authorship. In certain of them, particularly *Consolatio ad Apollonium* and *Apophthegmata Laconica*, he discusses exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese. Plutarch's references are indicative of his theory on death, which is mainly based on previous philosophical traditions.

In *Consolatio ad Apollonium* Plutarch addressed his friend Apollonius, whose son had died, in order to comfort him from his grief. Plutarch produced his own study of death. He referred to Pausanias, king of Sparta, who once mocked Simonides the poet. Simonides replied that Pausanias ought to remember that he was just a human being; he reminded him, in other words, of his mortality:

Σιμωνίδης δ' ὁ τῶν μελῶν ποιητής, Πανσανίου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων μεγαλαυχουμένου συνεχῶς ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐτοῦ
πράξεσι καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπαγγεῖλαι τι αὐτῷ σοφὸν μετὰ
χλευασμοῦ, συνεῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν συνεβούλενε
μεμνήσθαι ὅτι ἄνθρωπός ἐστι.⁷

After that, Plutarch, following Herodotus (1.31.4–29), narrated the story of Cleobis and Biton, the two adolescents from Argos, who carried the chariot with the statue of Juno from the temple of the goddess to the centre of the city and died by the time they reached it.⁸ Juno repaid their piety with death:

⁴ Babut 1969, 307–348; Copleston 2003, 452–455; Dillon 1977, 199–203; Johansen 1998, 520–522; Karamanolis 2006, 100–126; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 672d–673b; Plut. *De fac.* 943a; Plut. *Adv. Col.* 1118d.

⁵ Dillon 1977, 193.

⁶ Dillon 1977, 195.

⁷ [Plut.] *Cons. ad Apoll.* 105A.

⁸ Chiasson 2005, 44–45.

Exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese

Πρῶτα δὴ σοι τὰ περὶ Κλέοβιν καὶ Βίτωνα τοὺς Ἀργεῖους νεανίσκους διηγήσομαι. φασὶ γὰρ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν ἱερείας οὔσης τῆς Ἥρας ἐπειδὴ τῆς εἰς τὸν νεῶν ἀναβάσεως ἦκεν ὁ καιρὸς, τῶν ἐλκόντων τὴν ἀπήνην ὀρέων ὑστερησάντων καὶ τῆς ὥρας ἐπειγούσης, τοὺτους ὑποδύντας ὑπὸ τὴν ἀπήνην ἀγαγεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τὴν μητέρα, τὴν δ' ὑπερησθείσαν τῇ τῶν νύων εὐσεβείᾳ κατεύξασθαι τὸ κράτιστον αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ δοθῆναι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τοὺς δὲ κατακοιμηθέντας μηκέτ' ἀναστῆναι, τῆς θεοῦ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῖς τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀμοιβὴν δωρησαμένης.⁹

Finally, Plutarch quoted some laconic verses, according to which a fall inevitably succeeds a rise. Spartan soldiers faced death in a bold spirit:

γενναῖον δὲ καὶ τὸ Λακωνικόν νῦν ἀμέξ, πρόσθ' ἄλλοι ἐθάλεον, αὐτίκα δ' ἄλλοι, ὧν ἀμέξ γενεάν οὐκέτ' ἐποψόμεθα καὶ πάλιν· οἱ θάνον οὐ τὸ ζῆν θέμενοι καλὸν οὐδὲ τὸ θνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα καλῶς ἀμφότερ' ἐκτελέσαι.¹⁰

In the *Apophthegmata Laconica* stories about exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese are more common. According to Plutarch, Agesilaus the Great, son of Archidamus, refused to accept the suggested cure by his physician. He replied that in any case he was not destined to live for eternity, so it was not worth for him to receive such a complex cure:

Προστάττοντος δὲ τινος αὐτῷ ἱατροῦ περιεργότεραν θεραπείαν καὶ οὐχ ἀπλὴν, 'νή τῷ θεῷ' φησὶν, 'οὐ πάντως μοι πρόκειται ζῆν οὐδὲ πάντ' ἀναδεχόμενον'.¹¹

Agesilaus claimed authorship of one the most quotable aphorisms on death: when asked how he achieved all that glory, he replied: I despised death:

Ἐρωτώμενος δὲ πῶς μεγάλην δόξαν περιεποιήσατο, 'θανάτου καταφρονήσας' ἔφη.¹²

The same answer was given by Agis, the son of Archidamus, when he was asked how one could live as a free man:

⁹ [Plut.] *Cons. ad Apoll.* 108F.

¹⁰ [Plut.] *Cons. ad Apoll.* 110B–C.

¹¹ Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 208E.

¹² Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 210F.

Georgios Steiris

Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ πῶς ἂν τις ἐλεύθερος διαμένει, 'θανάτου
καταφρονῶν', ἔφη.¹³

Anaxandrides, father of the glorious king Leonidas, held the view that the Spartans fought bravely because they respected life, while they did not fear death. His son, Leonidas, held the same views. He replied to Xerxes that he considered death more valuable than any earthly good. Illustrious death was natural, while inglorious life was a matter of free will:

Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί οἱ ἄριστοι τὸν ἐνδοξον θάνατον τῆς ἀδόξου
προκρίνουσι ζωῆς, 'ὅτι' ἔφη 'τὸ μὲν τῆς φύσεως ἴδιον, τὸ δὲ
αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζουσιν'.¹⁴

Damindas, a fearless Spartan, called a fellow Spartan effeminate, because he had argued that Sparta should succumb to Macedonian power. Damindas believed that the defiance of death could not cause any harm to human beings. Instead, it would boost their morale:

Δαμίνδας, Φιλίππου ἐμβalόντος εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ
εἰπόντος τινός 'κινδυνεύουσι δεινὰ παθεῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ μὴ
τὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλλαγὰς ποιήσονται,' 'ἀνδρόγυνε' εἶπε, 'τί δ'
ἂν πάθοιμεν δεινὸν θανάτου καταφρονήσαντες;'¹⁵

According to Agis, the last king of Sparta, who was convicted by the ephors without trial, death was preferable to an unjust life; so he told his servant not to lament his death, because the unlawful and unjust procedure would make Agis's fame surpass that of his opponents:

Ἄγις ὁ τελευταῖος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἐνέδρας
συλληφθεὶς καὶ καταδικασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων χωρὶς δίκης,
ἀπαγόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν βρόχον ἰδὼν τινα τῶν ὑπηρετῶν κλαίοντα,
'παῦσαι' εἶπεν, 'ὦ ἄνθρωπε ἐπ' ἐμοὶ κλαίων' καὶ γὰρ οὕτω
παρανόμως καὶ ἀδίκως, ἀπολλύμενος κρείσσων εἰμὶ τῶν
ἀναιρούντων.' καὶ ταῦτ'εἰπὼν παρέδωκε τῷ βρόχῳ τὸν
τράχηλον ἐκουσίως.¹⁶

Plutarch also presents the humorous and temperate attitude of the Spartans towards death. During Greek antiquity, the priests of Orpheus paid

¹³ Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 216C.

¹⁴ Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 225D.

¹⁵ Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 219E.

¹⁶ Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 216C–D; Plut. *Ag. et Cleom.* 20.1.

Exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese

visits to towns and villages in order to promote the cult of Orpheus. What they promised was happiness and tranquility after death. When one of them, a certain Philip, visited Sparta, the Spartan king Leotychides sarcastically advised Philip to die. By so doing, he would be able to avoid the calamities of earthly life:

Πρὸς δὲ Φίλιππον τὸν ὀρφεοτελεστήν παντελῶς πτωχὸν ὄντα,
λέγοντα δ' ὅτι οἱ παρ' αὐτῷ μνηθέντες μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου
τελευτήν εὐδαιμονοῦσι, 'τί οὖν, ὦ ἀνόητε' εἶπεν, 'οὐ τὴν
ταχίστην ἀποθνήσκεις, ἴν' ἅμα παύσῃ κακοδαιμονίαν καὶ
πενίαν κλαίων;'¹⁷

Lochagos, the son of Polyainides, replied to someone who informed him of the death of his son, that he already knew that his son was born mortal:

Λόχαγος ὁ Πολυαινίδου καὶ Σείρωνος πατήρ, ἀπαγγείλαντός
τινος αὐτῷ ὅτι τῶν νύων τεθνήκοι ὁ ἕτερος, 'πάλαι ἤδειν' ἔφη
'ὅτι ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ἔδει.'¹⁸

Plutarch also refers to Lycurgus, the legendary lawgiver of Sparta. Lycurgus permitted burials inside the city and introduced a simple funeral ceremony, common for all citizens. Lycurgus prohibited any expressions of lamentation and bereavement. Furthermore, he forbade inscriptions on burial monuments, with the exception of those who died on the battlefield:

Τῶν δὲ ταφῶν ἀνείλε τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ὁ Λυκούργος,
ἐν τῇ πόλει θάπτειν τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ πλησίον ἔχειν τὰ
μνημεῖα τῶν ἱερῶν συγχωρήσας. περιεῖλε δὲ καὶ τοὺς
μιασμούς, συνθάπτειν δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' ἐν φοινικίδι
καὶ φύλλοις ἐλαίας θέντας τὸ σῶμα περιστέλλειν κατ' ἴσον
ἅπαντας. ἀνείλε καὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν μνημείων,
πλὴν τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων, καὶ τὰ πένθη καὶ τοὺς
ὀδυρμούς.¹⁹

Taking advantage of this law, Damatria, who killed her son because he fled the field of battle out of fear, wrote on his tomb the following epigram:

¹⁷ Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 224E.

¹⁸ Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 225E.

¹⁹ Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 238D.

“τὸν παραβάντα νόμους Δαμάτριον ἔκτανε μάτηρ, ἃ
Λακεδαιμονία τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον”.²⁰

In addition, Plutarch presents the views of certain anonymous Spartans about heroic death. Indicative of Spartan values was the story of a young boy who tried to avoid been caught for theft. He kept a young fox under his tunic, to the point when the animal ate the boy's bowels. The dying boy told his friends, who reproached him, that death was preferable to a shameful life:

Ἔτερον παιδάριον, ἐπεὶ παρῆν ὁ καιρός, ἐν ᾧ κλέπτειν νενόμιστο τοὺς ἐλευθέρους παῖδας ὃ τι τις δύναίτο καὶ μὴ λαθεῖν αἰσχροὺς ἦν, ὥς οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παῖδες ζῶν ἔκλεψαν ἄλωπέκιον καὶ ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ φυλάττειν, παραγενομένων τῶν ἀπολωλεκότων ἐπὶ ζήτησιν, ἔτυχε μὲν ὑποβαλὼν τὸ ἄλωπέκιον ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἱμάτιον, ἀγριαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ θηρίου καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ πλευρὰν κατεσθίοντος μέχρι τῶν σπλάγχχνων ἡρέμει, ἵνα μὴ γένηται καταφανής. ὥς δ' ὕστερον ἐκείνων ἀπελθόντων ἐθεάσαντο τὸ γεγονός οἱ παῖδες καὶ ἐμέμφοντο, λέγοντες ἄμεινον εἶναι φανερόν ποιῆσαι τὸ ἄλωπέκιον ἢ μέχρι θανάτου κρύπτειν, ‘οὐ μὲν οὖν’ εἶπεν, ‘ἀλλὰ κρεῖττον ταῖς ἀλγηδόσι μὴ ἐνδόντα τελευτᾶν ἢ περίφωρον γενόμενον διὰ μαλακίαν τὸ ζῆν λευτᾶν ἢ περίφωρον γενόμενον διὰ μαλακίαν τὸ ζῆν αἰσχροῶς περιποιήσασθαι’.²¹

Moreover, Eteocles the ephor refused to comply with Antipater's demand for 50 youths as a ransom. Although Antipater warned him about the consequences of the refusal, Eteocles answered that threats were worse than death. For death was not difficult for the youths of Sparta:

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀγίδος ἦτταν, ὁμήρους αἰτοῦντος Ἀντιπάτρου πεντήκοντα παῖδας, Ἐτεοκλῆς ἐφορεύων εἶπε παῖδας μὲν οὐ δώσειν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπαίδευτοι γένωνται, τῆς πατρίου ἀγωγῆς ἀτενκτήσαντες· οὐδὲ πολῖται γὰρ ἂν εἶησαν· πρεσβύτας δ' ἢ γυναῖκας, εἰ βούλοιτο, διπλασίους δώσειν. ἀπειλοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ δεινά, εἰ μὴ λάβοι, ἀπεκρίναντο κοινῇ ‘ἐὰν χαλεπώτερα θανάτου ἐπιτάττης, εὐκολώτερον ἀποθανούμεθα’.²²

²⁰ Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 240F.

²¹ Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 234B; Plut. *Lyc.* 18.1.

²² Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 235B.

Exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese

Plutarch also mentioned several incidents where mothers blamed, cursed or even killed their sons, when they returned dishonoured from the battlefield. The women of Sparta believed that their duty was to give birth to sons who in turn were obliged to die for the sake of the fatherland. Should this happen, Spartan mothers were happy to denounce their cowardly son:

Ἑτέρα Λάκαινα τὸν υἱὸν λιποτακτήσαντα ὡς ἀνάξιον τῆς πατρίδος ἀνείλεν, εἰποῦσα 'οὐκ ἐμὸν τὸ φίτυμα.' ἐφ' ἧς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε· ἔρρε κακὸν φίτυμα διὰ σκότος, οὐδ' ἀπὸ μῖσος Εὐρώτας δειλαῖς μηδ' ἐλάφοισι ῥέοι. ἀχρεῖον σκυλάκευμα, κακὰ μερίς, ἔρρε ποθ' Αἰδαν, ἔρρε· τὸ μὴ Σπάρτας ἄξιον οὐδ' ἔτεκον.' Ἄλλη τὸν υἱὸν ἐν παρατάξει μαθοῦσα πεσόντα ἔφη· 'δειλοὶ κλαιέσθωσαν· ἐγὼ δέ σε, τέκνον, ἄδακρυς θάπτω τὸν καὶ ἐμὸν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιον.' Ἀκούσασά τις τὸν υἱὸν σεσφωμένον καὶ πεφευγότα ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, γράφει αὐτῷ 'κακὰ φάμα τευ κακκέχυ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων· ἢ ταύταν νῦν ἔκνιψαι ἢ μὴ ἔσο.' Ἄλλη, τῶν υἱῶν φυγόντων ἐκ μάχης καὶ παραγενομένων ὡς αὐτήν, 'ποῖ' φησὶν' ἤκετε δραπετεύσαντες, κακὰ ἀνδράποδα; ἢ δεῦρο ὄθεν ἐξέδυτε καταδυσόμενοι;' ἀνασυραμένη καὶ ἐπιδείξασα αὐτοῖς τὴν κοιλίαν. Προσάγοντά τις τὸν υἱὸν θεασαμένη ἐπύθετο τί πράσσει ἡ πατρίς· εἰπόντος δέ 'πάντες ἀπολώλασι', κεραμίδα ἄρασα ἐπαφῆκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνείλεν, εἰποῦσα 'σὲ οὖν κακάγγελον ἔπεμψαν ἡμῖν;' Διηγουμένου τινὸς τῇ μητρὶ γενναῖον θάνατον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, 'εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχρόν' εἶπε 'τῆς τοιαύτης συνοδίας ἀτυχεῖσαι;' Ἐκπέμψασά τις τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῆς πέντε ὄντας ἐπὶ πόλεμον, ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις εἰστήκει караδοκοῦσα τί ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀποβήσοιτο· ὡς δὲ παραγενομένος τις πυθομένη αὐτῇ ἀπήγγειλε τοὺς παῖδας ἅπαντας τετελευτηκέναι, 'ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἐπυθόμην' εἶπε, 'κακὸν ἀνδράποδον, ἀλλὰ τί πράσσει ἡ πατρίς.' φήσαντος δὲ ὅτι νικᾷ, 'ἀσμένη τοίνυν' εἶπε 'δέχομαι καὶ τὸν τῶν παίδων θάνατον.' Θάπτουσά τις τὸν υἱὸν, ὡς γραῖδιον εὐτελὲς προσελθὼν αὐτῇ 'ὦ γύναι, τὰς τύχας' εἶπε, 'νὴ τῷ σιώ, ἀλλὰ τὰς καλὰς γ'·' ἔφη· 'οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐνεκεν ἔτεκον, ἵν' ὑπὲρ τᾶς Σπάρτας ἀποθάνῃ, τοῦτό μοι συνέβη'.²³

A glorious death was considered of more value than a victory in the Olympic Games, the ultimate honour for most Greeks in antiquity:

²³ Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 241A–C.

Ἄλλη πομπήν τελοῦσα πάνδημον ἤκουσεν ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως νικᾶν τὸν νίον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν τραυμάτων πολλῶν γενομένων θνήσκειν. οὐ περιελομένη οὖν τὸν στέφανον, ἀλλὰ σεμνυνθεῖσα πρὸς τὰς πλησίον εἶπεν ὥς πολλῶ κάλλιον, ὧ φίλοι, ἐστὶν ἐν παρατάξει νικῶντα τελευτᾶν ἢ τὰ Ὀλύμπια περιγενόμενον ζῆν'.²⁴

It is obvious that Plutarch, who is considered to be an opponent of stoic philosophy, stays close to the common stoic view of death, according to which death is not bad.²⁵ But at the same time Plutarch distances himself from stoic philosophy. Death is the unavoidable end of human life:

ἐρρωμένας παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ πεπηγνίας· ἐπεὶ οὐ μετὰ τῶν τοιούτων προλήψεων 'εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος (M 243)' καὶ 'πέρας μὲν ἐστὶν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὁ θάνατος' (Demosth. XVIII 97). ἀλλὰ θραύουσιν οἱ καιροὶ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ τοὺς λογισμούς, καὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἐκκρούουσιν αἱ φαντασίαι τῶν κινδύνων ἐγγὺς γενομένων. 'φόβος γάρ' οὐ μόνον 'μνήμην ἐκπλήττει' κατὰ τὸν Θουκυδίδην (II 87) ἀλλὰ καὶ προαίρεσιν πᾶσαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν καὶ ὁρμήν, <εἰ μὴ> μῆρινθους φιλοσοφία περιτέθεικεν'.²⁶

Generally, Plutarch does not preach apathy and indifference. The elimination of the passions can severally damage one's moral life, because moral virtue has the emotions as its matter. Plutarch favours μετριοπάθεια over ἀπάθεια.²⁷ Plutarch refers to Crantor, the Platonic philosopher of the 4th century, who also advocated μετριοπάθεια.²⁸ Honour was for Spartans the cardinal virtue and Plutarch seems to comply with this view. There are no indications to the contrary. It is also worth noting that the Spartans, according to Plutarch, were determined to fight until death, while there was no indication that they believed in any sort of Orphic or Platonic reincarnation of the soul. Plutarch, for his part, believed in reincarnation and the immortality of the soul. The soul enters the body at birth and gains its redemption from its bodily prison after death.²⁹ Upon leaving the body, the soul has the ability to reach out for the absolute Good.³⁰ Plutarch does believe that the soul finally attains ultimate happiness in the afterlife enjoying the company of loved ones

²⁴ Plut. *Apophth. Lac.* 242A–B.

²⁵ Long 1986, 152–178; Reale 1985, 258–260; Zeller & Nestle 2004, 281.

²⁶ Plut. *De Alex. fort.* 333c.

²⁷ Dillon 1977, 196; Wright 2008, 140–141.

²⁸ Baltussen 2009, 75.

²⁹ Plut. *Fragm.* 177.

³⁰ Plut. *De fac.* 942C–945C; Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 382E–F.

Exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese

and the knowledge of absolute truth.³¹ Plutarch abandoned the concept of divine punishment for a process of therapy of the soul, which would take place in the afterlife.³²

Significantly, Plutarch's Spartans died with no expectation of any spiritual or material reward. While Plutarch believed in the reincarnation of the soul, he did not project his beliefs on the Spartans. On the contrary, he praised their fearless attitude towards death without expecting any kind of return to life. The Spartans worshipped Death, which they personified as Sleep's brother.³³ It is plain that Plutarch, under the strong influence of Spartan ideals and impressed by the exemplary deaths of Spartans, presented a theory of death that deviated from his own ethics as presented in his other works.

From all the previous references, it becomes clear that Plutarch, commenting on exemplary deaths of Spartans, supported the predominance of logos over the irrational part of the soul. Logos contributes to the mitigation of passions, but not to their total effacement. According to Plutarch, a choice is rational only if it is made by reference to a goal which has intrinsic value and also contributes to *eudaimonia*. Plutarch did not accept the stoic apathy and indifference towards natural things, as far as the aim of life is concerned.³⁴ Virtue develops through reason and instruction. Bodily and external goods are crucial for happiness.³⁵ The Spartans were ideal models for Plutarch's theory, because they were able to overcome their passions and choose the virtue of honourable death.³⁶

Despite Plutarch's criticism, stoic philosophy contributed to the evaluation of the Spartan ideal. The Spartan attitude towards death was an outcome of deliberation and deep moral consciousness, a moral action, *κατόρθωμα*. The Stoics, as Kant would do later, gave predominance to *κατορθώματα*, while they underestimated duties, *καθήκοντα*, actions which, although not in discord with morality, were not, at the same time, the outcome of moral consciousness.³⁷

GEORGIUS TRAPEZUNTIUS ON DEATH

Georgius Trapezuntius Cretensis was an eminent humanist scholar who emigrated to Italy from Crete during the early 15th century. Trapezuntius was

³¹ Plut. *Non posse suav. viv. sec. Epic.* 1107B.

³² Plut. *De sera.* 560A–B.

³³ Plut. *Ag. et Cleom.* 30.

³⁴ Striker 1996, 304.

³⁵ Dillon 1977, 197.

³⁶ Cawkwell 1983, 396–397; Vernant 1991, 50–75.

³⁷ Brennan 2005, 169–230; Georgoulis 2004, 394–395; Schneewind 1996, 285–299.

responsible for the revival of the classical political myth of Sparta in the Renaissance. Trapezuntius completed the translation of Plato's *Laws* in 1451. He came to the conclusion that the ideal Venetian constitution (which was of a mixed type) was inspired by Platonic philosophy. Plato in turn was inspired by the Spartan constitution.³⁸ Earlier, Trapezuntius had evolved his own theory on death, which was also partially inspired by the Spartan attitude towards death seen through the eyes of Plutarch. Trapezuntius presented his theory on death mainly in a letter of consolation addressed to his compatriot Georgius Vatacius Cretensis on the death of his wife.³⁹

At the beginning of this rather lengthy letter, which was written in 1420, Trapezuntius criticizes the excesses of mourning. He advises his fellow Christians, like another Lycurgus, to adopt a more courageous and masculine attitude towards death, which, among other benefits, would contribute to the healing of the soul:

*Verum nescio quibus exemplis quorumve auctoritate, cum ad Christianos hec scribam, utendum sit. Antiquorumne philosophorum prudentia gravitateque an nonstrorum sanctitate ac fortitudine? Nam et vetustissimi et optimi et soli philosophi rationibus docuerunt mortem natura generi hominum datam contemni oportere, et dominus nobis exemplum dedit cum obitu Lazari, quem diligebat, moderatas lacrimas effusisset. Quem non sequi parve fidei, philosophos non imitari temeritatis et arrogantie, rationibus non moveri stultitie indicium duxerim.*⁴⁰

Trapezuntius drew most of his arguments from Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Apollonium* – something he refrained from mentioning. Plutarch's work was translated⁴¹ into Latin a few years later by Alamanno Rinuccini, under the patronage of Cosimo de Medici.⁴² Although Trapezuntius did not think of ancient philosophy as being of equal importance as the Holy Scriptures, he drew heavily on ancient philosophers who had suggested that physical death should be faced courageously. Trapezuntius probably referred to Plato, Diogenes the Cynic and Epicurus. The views of ancient philosophers on death were partly commented on by Plutarch in his *Consolatio ad Apollonium*.⁴³

According to Trapezuntius, Epicurus continued the work of Plato, a rather odd view which is indicative of his superficial grounding in

³⁸ Gilbert 1968, 463–500; Monfasani 1976, 102–103; Pl. *Leg.* III692–693; Skinner 2002, 127–128.

³⁹ Monfasani 1984, 212–223.

⁴⁰ Monfasani 1984, 215.

⁴¹ Hankins 1990, 144–162.

⁴² [Plut.] *Cons. ad Apoll.* 113–115 A.

⁴³ [Plut.] *Cons. ad Apoll.* 107D; Warren 2004, 73–74.

Exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese

philosophy.⁴⁴ In the next passage of the letter Trapezuntius becomes more precise. He praises the dead for being free from the material necessities of the world of the senses, like a man who, according to Plato, has been released from prison.⁴⁵

*At vero immensum hunc dolorem et effusis fluentes habenis lacrimas aut sui ipsorum causa suscipiunt homines aut eorum qui iam ab istius mundi liberati sunt sollicitudinibus et curis tamquam a carcere, ut ait Plato, qui quemadmodum imperfectorum quedam animalium eorumque maxime que in mari reperiuntur cochlis et lapidibus induta moveri non possunt atque ideo imperfecta et ferme insesibilia esse videntur, sic nostrum animum gravitate corporis impeditum perfectione sua omnino carere censet, quippe qui non solum ne ad divinas illas et incorruptibiles celestes substantias moveatur easque clare speculetur, sed ne ista quidem que pre oculis sunt bene videat eorumque naturam cognoscat, ponderoso corporis obice continetur.*⁴⁶

Immortality was a common topos in Renaissance consolatory literature and Trapezuntius was one of its pioneers. Trapezuntius, among others, used classical scholarship, especially Plutarch and his view of the Spartans, as an alternative to the traditional view of death during the Middle Ages.⁴⁷ Trapezuntius maintained that death is at once the natural end and the beginning of a superior and happier life. Humans ignore God and consider death as something pernicious because of their stupidity. Once again Trapezuntius sought arguments in the *Consolatio ad Apollonium*.⁴⁸ Trapezuntius narrated the story of Cleobis and Biton, the two youths from Argos, who carried the chariot with the statue of Juno from the temple of the goddess to the centre of the city and died by the time they reached it. Counter to the naïve belief that Cleobis and Biton were victims of bad fortune, Trapezuntius suggests that God gave them eternal tranquility through death:

Cleobi et Bitoni fratribus mater Argiva sacerdos felicitatem summam deos prestare precabatur quoniam magne illi virtutis iuvenes. Cum subiugales presto non essent boves tempusque citius antistitem dee sacris adesse cogeret, suis iugo subiectis humeris usque ad templum, quod non parvo intervallo ab urbe distabat, matrem pie sancteque devexerunt. Quo labore fessi, somnum quietemque poposcerunt. Tum deus stultitiam hominum, qui pessimum quid nostro generi mortem

⁴⁴ Monfasani 1976, 158.

⁴⁵ Pl. *Phd.* 82c.

⁴⁶ Monfasani 1984, 215.

⁴⁷ Hankins 1990, 82–83.

⁴⁸ [Plut.] *Cons. ad Apoll.* 108F.

Georgios Steiris

*esse putant, corripuit reprehenditque. Adolescentulos enim et ipsorum merito et matris orationibus ab his curis diuturna quiete liberavit....*⁴⁹

Furthermore, Trapezuntius refers to a Spartan who believed that death was the only evil which could cause pain to anyone:

*Nam quam fortissimi animi, quam prudentis et pene divini illud tibi Laconicum esse videtur: 'Nunc quidem nos. Sed quondam florebant alii futurique sunt alii, quorum videndi generis potestatem nobis natura negavit. Verum priores decesserunt. Cum nec mortem nec vitam, sed si quis in utrisque se ipsum bene disponderet, boni aliquid habere censuissent'. Tam paucis verbis et quid virtus sit et naturam rerum ita explanaverunt ut et sentiebat et faciebant.*⁵⁰

Here again Trapezuntius borrowed from Plutarch.⁵¹ He recapitulated his ideas in a rather epigrammatic way: we were born to die and we die to be born: "*Nascimur enim ut moriamur, sed moriamur ut vivamus*".⁵²

Trapezuntius also examined Plato's claim that the immortal and divine soul is created before the body. He finds these arguments in the *Consolatio ad Apollonium*.⁵³ Trapezuntius recounted the story of a silen, who, upon being asked what the goal of human life should be, replied: death. In this view, it is not necessary for Christians⁵⁴ to continue living after Holy Baptism; it would be better to die in infancy:

*Nam quoniam animum immortalem divinumque credimus, si quidem antequam corpus creatum est, ut multi et gravissimi philosophorum putaverunt, primum Sileni dictum observemus. Is enim a Myda in venatione captus interrogatusque quid hominibus optimum ac felicissimum, cum diu perstitisset negaretque velle dicere quod nescire melius esset, tandem coactus inquit nil optabilius prestabiliusque hominibus quam numquam nasci. Quod si simul cum corpore ineffabili dei virtute (quod verius) creatur animus, quod Silenus secundo dixit, primo nos et dicamus et exoptemus: pueros, videlicet, illico post sanctum baptisma, decedere.*⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Monfasani 1984, 216.

⁵⁰ Monfasani 1984, 217.

⁵¹ [Plut.] *Cons. ad Apoll.* 110B.

⁵² Monfasani 1984, 218.

⁵³ [Plut.] *Cons. ad Apoll.* 115D–F.

⁵⁴ Col. 2:12; Rom 6. 3,4.

⁵⁵ Monfasani 1984, 218.

Exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese

For all his frequent references to Platonic philosophy, Plutarch borrowed the story of the Silenus from a lost work of Aristotle (*Eudemus*).⁵⁶ Trapezuntius asks again, quite rhetorically, if there was anything better than life next to the immortal divine substances, the enjoyment of *beatitudo* under the eternal light:

*Quid enim melius quam mortalia ista calamitosaque relinquere ac cum immortalibus divinisque substantiis (vivere)?*⁵⁷

Next, following Plutarch, Trapezuntius launched a heavy attack against the hedonists, who disdained the core of human nature, *ratio*, and dedicated themselves to luxury. As a counter-example he proposed Socrates. Based on the *Consolatio ad Apollonium* he presented Socrates as saying to his jurors that fear is a trait of the unwise, who falsely think that they possess knowledge.⁵⁸ Nobody has thorough knowledge of death, which in fact is the ultimate good:

*Non igitur istos quos et homines appellari rubori est, sed illos paucos ut et admiremur et imitemur et oro et hortor, et Socratem imprimis illum, qui cum diceret eos qui exitum metuunt vite, fortasse sapientes posse videri, esse vero minime, simul et dicens et faciens que magno et excelso viro ac solo prudenti digna sunt.*⁵⁹

As proof of Socrates' reputation, Trapezuntius presented an episode from the life of Xenophon, the student of Socrates. Xenophon was an admirer of the Spartan ideal. In his *Respublica Lacedaemoniorum* Xenophon praises Lycurgus as the creator of the admirable Spartan attitude towards death.⁶⁰ While in the Peloponnese, Xenophon was informed that his son had been killed on the battlefield. When he asked the messenger about the circumstances and was told that his son had died bravely, Xenophon stayed calm because his resolution had been fulfilled, namely that his son would be brave and love his country. In any case his son was not immortal and, had he been so, it was doubtful if that would have been to his advantage. Trapezuntius calls Xenophon a genuine follower of the Socratic philosophy, which at the time seemed extremely attractive to Trapezuntius.⁶¹

Eius vero auditor Xenopho(n), cum Grylum filium acerrime purgentem pro patria adversis vulneribus magna hostium strage in acie cecidisse inter sacrificandum audisset, haud commotus tam tristi

⁵⁶ Bos 2003, 247–257; Chroust 1966, 17–30.

⁵⁷ Monfasani 1984, 218.

⁵⁸ [Plut.] *Cons. ad Apoll.* 108 D–E.

⁵⁹ Monfasani 1984, 219.

⁶⁰ Xen. *Lac.* 9.1.

⁶¹ [Plut.] *Cons. ad Apoll.* 118F–119A.

nuntio, "non orabam," inquit, "deum ut immortalem mihi preberet filium (nam id impossibile humano generi est), sed ut fortem, iustum, ac pium et amantem patrie. Quod quoniam factum est sentio, quantas gratias superis agree debeo". O fortem philosophi vocem, vere Socratici! O exemplum optimum et hominibus, si attendere volumus, utilissimum. Bene naturam terrestrium rerum considerasti, Xenophon.⁶²

In the closing passage of the letter, Trapezuntius' argument becomes obscure. He suggests that if humans believe in the immortality of the soul, if they think that a celestial nature inhabits them, they better die young. He recounts the verse of Menander "the beloved of gods die young": *ὄν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος*.⁶³

*Si animum immortalem credimus, si celestem in his corporibus naturam habitare confidimus, profecto nullius morte magno dolore oportet affici, sed maxime iuvenum equiore ferre debemus animo, Menandri quidem dictum pro his qui decesserunt versantes potius: "quem dii amant, moritur iuvenis," pro nobis vero, qui soli sive, ut dicitur, orbi relictī sumus, Solomonis sapientissimi divinam sententiam: "castigat hominem quem diligit dominus; verberat autem filium quem acceptat". Hoc solum si firme tenacique tradamus memorie et homines nos esse meminerimus, non timeo quin et quod vite genus optimum eligemus, id constanter tenebimus, severe tuebimur, et perturbatione omni proiecta cum tranquillitate equabilitateque animi vitam peregerimus, ad beatorum illas perpetuas eternasque sedes leti proficiscemur.*⁶⁴

Trapezuntius insisted that humans should not be afraid of death, because their nature is to be mortal. In addition, humans ought to choose the best life, the life of tranquility and equality, in other words death. Monfasani suggested that Trapezuntius flirted with the idea that suicide is of noble nature. I would agree with him because Trapezuntius used the verb *eligemus*. It is worth noting that Plutarch, the main source of inspiration for Trapezuntius, sanctioned suicide, following the Stoics.⁶⁵ However, Menander's verse in this case seems to be a rhetorical form of consolation rather than an exhortation to suicide. We must also note that Trapezuntius is in agreement with the classical tradition, which rejects sorrow and praises

⁶² Monfasani 1984, 219.

⁶³ [Plut.] *Cons. ad Apoll.* 119 E.

⁶⁴ Monfasani 1984, 221.

⁶⁵ Copleston 2003, 454; Van Hoof 2004, 46–47, 51; Zadorojnyi 2007, 218, 226.

Exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese

apatheia. But at the same time other Renaissance humanists, including Salutati and Manetti, countered this view and commended mourning for its therapeutic benefits.⁶⁶

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, Plutarch's eclectic theory of death found one of its expressions in the Spartan attitude towards death. Georgius Trapezuntius, in turn, though himself a Christian, based his own theory of death on Plutarch's works, which seemed to be familiar to him by the time he moved to Italy. At that time Trapezuntius' further philosophical education might have seemed superfluous. He probably knew the work of Plato mainly through his commentators, such as Plutarch. But as early as 1420 Plutarch inspired in Trapezuntius, among other ideals, his admiration of the civilization of Sparta, which concluded after three decades with the praise of the Spartan constitution. Therefore, through Plutarch and the ancient Greek ideals, Trapezuntius contributed to the formation of a different attitude towards death.

⁶⁶ King 1994, 193–195.

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Georgios Steiris

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This causes problems as the perioikic contingents had not yet been incorporated into the Lakedaimonian army as a whole, and were absent from the battle. In this paper I shall propose that the inscription should be down-dated to 385, when the Lakedaimonian army, now incorporating the perioikoi, forcibly intervened to prevent the synoikism of Mantinea. Epigraphic parallels for the letter-forms will be offered.

IG. V.1 1124. Ο νεκρός των Γερωνθρών στη Μαντίνεια

Η επιγραφή IG. V.1 1124 από τις Γερωνθρές μας πληροφορεί πως κάποιος Ευάλκης έπεσε κατά τον πόλεμο στη Μαντίνεια. Από την πρώτη δημοσίευση η επιγραφή συσχετίστηκε με την πρώτη μάχη της Μαντίνειας το 418. Ο συσχετισμός αυτός είναι προβληματικός καθώς τα στρατιωτικά τμήματα των περιοίκων δεν είχαν ακόμη εξ ολοκλήρου ενσωματωθεί στο στρατό των Λακεδαιμονίων, και απουσίαζαν από τη μάχη. Σε αυτή την ανακοίνωση εισηγούμαι πως η επιγραφή πρέπει να χρονολογηθεί στο 385 όταν ο στρατός των Λακεδαιμονίων, την εποχή που ενέταξε τους περιοίκους, παρενέβη δυναμικά με σκοπό να εμποδίσει τον συνοικισμό της Μαντίνειας. Θα παρατεθούν επιγραφικά παράλληλα για τη μορφή των γραμμάτων.

38 C. Nadia Seremetakis. Antiphony, ritual and the construction of truth

Based on my published ethnography on the Inner Mani, I will discuss the local way of “honouring the dead” and I will explore the implications of the model of antiphony in today’s society as well as in cultural studies.

Αντιφώνηση, τελετουργία και η κατασκευή της αλήθειας

Βασίζομενη στην εθνογραφία μου για τη Μέσα Μάνη, θα συζητήσω τον τοπικό τρόπο απόδοσης «τιμών για τους νεκρούς» και θα ερευνήσω τις επιπτώσεις του μοντέλου της αντιφώνησης στη σημερινή κοινωνία καθώς και στις πολιτισμικές σπουδές.

39 Naya Sgouritsa. Remarks on the use of plaster in tholos tombs at Mycenae: hypotheses on the origin of the painted decoration of tombs in mainland Greece

The existing evidence indicates that plaster was originally used in the joints of the masonry of the dromos, façade and doorway of a few tholoi at Mycenae, especially in the constructions made of poros blocks, for the purpose of waterproofing. Besides the structural requirements, plaster was also used for decorative reasons. Tomb decoration, which is of several types, appears rarely. The plastered (simple or coloured) and frescoed LH tholoi and chamber tombs were located mainly in the Argolid and Boeotia. The decoration involved mostly the façade, sometimes the doorway and, in only a few cases, the chamber. This practise, though limited, could well have evolved as a special Helladic idea, arising from the need for ostentation and claim for status, as there are no Minoan prototypes. Undoubtedly, they belonged to the ruling class and the elite of the above regions.

Παρατηρήσεις για τη χρήση ασβεστοκονιάματος σε θολωτούς τάφους των Μυκηνών: υποθέσεις για την απαρχή της ταφικής διακόσμησης στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα

Από τις υπάρχουσες ενδείξεις προκύπτει ότι το ασβεστοκονίαμα χρησιμοποιείτο αρχικά σε τάφους για την αδιαβροχοποίηση κατασκευών κυρίως από πωρόλιθους, όπως διαπιστώνεται στους θολωτούς τάφους της μεσαίας ομάδας κατά Wace στις Μυκήνες. Εν τούτοις, φαίνεται ότι παράλληλα εξυπηρετούσε και την αισθητική εικόνα τους. Η ταφική διακόσμηση οπωσδήποτε περιορισμένη, εντοπίζεται κυρίως στην Αργολίδα, ενώ τέτοια παραδείγματα ανευρίσκονται επίσης στη Βοιωτία. Η ιδέα της διακόσμησης αυτής, που εμφανίζει τρεις τύπους, φαίνεται ότι είναι ελλαδικής προέλευσης, καθώς δεν υπάρχουν, προς το παρόν, μινωικά πρότυπα, και αναμφίβολα προερχόταν από την

ανάγκη επίδειξης κάποιων που θα ανήκαν στην άρχουσα τάξη των περιοχών όπου βρέθηκαν.

40 Georgios Steiris. Exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese: Plutarch's study of death and its revision by Georgius Trapezuntius Cretensis

This paper seeks first to explore the way Plutarch of Chaeronea (46-119 AD), the eminent historian and philosopher of Middle Platonism, discussed exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese in his *Moralia*. Plutarch's references are indicative of his theory on death, which is based on Greek philosophy. Secondly, this paper aims to present the attempt by Georgius Trapezuntius Cretensis, the Greek scholar of the 15th century, to reinterpret Plutarch's views about exemplary deaths in the Peloponnese.

Υποδειγματικός θάνατος στην Πελοπόννησο

Αυτή η παρουσίαση στοχεύει, κατ' αρχήν, στην διερεύνηση του τρόπου με τον οποίο ο Πλούταρχος, ο διακεκριμένος αυτός ιστορικός και φιλόσοφος της Μέσης Πλατωνικής, πραγματεύτηκε στα *Ηθικά* τους υποδειγματικούς θανάτους στην Πελοπόννησο. Οι αναφορές του Πλούταρχου είναι ενδεικτικές της θεωρίας του για το θάνατο, η οποία βασίζεται στην πλατωνική και στωική φιλοσοφία. Δεύτερον, αυτή η ανακοίνωση έχει ως στόχο να παρουσιάσει την προσπάθεια του Γεώργιου Τραπεζούντιου, ενός Έλληνα λογίου του 15ου αιώνα που έζησε τα περισσότερα χρόνια της ζωής του στην Ιταλία, να επανερμηνεύσει τις απόψεις του Πλουτάρχου σχετικά με τους υποδειγματικούς θανάτους στην Πελοπόννησο.

41 Anthi Theodorou-Mavrommatidi. A composite pendant in an EH I burial at the Apollon Maleatas site in Epidauros: an attempt at a biography

Accompanying the EH I burial of a young woman from the precinct of the sanctuary of Apollon Maleatas at Epidauros a necklace with a pendant was found. It is composed of an ovoid plaque of schist, fish teeth attached to its surface and two shell-fragments which framed the plaque on either side. This find raises a series of new research questions, from the most straightforward and practical, such as the use and source of the fish bones, and the technique of its construction, to the more complex, such as its significance as jewellery for the dead and its aesthetic value in the context of Early Helladic culture.

Σύνθετο περίαπτο από Πρωτοελλαδική Ι ταφή στο χώρο του Ιερού του Απόλλωνα Μαλεάτα στην Επίδαυρο: μία απόπειρα βιογραφίας

Σε ΠΕ Ι ταφή νεαρής γυναίκας από το χώρο του Ιερού του Απόλλωνα Μαλεάτα στην Επίδαυρο ήρθε στο φως περίαπτο κόσμημα. Πρόκειται για σύνθεση αποτελούμενη από ωσειδές πλακίδιο από σχιστόλιθο, δόντια ιχθύων προσαρμοσμένα στην επιφάνειά του και δυο θραύσματα οστρέων που πλαισίωναν συμμετρικά το πλακίδιο. Το εύρημα εγείρει πληθώρα νέων ζητημάτων προς έρευνα, από τα πιο απλά και πρακτικά, όπως τη χρήση και την προέλευση των οδόντων ιχθύων, και την τεχνική κατασκευής του, ως τα πιο περίπλοκα όπως τη σημασία του ως ταφικό κόσμημα και την αισθητική του αξία στο πλαίσιο του Πρωτοελλαδικού πολιτισμού.

42 Erika Weiberg. The invisible dead. The case of the Argolid and Corinthia during the Early Bronze Age

The possibility of archaeologists finding the dead of any society is ultimately dependent on the way in which groups of people in different cultures and times chose to handle the dead of their communities. For the Argolid and Corinthia during the Early Bronze Age, the mortuary record is very limited. How are we to interpret our failure to locate these Early Helladic dead? This paper sets out to analyse this problem through a consideration of the existing material and comparative Early Helladic data in the search of the missing majority and the meaning of the present few.

Οι αόρατοι νεκροί. Η περίπτωση της Αργολίδας και της Κορινθίας κατά την Πρώιμη Εποχή του Χαλκού

Οι πιθανότητες των αρχαιολόγων να ανακαλύψουν τους νεκρούς οποιασδήποτε κοινωνίας εξαρτώνται εν τέλει από τον τρόπο με τον οποίο επέλεξαν να χειριστούν τους νεκρούς τους οι διάφορες ομάδες ανθρώπων διαφορετικών πολιτισμών και εποχών. Τα στοιχεία που αφορούν στα νεκροταφεία της Αργολίδας και της Κορινθίας της Πρώιμης Εποχής του Χαλκού είναι ισχνά. Πώς μπορούμε να ερμηνεύσουμε την αποτυχία μας να εντοπίσουμε τους νεκρούς της Πρώιμης Ελλαδικής Εποχής; Προτείνω να αναλύσουμε το πρόβλημα, το διαθέσιμο υλικό και τα συγκριτικά ΠΕ στοιχεία στην αναζήτηση της χαμένης πλειοψηφίας των νεκρών και της σημασίας των λιγοστών νεκρών που έχουν βρεθεί.

43 Theodora Zampaki. The burial customs for Alexander the Great in Arabic historiography and the Alexander Romance

This paper aims at presenting a description and discussion of the burial customs as well as the ceremony of the funeral of Alexander the Great as presented in the 'Universal histories' of Arab historians and the surviving various versions of the Alexander Romance. The Arabic narratives as well as those of the Alexander Romance demonstrate that the preparation, laying out, mourning and lamenting, as well as the procession to the grave, are the main parts of the funeral rites of Alexander's burial. On the whole, the narratives of the Arab historians reflect the infiltration of Greek ideas, beliefs and symbols into the world of the East. But it is characteristic that the Arab historians emphasize the ethical and moral elements of the various stories of Alexander's death and burial.

Οι τελετές ταφής του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου στην αραβική ιστοριογραφία και το Αλεξανδρινό Μυθιστόρημα

Στόχος της ανακοίνωσης είναι η περιγραφή και συζήτηση των ταφικών εθίμων καθώς και η τελετή της ταφής του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου όπως παρουσιάζεται στις «Παγκόσμιες Ιστορίες» των Αράβων ιστορικών της πρώιμης και μέσης περιόδου της αραβικής ιστοριογραφίας. Η αφήγηση των Αράβων ιστορικών συγκρίνεται με αυτή του ελληνικού Αλεξανδρινού Μυθιστορήματος και των μεταφράσεών του στα συριακά, αιθιοπικά και αρμένικα. Η τελετή για τον Αλέξανδρο συγκρίνεται επίσης με αυτή για τον Δαρείο Γ' - μια τελετή που αναφέρεται πως οργάνωσε ο ίδιος ο Αλέξανδρος. Τα συμπεράσματα που εξάγονται από αυτή την ανάλυση τονίζουν τα εθνογραφικά και τα πολιτικά στοιχεία πίσω από τις περιγραφές των συγγραφέων των πηγών μας.

Preface

The Conference 'Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese' took place in Sparta 23-25 April 2009. It reflected a wide range of recent academic research in the Arts and Humanities on public and private commemoration. It is with great pleasure that we acknowledge the bodies which contributed so generously to make the conference possible: first and foremost the mayor and council of the city of Sparta, who showed unstinting support and generous backing; the J. F. Costopoulos Foundation and the British Academy also provided generous support and other participating organisations were the Pnevmatiki Estia of the Dimos Spartis and the University of the Peloponnese. We wish to thank the Public Library of Sparta and Mrs Eleni Tzinieri-Tzannetakou and the University of the Peloponnese for generously placing their lecture halls at our disposal. We were particularly pleased that a number of exhibitions and other cultural events were timed to coincide with the conference: 'Studies on Laconia'. Book exhibition organised by the Central Public Library of Sparta; 'The Naval Battle of Navarino: Multiple Readings. The Antonis Tantoulos Collection' presented by the National Gallery of Greece - Annexe at Sparta and the General National Archives for the Prefecture of Lakonia; 'In Memory of Pericles Panteleakis' art exhibition organised by the Pnevmatiki Estia of Sparta; 'Heroes of my Town' competition open to the primary school pupils of Sparta. Particular thanks are due to the individuals who helped organise the Conference, Dr Chrysanthi Gallou and Dr Metaxia Papapostolou.

Following some popular media productions, the theme 'Honouring the Dead' has significant current reverberations in popular culture, especially in Greece. Purposely held in Sparta, the focal point of recent public attention, this conference sought to exploit such exceptional current interest as a starting-point for a more broad-ranging exploration of the theme across the Peloponnese from prehistory to the 21st century. The human responses to death and burial are highly-charged with emotion and yet also formalised and bound by convention. From the Iliad onwards these tensions have struck a note in Greek life, art and literature: the lament, the memorial and the iconography of death, the address over those killed in war, hero cult and the cult of relics, war monuments and literature.

Consequently, the aim of the conference was to bring together experts from a variety of disciplines (Classicists, Byzantinists, ancient and modern historians, ethnographers, archaeologists, art historians and social historians) to discuss a number of aspects where the combination of their different contributions might open up new vistas.

The conference was focused on Sparta and the Peloponnese to reflect the interests of the Centre for Spartan and Peloponnesian Studies, but also because that area offers a wealth of relevant material, varying greatly in nature and extending over the chronological span of the conference, from prehistory to the present, and thus allowed a range of different forms of analysis. Our vision in organising the conference was of a perspective that brought together in a single collage the insights of different disciplines across different times, in the hope that each image would reflect on and give new meaning to the others. The opportunity of publishing these papers allows us not only to present this picture to a wide readership, but

also to achieve conjunctions and reflections which were not possible under the constraints of conference organisation.

In this preface we hope to draw out the connections implicit in the different papers. A simple review of the volume will immediately bring to mind the thematic interrelationships which formed part of the structure of the original conference.

Heroization, Politics and Heroic Death ranges from the Bronze Age to the Late Byzantine period. The term 'hero' can convey slightly different things, but touches on the semi-divine, ancestors of a legendary past, doers of great deeds as well as having the modern connotations of courage and daring. The prominence of heroes and their symbolic power can be traced through the creation and manipulation of cultural icon, national ideal and political emblem. Banou and Hitchcock explore this phenomenon through the 'Lord of Vapheio' on the basis of the spectacular funerary gifts which mark the identity of the dynasty buried in the tomb as closely linked with Minoan Crete. Konstantintidi-Syvridi and Paschalidis take a long perspective in viewing the cult of the dead and hero worship at Mycenae, underlining the landscape setting and how eloquently it spoke to visitors in the Classical and Hellenistic periods of an heroic past. Pavlides explores the worship of the dead as heroes within the settlement of Sparta, representing a local phenomenon closely bound up with the creation of communal identity in the Archaic polis. Burton also reflects on the relationship between divinity, the gods of the underworld and hero cult. The rediscovery of burials from the Archaic period onwards contributed to a local, Spartan identity expressed through the worship of "lesser" heroes. The contrasting histories of tomb and hero cult in Sparta versus Messenia (initially subject to but then liberated from Spartan domination) nicely juxtapose cases of the invention of both 'official' and purely local, small scale worship. Marantou takes up the theme of hero cult with an Arcadian emphasis and through Pausanias's image of the past.

Other papers focus more closely on the Classical period, the celebration of the heroic dead. How typical were the Spartans in their reactions to mortality? Were their attitudes to death and their burial customs really as 'other', if not unique, as Xenophon, Plutarch - and 'The 300' - make them out to be? Paradiso, Gengler and Petropoulou analyse closely the sources and the presentation of exemplary death in Sparta. Again identity and self-image are pictured in investigations of the insiders' and outsiders' views. Spartan royal funerals were exceptionally extravagant, their conduct uniquely embedded in Spartan tradition. The war dead were also commemorated exceptionally in Sparta. The 300 heroes of Thermopylae have been invented and reinvented time and again. Paradiso looks to Herodotus, who was fascinated by their celebrity and conducted his own *ιστορίη* into their names and actions. Gengler places the festival of the Leonidea in the broader context of the transformation of Spartan traditions during the Imperial period and in relation to the image of Spartan history in the literature of that time. The war dead of Perioikic Geronthrai form the theme of Sekunda's paper, while honourable death as perhaps seen through the distorting glass of Roman revisionism is the theme of Papapostolou's article. Seneca's version of Agamemnon's death, as reported by Paraskeviotis, also reveals subtle changes of emphasis from Classical Greek to Roman Imperial perceptions. Later still, as Steiris explains, Plutarch's treatment of exemplary deaths in the *Moralia*, was interpreted and reinterpreted in the light of Middle Platonism, and later Greek thought as exemplified in the writings of Georgios Trapezuntius and Gemistos Plethon. Zampaki illustrates how traditions in the Arab historians about the funeral of Alexander the Great relay on the one hand the narrative of events, but on the other put an emphasis on the ethical and moral lessons.

If in a negative way, the deliberate slighting of the dead is an acknowledgement of their power - the archaeological evidence for this treatment in late Mycenaean Achaia is assembled by Papazoglou-Manioudaki. The emotive impact of one such atrocity in a much more modern context is narrated by Petrakis.

Lament and Threnody. The *moirologia*, the extemporised Maniot laments of S Greece, are a classic archetype of the dirge. Seremetakis sets the scene for this section, with *Antiphony, Ritual and the Construction of Truth* examining the presentation of the individual and the setting of the lament within the overall structure of the ritual. Katsoulakos, father and son, then make their portrayal all the more vivid thanks to their unrivalled archive of examples of *moirologia*, picking out, in particular, the historical and political context, on the one hand, and the kin relationship between deceased and singer on the other. Psychogiou takes the remarkable find of vase scenes depicting lamentation of the dead which have recently been recovered from Mycenaean tombs in Elis, to bridge the gap between remote past and present by confronting the similarities in the representation of ritual in past and present. The laying out of the corpse (prothesis) is treated by Fragkopoulou in the unexpected context of votives at Lakedaimonian sanctuaries. These popular themes are confronted with poetry of a more consciously literary conceit: Roy sketches poems by the Hellenistic poetess Anyte of Tegea including not only funerary epigrams for young maidens but extending also to the commemoration of animals. Kakourou-Chroni turns to the modern poet Nikiforos Vrettakos, tracing the development of his reflections on death from an early phase where he is 'immersed in death' to his late poetry transformed by his experiences of World War II where 'death murders God' but also 'shines on the suffering world'.

The papers contemplating *Memorials, Monumentality and Memory* range from the prehistoric through historic periods to modern monuments. Marabea revisits the great tholos tomb at Kambos, close to the Laconian-Messenian border, a newly monumentalised tomb type of the early Mycenaean period. Papadimitriou considers a similar early part of the Mycenaean period, but with an emphasis on the symbolism of entrances in the passage from life to death. Sgouritsa also follows up the symbolism of the entrance and threshold rituals expressed materially in the architecture of the great Mycenaean tombs. Kokorou-Alevra turns to the Archaic period and funerary statuary in the Peloponnese, pointing to a major fault-line in the memorialisation of the dead between the city states of the NE Peloponnese and the rest of the region. She interprets the contrast as one grounded in the ideology of the Spartan state. Karapanagiotou and Koursoumis investigate anew the curious 'menhir' from Levidi in Arkadia, perhaps erected to mark the empty tomb of a king struck dead for his hubris.

The final theme of the conference looked to *Burial, Identity and Representation*, that is to say the commemoration (not to say reinvention) of those who have died, through material culture and iconography. The remote prehistory of this deeply human impulse is explored by Georgiadis in his review of fragmentary patterns recorded in the Mesolithic and Neolithic Peloponnese. Kossyva's account of the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Delpriza, in the Argolid, adds precious new evidence to the recent flurry of new discoveries from the period; still, however, EBA burials are not well attested in the NE Peloponnese, a paradox explored by Weinberg. Fox uses the vessels from the heroic Grave Circles at Mycenae to conjure an image of feasting and drinking, which is then analysed to understand the status of feasting and socio-political fluidity in the period; looking to the same time and context Mathioudaki takes a different theoretical perspective of aesthetics and object biographies to consider the Early Mycenaean pictorial vases. Drakaki extends the analysis by exploring the seals accompanying high-status female burials of the Mycenaean epoch and Kalogeropoulos examines the symbolic power of the iconography of Palatial Style amphoras of the early Mycenaean period.

Tomb form and social message is the focus of the publication by Lambropoulos, Moutzouridis and Nikolentzos of two recently-excavated cemeteries in Elis. Moschos illustrates the other end of the Mycenaean epoch by examining social status and burial practices during its final period after the collapse of the palaces; in a radically transformed social and political world, the imagery and material expression used in the past is still exploited, but exploited to tell a very different story. The interplay of communal, ethnic and even linguistic identity with ritual practice lies at the heart of Luce's analysis of Early Iron Age grave types.

Dimakis takes the analysis later still in his review of individual and collective identity in Argos of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Grigorakakis presents new cemetery evidence from the highly contested territory of the Thyreatis. Fritzilas looks to grave stelai of Hellenistic and Roman date from Arkadia, and how they attempt to commemorate and preserve the memory of the dead. Reinvented tradition and the concrete memorialisation of the family make for a fascinating counterpoint in the papers of Gavala and Saitas on recent historical monuments. Another aspect of the presentation of the dead is the use of jewellery to sculpt the body, this is explored by Theodorou-Mavromatidi for the Early Bronze Age and Louka for the Archaic period.

The argument which develops through this rich variety of illustration in no way underplays the strong emotion evoked by death – indeed this precisely gives the ritual and the symbolism their power, even though they are formalized and pressed into moulds of social and political conformity. In the papers that follow, we note the play and counterplay of political manipulation, the idealization of the dead and its use to model civic and moral virtue, the importance of ancestors and ancestry as symbols of identity and belonging, as well as display and conspicuous consumption and its dialectic between the community and the (family) group.

The range of different approaches and of different types of material does not allow any single theoretical viewpoint to dominate the contributions. Instead we have a mosaic of studies exploring in different ways how death was memorialised, and how the process reflected social aspirations of those who created the memorials, or sought to exploit the management of death for social or political purposes. Though all are drawn from the relatively limited area of the Peloponnese, the wealth of material offered by the Peloponnese means that the volume illustrates the issues currently being addressed in the study of death and the dead in the Greek world.

WGC
JR

CHAPTER 41

A COMPOSITE PENDANT IN AN EH I BURIAL AT THE APOLLO MALEATAS SITE IN EPIDAUROS: AN ATTEMPT AT A BIOGRAPHY.

ANTHI THEODOROU-MAVROMMATIDI

INTRODUCTION¹

This note presents a composite pendant of the Early Helladic I period, found in a female burial at the Apollo Maleatas site at Epidauros.² Jewels are relatively rare objects in an Early Helladic context.³ In this specific case we were fortunate to find not only the pendant and the parts that articulated with it, but we were also able to reconstruct its form because of their position *in situ* and a detailed documentation during excavation. To what extent can conclusions be extracted from a single find? In which ways can data lead to interpretation and not pure speculation? How can an act that took place so long ago be seen through logical perspectives and lead to some – however tentative – conclusions about people in the Argolid in the Early Helladic period? This contribution is a first attempt at a study of the object and its context.

THE CONTEXT

The settlement to which the burials are related is located on top of hill of the Apollo Maleatas sanctuary in Epidauros.⁴ The earliest human activity on the

¹ I thank once more Ioannis Mavrommatidis (architect – restorator, Ministry of Culture, D' Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities) for his help and support; my mentor and friend Prof. K. D. Vitelli for editing the draft and encouraging me; I deeply thank Dr Dimitra Mylona (archaeologist, zoo-archaeologist, Kalaureia Research Program, The Sea, the City and the God) for her help in identifying the shells and her valuable remarks in general; and prof. B. Cavanagh for offering me the opportunity to present this note... and for his patience.

² Theodorou-Mavrommatidi 2003, 247–62; 2004, 1167–82.

³ Alram 2004, 449–60; Weiberg 2007, 289–95.

⁴ Lambrinoudakis, V., 1977a; 1977b; 1978a; 1978b; 1996; 1998; 1999; 2000; 2001.

site dates to Early Helladic I and consists of three burials and a few remains of buildings. During EH II, three building phases are represented: a large building, with many rooms, a paved floor and a drain, corresponds to the first phase. The second phase corresponds with a small hamlet, consisting of at least five apsidal buildings; and the third has at least three rectangular buildings. In Early Helladic III and Middle Helladic the settlement was abandoned. Based on the finds from a pit dug during EH III and used also in MH times in the central part of the settlement, we can argue for the earliest documented ritual activity.⁵ No other activity has been documented on the hill at a later phase; the Mycenaean and Geometric remains and the Archaic and Classical sanctuary of Apollo were all located to the north and north-east of the prehistoric settlement.

The three burials and a small tumulus related to them were found in the NE part of the hill (**FIG.1**).⁶ All three burials were undisturbed. They were in simple pits covered by rough limestone slabs; the bodies were placed on their sides in a contracted position.⁷ No offerings were associated with Burial 1, which was found at the northernmost spot. Burial 2 was rich in finds: the body was buried with a pebble tool in its palm, a clay whorl on the chest and an obsidian blade in front of the face. Broken pots containing food (lamb bones were identified) and other organic material as well as two stone grinding tools were placed outside the grave itself but close to its E side, near the head, at the time the burial took place. Burial 3, on which we will focus in this paper, revealed the most intriguing finds. The body was that of a young adult female (18–20 years old). She was buried wearing a copper pin to hold the cloth on her shoulder, and with a pendant around her neck.

⁵ Theodorou-Mavrommatidi 2004, 1178–80; 2010, 649–63.

⁶ Theodorou-Mavrommatidi 2003, 256–59, fig. 12–14; 2004, 1170–73, pl. 3.

⁷ The osteological material is being studied by Ioanna Moutafi, bioarchaeologist, PhD candidate, University of Sheffield.



FIG. 1. The three burials and small tumulus at the site of Apollo Maleatas

THE FINDS

The excavation was conducted in 2000 and the skeleton was removed in blocks covered by gauze and plaster, so that the soil was still attached to the

bones.⁸ The copper pin was found during the excavation, but the pendant was found later, in 2004, during the conservation of the skeleton, when the rest of the soil was removed. The various parts of the pendant were found near the clavicle and the left humerus of the skeleton (FIG.2). The reconstruction of the pendant motif was made possible through the removal, step by step, of each part and photography of the process.



FIG.2. The pendant in situ.

The pendant is a composite one (FIGS. 3–4). Hemispherical fish teeth (*Sparidae* molars) were glued onto an oval schist plaque forming an irregular rosette. It is worth noticing the color contrast between the shiny yellowish surface of the teeth and the dark surface of the stone base. Traces of the attachment of the teeth on the plaque surface were visible through ultraviolet fluorescence photography and black and white infra-red reflection photography,⁹ although the adhesive material was not preserved. On either side of the plaque, parts of shells (bivalve possibly *Glysimeris* sp.) were attached. The shells were carved: only the part of the shell near the lip was used. One end was carved so that it could be tied onto the pendant. A steatite

⁸ By Argyro Tsigri, conservator – Ministry of Culture, an enthusiastic and inspired colleague.

⁹ In 2007 by Dimitrios Vlassis, art conservator, National Museum of Modern Art – Thessaloniki. I owe him a lot.

A composite pendant in EH I Epidauros

bead which has been found in the same context was probably also tied to the schist plaque.

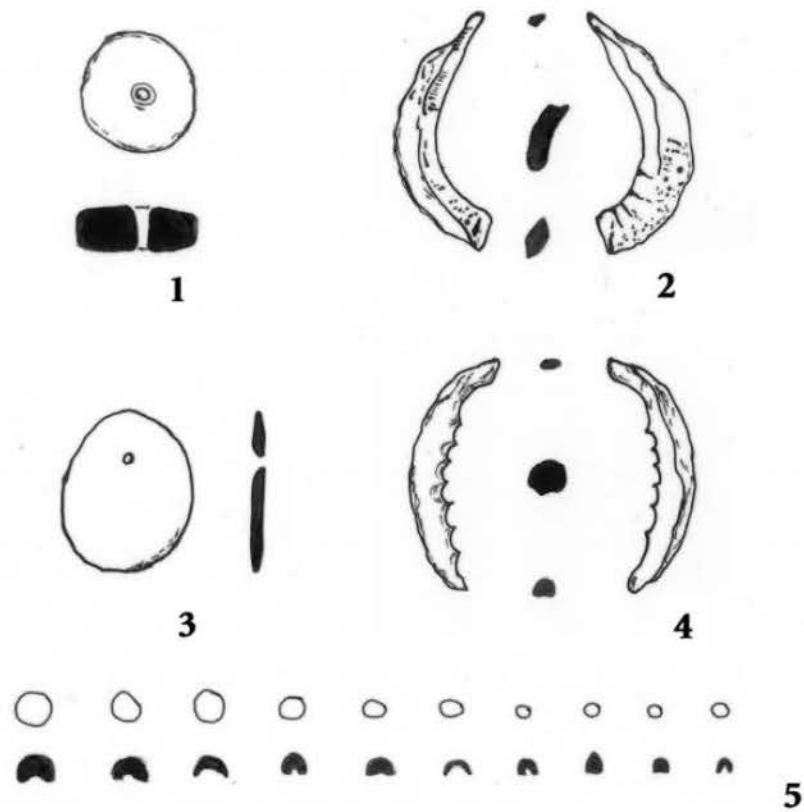


FIG.3. Drawing of the components of the pendant.



FIG.4. Photograph of the components of the pendant.

The pin is of the simplest type; it has a circular cross-section and becomes thinner and sharp at the ends. This object is the only metal find from the site that can be dated to the Early Bronze Age; its origin is unknown. A strong relationship of the settlement to the Cyclades is documented by the presence of other objects from the site, such as a broken marble figurine,¹⁰ 'frying pan' sherds,¹¹ and, naturally, many obsidian flakes and a few cores. The materials found in grave 2 (schist, fish teeth, shells, copper) indicate that the people of this small settlement had direct or indirect access to distant areas and were part of a larger communication network that provided them with objects not only necessary for practical use (e.g. obsidian) but useful for creating prestige items.

The assemblage of the pendant, with the use of glue and string is evidence of high quality skills and knowledge of specialized technology. The effect of the piece as a whole, the symmetrical placing of the parts – using reflection (shells) and rotational symmetry (teeth) – and the creation of complicated motifs provide information about an elaborate aesthetic code. I have found no parallels for it in this period.

We can only speculate about the origin of the pendant; so far no shells have been found in the EH I strata on site, neither any traces for the working of shells or the production of glue¹² and it seems possible that the pendant was brought to the settlement as a whole object. We could argue that this imported item was, due to its origin, a status symbol for its owner, therefore acknowledging, or endowing, her with some special place in the community. Such unusual offerings imply social differentiation, probably related to age, gender or social rank.¹³ The above, plus the inclusion of the items in the young woman's grave are strong indications of a belief system that includes property and faith in life after death – matters that will be discussed at a later phase of the study.

This paper is not a full publication of the pendant; the study of unique or rare finds is always a difficult endeavour and this note is a means of initiating an exchange among scholars about similar cases and about ways of approaching them. The publication of the Early Helladic strata is in preparation. A lot of things have to be done, a lot of questions to be asked and some of them answered. One thing is for sure, if the whole consists of every single detail of its parts, then details like this pendant help us shed some light on the cognition system of the Early Helladic people and make it seem more elaborate and complicated than we once imagined.

¹⁰ Lambrinoudakis 1981, 159, pic. 129b

¹¹ Theodorou 2003, 255, fig. 7: 6; 2004, 1170; Coleman 1985, 215; Papadimitriou 1949, 95, fig. 5.

¹² We are not in a position to evaluate the lack of fish bones on site because the collection methods applied in the field (hand collection and in some cases sieving) do not usually secure their retrieval (Mylona 2003, 193–4).

¹³ Weiberg 2007, 278–86.

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List of illustrations

FIG. 1. The three burials and small tumulus at the site of Apollo Maleatas

FIG. 2. The pendant in situ.

FIG. 3. Drawing of the components of the pendant.

FIG. 4. Photograph of the components of the pendant.

CHAPTER 42

THE INVISIBLE DEAD. THE CASE OF THE ARGOLID AND CORINTHIA DURING THE EARLY BRONZE AGE

ERIKA WEIBERG

INTRODUCTION

How and where we dispose of our dead, is a part of our mental landscape and it is an aspect of our lives, through and by which notions such as identity and communality are shaped and sustained. The possibility for archaeologists to find the dead of any society is ultimately dependent on these identities, manifested in the varying ways in which groups of people in different cultures and times chose to handle the dead of their communities. Choices in terms of place, treatment of the dead, form of resting place, mortuary rituals and accompanying grave goods will all influence our ability to identify ancient graves. The dead may be placed below or above ground, be burnt, inhumed or disposed of otherwise, be lavishly furnished or not at all, the grave goods may be durable or ephemeral. In whichever case, we will never come even close to a balance between our estimates of population and the number of human remains that we find. In some regions and times this is especially evident. One such context is the NE Peloponnese during Early Helladic times from where little of the mortuary domain is known. This circumstance stands in some contrast to a more extensive mortuary record from other regions of Mainland Greece during the same time. How are we to interpret these regional variations in view of the fact that the Argolid-Corinthia is one of the most extensively investigated regions of Bronze Age Greece, with many well-known prehistoric settlements? Why have we here largely failed to locate these Early Helladic dead?

This paper considers how part of the answer can be found in a combination of many factors to be summarised under the umbrella of regionally and chronologically varying mortuary customs, which in combination with some less controllable factors have been influencing the potential for modern detection. Above all the survey will be based on a comparison between the mortuary records of the Argolid-Corinthia and those of central and eastern regions of the Mainland, i.e. material from the

regions of Attica, Boeotia and Euboea, which have dominated the scholarly discourse on the Early Helladic mortuary domain.¹

CHARACTER AND DISTRIBUTION OF EARLY HELLADIC GRAVES

Daniel Pullen listed in 1985 nine definite and another 11+ possible extramural graves for the Argolid-Corinthia, as well as nine intramural with a possibility of three more (FIG. 1).² Among Corinthian instances of extramural graves are the four rock-cut chambers at Zygouries, two graves from the region of Perachora-Vouliagmeni, isolated graves found at Corinth and Kalamaki, and, from the Argolid, one grave within the otherwise later cemetery at Argos. Conversely, intramural instances are primarily from the Argolid, with finds from Lerna, Tiryns, Asine, and from Corinthia we have the extraordinary find in a well at Cheliotomylos near Corinth. Twenty-five years later, the number of graves reviewed by Pullen has not been extended very much. The most notable additions are the so-called cave ossuary at Perachora-Vouliagmeni and the three graves from the area of the Apollo Maleatas sanctuary at Epidauros. The first context is a mix of Early Helladic sherds and human bones, including 14 skulls, found in a natural cave some three hundred metres from the settlement.³ The graves at Epidauros were found within the area of the later EBA settlement and they are the only graves in the region which share the grave type, formalisation and EH I date with many of the graves in Attica and the Cyclades.⁴ Apart from these three graves and the intramural EH III infant graves at Lerna,⁵ all other contexts seem to be dated within the EH II period.

The contrast to the general pattern further north is clear. Although single or small clusters of graves are attested also there in some numbers, the Early Helladic mortuary records from the central and eastern Greek Mainland are dominated by several large cemeteries.⁶ These cemeteries are planned, tightly arranged and formalised mortuary areas in the vicinity of settlements and consist of from tens up to several hundred graves. No such cemeteries are known from the Argolid and Corinthia. Instead, wherever located, whether within or outside settlements, all graves in these southern regions were seemingly isolated single instances or parts of smaller clusters of graves, in numbers much below what could constitute a cemetery.

¹ General reviews of the Early Helladic mortuary sphere by Pullen 1985; Cavanagh & Mee 1998; Alram-Stern 2004; all with extensive references. These reviews include also the increasing information on Early Helladic mortuary sphere coming from regions outside the Early Helladic so-called 'heartland' (Pullen 1985). One very interesting, rather recent, find is the cemetery of chamber tombs excavated at Kalamaki, Kato Achaia (Vasilogambrou 1996–1997).

² Pullen 1985, 106–22, with references.

³ Koumouzelis 1989–1991.

⁴ Theodorou-Mavrommatidi 2004, 1170–3, 1182.

⁵ Zerner 1990.

⁶ E.g. Mylonas 1959; Spyropoulos 1969; Sampson 1985; 1988; Pantelidou Gofa 2005.

Considering the contexts of graves we do have from the Argolid-Corinthia, the single isolated grave or small clusters of extramural graves seem rather to share many features with a generalised view of Early Helladic intramural instances.

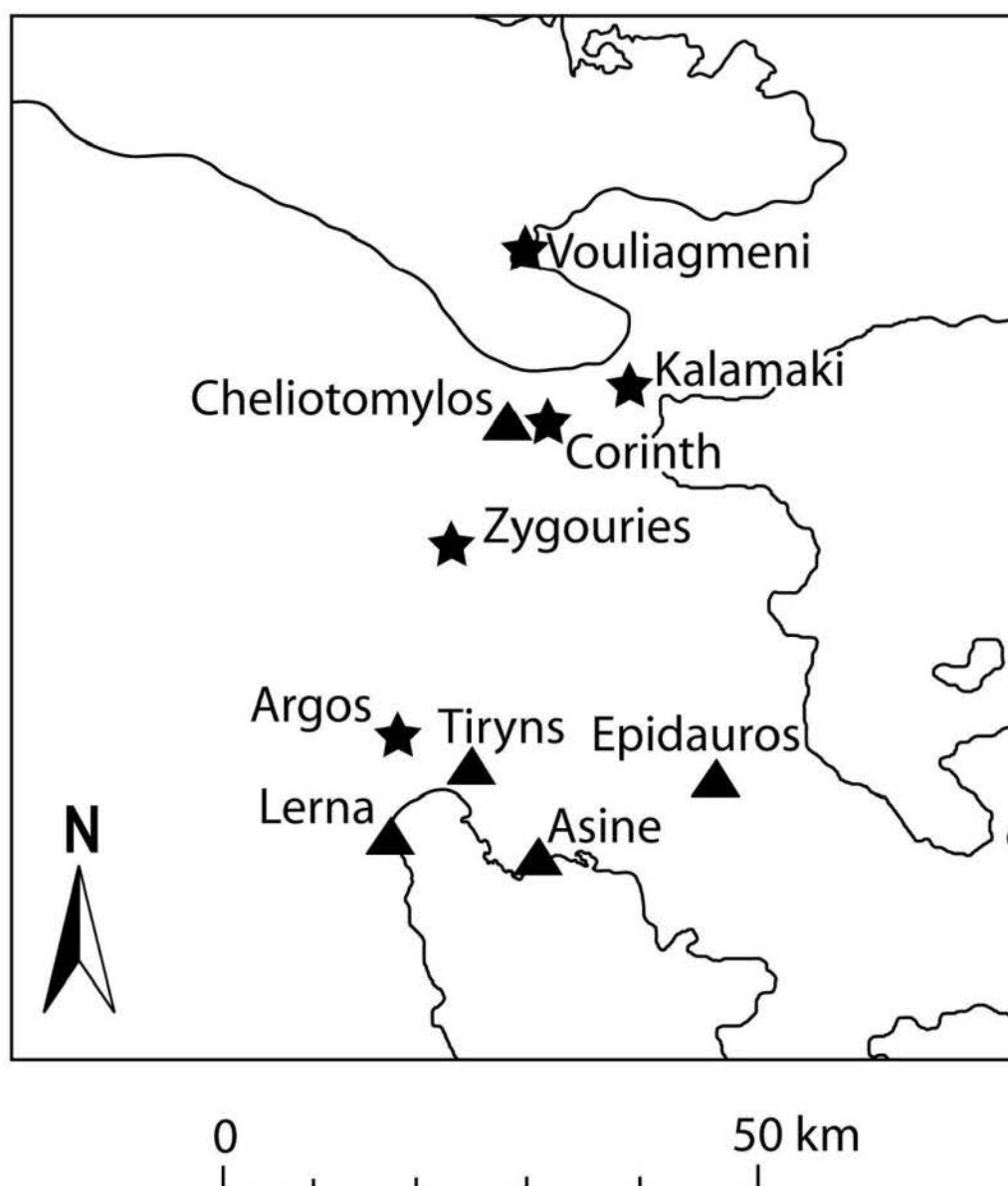


FIG. 1. The mortuary contexts in the Argolid and Corinthia. Early Helladic intramural (triangle) and extramural (star) locations mentioned in the text.

In comparison with Early Helladic burial in formalised cemeteries, these intramural interments were in many ways atypical (TABLE 1). Less effort was put into the construction of the grave itself, they appear less regulated in appearance, most held only one individual, and they were spatially isolated. I propose that extramural burials, especially when forming cemeteries, may be characterised by the terms tradition, multiplicity and solidarity, and that the intramural burials in contrast may be said to stand for individuality and isolation, the latter both in terms

of the number of burials in each grave as well as the relation between graves.⁷ The extramural graves from the Argolid-Corinthian area seem to find their place somewhere between these two definitions. In terms of spatial isolation, for example, they fit better into the varied distribution of the contemporary ones found within settlements. In view of their single/low numbers, the emphasis on multiplicity and solidarity on a larger scale seems less pronounced than in large formalised cemeteries, such as those excavated at Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi in Attica. The low number of intramural burials in any geographical area and period of the Early Bronze Age suggests that the rule throughout these thousand years was to bury the dead outside the settlement. As shown by the Corinthian graves, this does not necessarily mean that the intramural examples were exceptions to a rule of burial in the Attic type of cemetery. If anything it suggests that there was room for flexibility in the ways in which the dead were handled, and where they were placed.

<i>Extramural</i>	<i>Intramural</i>
Elaboration	Moderation
Multiplicity	Singularity
Formality	Isolation
Tradition	Individuality

TABLE. 1. Suggested characterisation of extramural and intramural deposition based on the currently available archaeological information.

ASPECTS OF DETECTION AND PRESERVATION

The separation from the settlements is a complicating factor for detection in any region, since a grave, unlike a settlement, does not generally leave a surface scatter to pinpoint its location. If, therefore, no direct connection between settlement and

⁷ For an extended discussion on Early Helladic intramural interment, see Weiberg 2007, 206–26.

cemetery existed, this would in most cases make difficult the detection of the latter in comparison with the former. If we add also the changeable form of the natural landscape, we end up with a significant problem that cannot be overlooked. The forces of nature will complicate matters for the detection as well as the preservation of graves for any extended length of time. Graves as well as settlements may be covered by metres of later deposits, or they may have been eroded away or temporarily hidden. Early Helladic grave locations by Lake Paralimni in Boeotia were revealed by drainage of the lake, at Aghios Kosmas both settlement and cemeteries are continually eaten up by the sea, whereas other grave sites have been much eroded by the forces of the weather along the Attic coastline.⁸ In the Argolid and Corinthia, erosion and subsequent sedimentation have been highly influential for the local histories of both inland and coastal plains and valleys⁹ – geomorphological events that may well have influenced the detection rate of graves also in these regions.

Probably as a combined result of landscape changes and the lack of surface visibility of undisturbed graves, a majority of all Early Helladic graves and cemeteries, regardless of geographical location, have been found during modern construction works, such as the Kalamaki grave found during road construction,¹⁰ and in the Manika area where modern construction keeps expanding the number of graves in an already very extensive cemetery.¹¹ Other mortuary areas have been discovered through deliberate investigations in the vicinity of known settlements. Such investigations resulted in finds of larger cemeteries such as at Lithares and Aghios Kosmas,¹² and at Zygouries the four Early Helladic examples were a small part of a mortuary area consisting mainly of graves from the Middle and Late Bronze Age found during a search for possible graves connected to the nearby settlement.¹³

In the end, the likelihood of finding large clusters of graves will always be greater than stumbling on one or a few isolated instances. As far as can be told today, most Early Helladic graves are not found within multi-phased cemeteries like the ones at Zygouries, in which case this circumstance probably was key to their discovery. At the original layout of these graves, however, they followed the pattern of other known graves in the Argolid-Corinthian area. This pattern of individuality and isolation stands, as already noted, in contrast to much of the evidence from the central and eastern regions of the Early Helladic Mainland. Nevertheless, all formal graves are found because, in a sense, they were constructed to be found. Most Early Helladic extramural burials as we know them today were used on multiple occasions, in many cases probably over much more than one generation, and they

⁸ Faraklas 1968; Mylonas 1959; Theocharis 1955a, 1955b; Weiberg 2007, 228–34.

⁹ Eg. Zangger 1993.

¹⁰ Broneer 1958.

¹¹ E.g. Sampson 1988; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1996.

¹² Spyropoulos 1969; Mylonas 1959.

¹³ Blegen 1928.

needed to stand the test of time. As far as can be told the cist tomb and the chamber tomb were the two major grave types of choice during the Early Helladic period. In terms of regional preferences this general circumstance holds some potentially significant differences. Thus, whereas the graves of Attica are cist graves comparable to Cycladic ones, chamber tombs predominate in the Peloponnese, as well as on Euboea, with Boeotia producing a mix of both types. These are circumstances that may have influenced the uneven levels of modern detection. Due to their construction techniques cist tombs do leave more to be discovered and recognised as mortuary remains when the location of the grave is uncovered by erosion or human intervention. In the case of the Argolid and Corinthia, isolated chamber tombs seem to be a bad combination for modern detection.

PROBLEMS OF RECOGNITION

Other potentially significant regional differences can be added through a comparison of the types of grave goods deposited in mortuary contexts during the Early Helladic period. A recent study analysed these deposition patterns in terms of production material, types of small finds and pottery shapes.¹⁴ The results are of significance for a consideration of the composition of mortuary records of Corinthia, and by extension I believe, for the Argolid. Thus, while the range of material at Zygouries is similar to those from Attica and Euboea, the relative popularity of pottery is far greater at Zygouries than in the eastern cases.¹⁵ In none of the Corinthian examples does the combined quantity of items of non-pottery materials (making up the small finds of the assemblages) make up more than 20% of the whole. In two cases pottery is indeed the only material recorded. In the eastern three contexts, by contrast, pottery makes up less than 50% of the materials, especially at Aghios Kosmas considerably less than that, due to the large amounts of obsidian in relation to some graves in this cemetery.¹⁶ In addition it was clear from the survey of the types of small finds that they were considerably more common in the earlier,

¹⁴ Weiberg 2007. The analysis included the popularity and range of materials in eight mortuary assemblages, consisting of a varying number of graves, from which the necessary information was available: Tsepi: Pantelidou Gofa 2005 (including only the fully excavated graves); Aghios Kosmas: Mylonas 1959, 64–120; Manika: included are the graves from the Georgiou and Beligianni plots (Sampson 1985, 158–96; 1988: Graves 51–71, 83–99; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987: 8 graves, recorded in Sampson 1988 as Graves 75–82), Perachora-Vouliagmeni: Hatzipoulou-Kalliri 1983; Kalamaki: Broneer 1958, Pullen 1985, 154f., n. 13; Zygouries: Blegen 1928, 43–55, Pullen 1985, 106–10; Cheliotomylos: Waage 1949, Corinth: Heermance and Lord 1897.

¹⁵ Weiberg 2007, 279–86, fig. 60. Beyond pottery, items deposited at Zygouries were of gold, silver, bronze, bone, shell, stone, and obsidian. Marble is as the only notable absence in comparison with the eastern assemblages.

¹⁶ Excluding all obsidian, pottery will end up at approximately 65%, with a lower amount of obsidian at around 50%, in both cases more similar to the other eastern contexts than the Corinthian ones (Weiberg 2007, 282, fig. 61).

eastern contexts. In the eastern contexts they were also more diverse and visibly conspicuous, with an emphasis on marble bowls and bone palettes in the east, but mostly small beads, pins and whorls in the south.¹⁷

Moving on to the pottery shapes in the assemblages, these results bring forth the issue of specific mortuary repertoires of pottery, largely dissimilar from that of the settlements. If there were differences this would certainly help the distinction between mortuary and domestic remains, even where human remains, the most obvious indicator of the former category, were lacking for some reason. Most recently, Pantelidou Gofa noted the scarcity of domestic pottery within the graves at Tsepi.¹⁸ Although in the case of Tsepi we do not have any settlement with which to make comparisons, it seems, from the review of pottery shapes, possible to argue that certain types of pottery were more often *deposited* within the mortuary sphere than others. At Manika, as in the Attic examples, including Tsepi, the pottery repertoire within the graves was diverse but with an emphasis on small-sized closed shapes, of the kind used for unguents and pigments. At Aghios Kosmas there was also an over-representation of one-handled cups. These cups were also notable for being less carefully executed and only poorly fired or even fully unfired, possibly manufactured for one time only, for mortuary use.¹⁹ Both the cups as well as the small closed shapes are shapes present within settlements but not to be counted among the more common vessels. By contrast, the pottery shapes deposited in the known Corinthian contexts were of general domestic types, related to eating and serving and are well-known from settlements. Thus the large majority of vessels were open shapes, most commonly sauceboats and saucers, with the jug as the only notable exception.²⁰

I set out in this paper to look for the missing majority and the meaning of the present few in the mortuary record of the Argolid and Corinthia. So far, I believe it can be concluded that there are many factors to be considered for the lack of Early Helladic graves in these areas and that also regional differences may have made the recognition of these graves especially problematic. All things considered, the character of the grave goods, the type of graves recorded from the NE Peloponnese, and the similarity between settlement and grave contexts, are clearly all complicating factors for both preservation and detection. Thus, while in Attica a displaced cover slab, or an isolated marble vessel may be markers of a nearby early Early Helladic grave,²¹ in Corinthia or the Argolid a sauceboat, a jug, a saucer, or a pin or a bead (if at all found) is much less likely to motivate the same interpretation. Therefore, in the search of the large missing majority, I believe we must consider that for the NE Peloponnese we lack the ability to differentiate between disturbed

¹⁷ Weiberg 2007, 289–94, fig. 62.

¹⁸ Pantelidou Gofa 2005. Some pottery of domestic type was outside the graves: in pit 19a, by grave 19 and in the large pit 39.

¹⁹ Mylonas 1959, 106–11; Nilsson 2004, 161; Weiberg 2007, 359f.

²⁰ Weiberg 2007, 350–64, table 9.

²¹ Theodoris 1955a, 287, 1955b, 115.

mortuary remains and domestic contexts in the landscape, or at least that this ability is hampered by the factors just considered.

VARIATIONS IN MORTUARY DISPLAY

I think also that one path towards a better understanding of both the missing majority and the present few can be found in the specific nature of the mortuary customs of these regions, such as can now be gathered from the present few, in comparison with contemporary mortuary rituals and in relation to the general societal development of the Early Helladic Mainland in general, and of the Argolid-Corinthia specifically. I would like to tie up the discussion therefore by searching for possible meanings of the graves within their socio-economic development of the Early Helladic period, and in the chronological and regional variations within the related mortuary record.

In terms of chronology (TABLE 2), it seems now increasingly clear that the general Early Bronze Age or the sometimes EH II date often applied to Early Helladic funerary remains needs to be revised and refined. Recent analyses indicate that the use of the large cemeteries at Manika, Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi started within EH I, or even towards the beginning of that period for the last two sites.²² Even if the cemeteries at Manika and Aghios Kosmas were in use well into the EH II period, the implications are that these formalised cemeteries were originally laid out, and a large part of the graves were cut within the EBA I period. This means that the incentive for the establishment of formalised extramural cemeteries of this kind should be sought within the EBA I cultures. As the evidence stands today, this type of extramural cemetery is not a general Early Helladic phenomenon but is rather to be connected with the *emerging* economic growth and societal diversification,²³ during a period of agricultural expansion when interpersonal power relations grew more complex, connected with a growing importance of the historicity and seniority of place.

²² Maran 1998, 81f., 94–7; Rambach 2000, 258, 263f.; Pantelidou Gofa 2005, 324–7, 356.

²³ Cf. Pullen 1985, esp. 37–42, 145f., 370f.; Maran 1998, 227.

The invisible dead

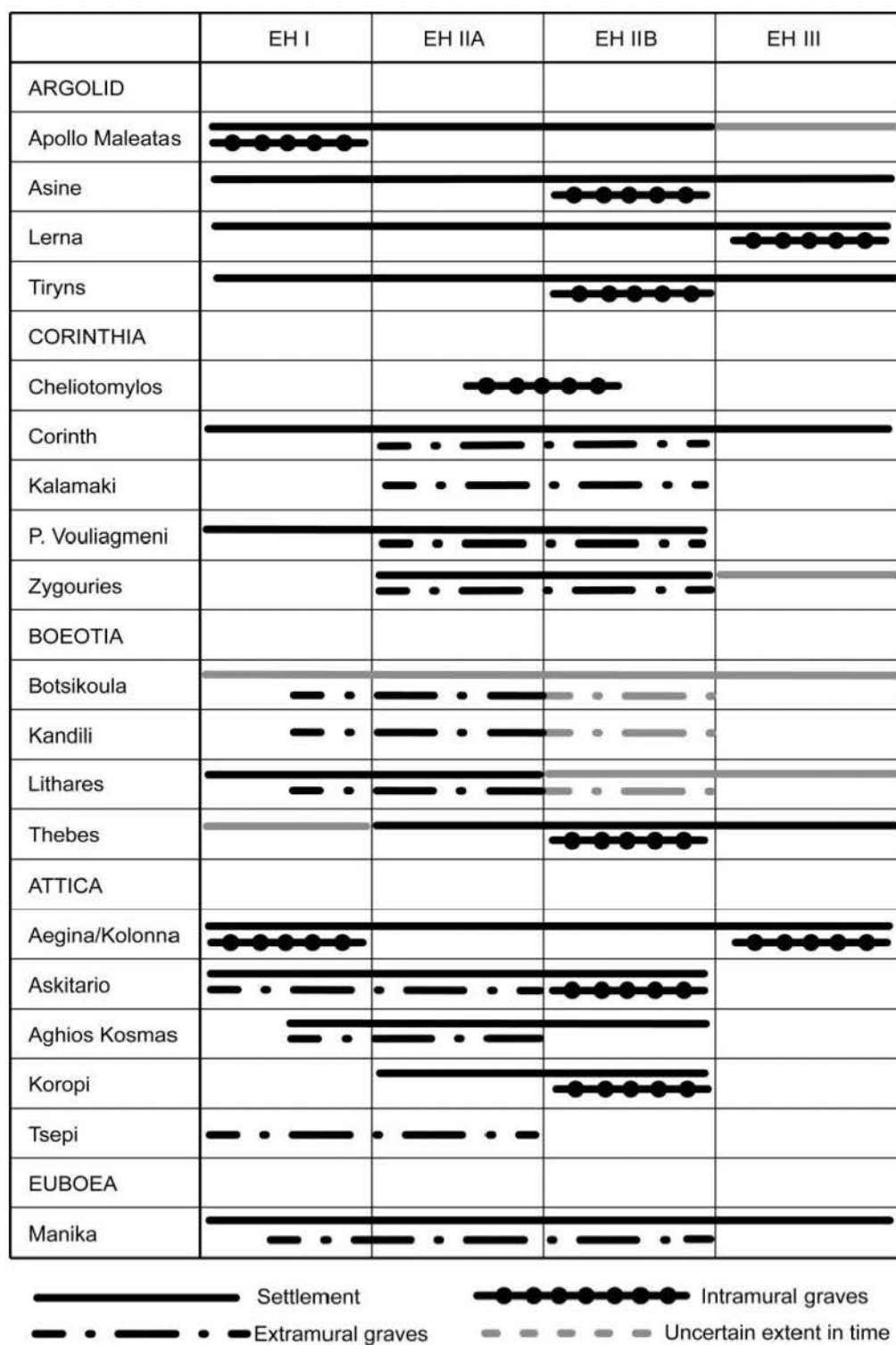


TABLE.2. Comparative illustration including the chronology of settlements and types of graves for Early Helladic locations in the Argolid, Corinthia, Boeotia, Attica and Euboea (Weiberg 2007, fig. 42).²⁴

²⁴ The datings in the figure are generalised. More or less specific datings have; however; been deduced from stratigraphy and finds for the following graves: Apollo Maleatas (Theodorou-Mavrommatidi 2004); Asine (Pullen 1985; 118); Lerna (Zerner 1990); Tiryns (Kilian 1983); Cheliotomylos (Lavezzi 2003); Perachora-Vouliagmeni (Hatzipouliou-Kalliri 1983); Thebes

The next step in this process is, I believe, to be seen in the growing attention given to the appearance of the settlements themselves at a time when economy and societal diversification are peaking. Increased attention is given to the organization of the settlements through streets, architectural detail and size as well as to craft specialization and inter-settlement contacts and trade. On present evidence it seems as if one result of this development could also have been a transformation in mortuary practices in some regions. The large formalized cemeteries of the preceding period, and, in Early Helladic contexts, the large-scale and two-storied corridor houses to be positioned at the peak of a process of monumentalisation,²⁵ seem to be more or less mutually exclusive. One exception is Boeotia, a region which appears in many ways to have been a cultural melting pot of ideas, with the corridor house at Thebes and several large mortuary areas around the Boeotian lakes.²⁶ In Attica and Euboea, however, there are the cemeteries but to date no corridor house, and in the Argolid-Corinthia we find corridor houses but not the large cemeteries. This is a discrepancy in the archaeological record that clearly may have many explanations and be interpreted in many varying ways. Chronological variation is one probable explanation for the latter half of the EH II period. Thus settlements dated to this period are many and well known from all regions, but no large cemeteries have been found, beyond what seems to be a diminished use of the cemetery at Manika.²⁷ A discussion of the lack of corridor houses in the eastern regions is not within the scope of the present article; however, the mere presence of this architectural type on the Mainland in the latter half of the EH II period, and in the Peloponnese in particular, is I believe to be seen as a testament of the economic and social character of that period.²⁸ Not only were corridor houses found: at this time when people gathered at selected locations, probably creating larger settlements, and the economy appears more restricted and centralised, it may be that large cemeteries had outlived their use as a defining element of the group. The prime

(Demakopoulou & Konsola 1975; Pullen 1985; 133f.); Kolonna (Kantz, Großschmidt & Kiesslich, 2010); Askitarío (Theocharis 1953–1954; Maran 1998; 79f.); Aghios Kosmas (Maran 1998; 81–3); Koropi (Kakvogianni 1987); Tsepi (Rambach 2000; 255; 258; 263; Gofa 2005); and Manika (Maran 1998; 95–7). Corinth; Kalamaki and Zygouries have been generalised to the EH II period (Pullen 1985; 106–12; 117); while Botsikoula; Kandili and Lithares are given an earlier onset due to their ‘Cycladicising’ character; in analogy with Tsepi and Aghios Kosmas. The extramural graves at Askitarío have not been excavated and are given a general EH I–II dating on account of the finds; based on which a cemetery was surmised (Theocharis 1955a).

²⁵ On corridor houses: Shaw 1987; Nilsson 2004; Weiberg 2007; 36–57.

²⁶ Aravantinos 1986; Faraklas 1969; Spyropoulos 1969.

²⁷ Maran 1998; 95–97. The connection between cemetery and settlement at Aghios Kosmas; based on the most recent analyses; is somewhat unclear; as the cemetery seems to be of generally later date; which may mean that the graves of the latest settlement may be so far undiscovered (Maran 1998; 82f.; Rambach 2000; 255; Weiberg 2007; 362–4).

²⁸ E.g. Wiencke 1989; Pullen 1985; Maran 1998; Nilsson 2004.

arena for the negotiation of power seems to have moved to the settlements themselves.

It is within this framework that we can now fit most graves recorded in the Argolid-Corinthia, which are graves dated to the EH II period. Despite many other differences, however, the Corinthian graves are well on a par with the Attic examples in terms of the number of interments within the graves, and probably above average compared with the chamber tombs at Manika. The average number of burials in extramural contexts at Zygouries, Corinth and Perachora-Vouliagmeni, ends up at around 10 individuals.²⁹ Generally calculated, this may be said to correspond to the use of a smaller group over around 50 years, for example one family of five over a couple of generations.³⁰ In agreement with these numbers, spatially isolated graves suggest choices of grave location on a level below that of the large settlement, based rather on the decisions of small communities, farmsteads, households, social groups, all the way down to the choice of one strong-minded individual. The key emergence of intramural graves in the second half of the EH II signals a social milieu in which the latter three decision bases gained importance, when the earlier mortuary customs were loosened and the social persona of the dead may have come more into focus.

Extramural burial never fell out of fashion. The trend of burial within settlements continued, however, throughout the Early Bronze Age and grew stronger into the Middle Helladic period. The appearance on the Mainland of particularly formalized cemeteries in early EBA I was probably a result of the Cycladic-based cultural interaction zone encompassing also Attica and Euboea at that time.³¹ The presence of large formalized cemeteries in the east need not, however, mean that this type of cemetery was ever present in the Argolid-Corinthia. It seems rather to indicate that this type of mortuary display was not generally adopted by the people of Corinthia and the Argolid. Considering the level of modern exploration and exploitation of these regions, some hints of the opposite are most likely to be found. Instead, the mortuary record of the early Early Bronze Age is conspicuously silent here, suggesting that the mortuary sphere was differently constructed in these regions. At least until proved otherwise, I am therefore inclined to widen the chronological applicability of the pattern for EH II of single or small clusters of graves to encompass the full Early Bronze Age in these regions. Archaeological surveys in the region have presented a wide-spread dispersal of generally small sites during the first half of the Early Bronze Age.³² This would seem to signal a similar dispersal of graves. The same could be argued for the EH III period, although the number of sites was considerably lower.

²⁹ The contexts for which this information is available: Blegen 1928; 43–55 (Zygouries); Heermance and Lord 1897 (Corinth); Hatzipouliou-Kalliri 1983 (Perachora-Vouliagmeni); Koumouzelis 1989–1991 (cave at Perachora-Vouliagmeni).

³⁰ More on the representativeness of the Early Helladic mortuary record, see Weiberg 2007; 236–42.

³¹ Weiberg 2007, 195–202.

³² E.g. Forsén 1992; Wright *et al.* 1994; Runnels, Pullen & Langdon 1995.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In all, the mortuary customs are likely to have remained rather similar throughout the Early Bronze Age in the Argolid-Corinthia—that is, diverse and flexible. A common tradition of mortuary customs did probably exist, regulating some aspects of the rituals. The social motivations behind the traditions, however, are likely to have followed the changing societal prerequisites. Similar mortuary traditions need not mean similar motivations and societal conditions. One thousand years is a greatly extended length of time, likely to contain many shifting and alternating traditions answering to changes in the society. During the Early Bronze Age, the appearance of intramural graves sometime into the EH II period is a likely indication of one such change and the subsequent extended use of intramural burial during the EH III period and particularly in the early Middle Helladic period seems to be another. In the end, the problems of modern detection show that, parallel with the varying visibility and distinction of materials, the durability of the material and techniques chosen would have mattered. This is a likely contributing factor in the unequal geographical distribution of Early Helladic graves. It means also that Early Helladic mortuary customs in any region could have been much more diverse than we can judge today. Anything less durable than earth-cut chambers with inhumations may have completely passed us by. I believe it is likely that formal extramural burial of the kind preserved until today was only one of many contemporaneous practices, of which the type and societal incentive we can only speculate on.³³ Even if it is an argument partly in the negative, in order to better understand the possible meanings of the Early Helladic mortuary domain throughout the thousand-year-long period, we need to allow for meaningful regional and chronological variation and to take into account both what is preserved and what for a number of reasons is not.

This paper has considered the Early Helladic mortuary record and the factors that may account for the apparent discrepancies in the distribution of known graves on the Greek Mainland. It was argued that changes in the natural landscape and preferential grave constructions in combination with variations of mortuary display are likely to have been especially unfavourable to our ability to recognise mortuary contexts in the Argolid-Corinthia. The choices of how and where to place the dead were tentatively positioned on levels below that of the whole society, unlike what seems to be suggested by the use of large formal cemeteries in the central and eastern regions of the Mainland. Most likely the mortuary customs in the Argolid-Corinthia remained diverse and flexible throughout the Early Bronze Age, allowing at any given time for some variation in both the form and the place for the final deposition of the dead of a society.

³³ Cf. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 20f.

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The invisible dead

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List of illustrations

FIG. 1. The mortuary contexts in the Argolid and Corinthia. Early Helladic intramural (triangle) and extramural (star) locations mentioned in the text.

List of Tables

TABLE. 1. Suggested characterisation of extramural and intramural deposition based on the currently available archaeological information.

TABLE. 2. Comparative illustration including the chronology of settlements and types of graves for Early Helladic locations in the Argolid, Corinthia, Boeotia, Attica and Euboea (Weiberg 2007, fig. 42).

CHAPTER 43

THE BURIAL CUSTOMS FOR ALEXANDER THE GREAT IN ARABIC HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE ALEXANDER ROMANCE

THEODORA ZAMPAKI

The aim of this paper is to offer a description and discussion of the burial customs as well as the ceremony of the funeral of Alexander the Great as presented in the 'Universal histories' of Arab historians of the early and middle period of Arabic historiography.

Funerary practices have two interrelated components. The first of these is ritual – the activities sanctioned by tradition that occur before, during, and after the burial and are considered essential to the transfer to the other world of deceased members of the community, both those forming its nucleus and others related by blood. The second characterizes the social position for the departed. It consists of the collection of material elements – the burial structure, the assemblage of grave goods, and the position of the deceased – required for a person of a particular age and sex to be transported to the other world. The combination of these two components of the burial rites makes up the standard (traditional) funerary customs. These two fundamental components must not be considered in isolation one from the other.¹

Textual evidence for burial traditions in the Achaemenid period is limited to the Classical sources, and from them it is clear that there were different traditions. Herodotus and Strabo recorded burial rites for the *magi*, who were mainly Median priests, and for the Persians. Later in the Sassanian period, Zoroastrian priests also followed the tradition of the *magi*. There is no doubt, however, that the majority of people did not follow this tradition because there were not many ossuaries or other evidence to testify to such a practice.² On the contrary, there were many burials indicating that burial was a common practice.

The Achaemenid Kings (550–330 BC) followed another burial tradition, which was quite similar to that of Alexander the Great (356–323 BC).³ The Achaemenids believed in burying their dead, but they attempted to insulate the body from the natural elements. Thus they made their burials in the

¹ Alekshin 1983, 137–8. Also Bendann 1930; Binford 1971, 6–29; Saxe 1970.

² Grenet, 559–61.

³ Curtis, Tallis 2005, 154–6.

mountains and rocks, or they protected their graves by using stone slabs and other materials. They also used coffins to keep soil away from the body. They do not appear to have followed the Zoroastrian (*magi*) tradition of exposing bodies. In the case of royal burials, the bodies were covered with wax, put into metal coffins and buried in stone monuments or mountains. The burials also contained offerings and personal effects.⁴

The medieval Arab historians dealt with the episode of Alexander the Great (al-Iskandar) as part of the history of the ancient Near East before Islam. In their Universal Histories, the story of Alexander and his conquests falls chronologically between the end of the Persian Achaemenid dynasty and the rise of the Sassanid dynasty.

The Arab historians selected for the present discussion are: [1] Dīnawarī's (d. AD 894), *Kitāb al-akhbār al-āwāl* (*Book of Long Narratives*), [2] Ya'qūbī's (d. AD 897), *Ta'rīkh* (*History*), [3] ʿabarĒ's (d. AD 923), *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk* (*The Chronicle of Prophets and Kings*), [4] Sa'īd b. al-Bīrīq's (d. AD 940), *Naīm al-jawhar* (*Chain of pearls*), [5] Mas'ūdī's (d. AD 955), *Murūj al-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawhar* (*Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*), [6] yamza al-IBfahṣnĒ's (AD d. 961), *Ta'rĒkh sinĒ mulāk al-ar· wa-l-anbiyṣ* (*Chronicle of the Kings of the Earth and the Prophets*), [7] Miskawayh's (d. AD 1030) *Tajṣrib al-Umam* (*Experiences of Nations*) and [8] Tha'ālibī's (d. AD 1038), *Ghurar akhbār mulūk al-Furs wa-siyarihim* (*Illustrious Biographies of Persian Kings*). They are recognized as the best representative historians of the early and middle period of Arabic historiography.

The account of the Arab historians is compared with that in the Greek Alexander Romance and its translations in Syriac, Ethiopic and Armenian. The ceremony for Alexander is also compared to that of Darius III Codomannus (336–331 BC) - a ceremony that Alexander himself is said to have organized. The conclusions that are drawn from this analysis emphasize the ethnographic as well as the political elements behind the descriptions of the authors of our sources.⁵ The burial ritual offers us no more than an opportunity to study past social changes.

The so-called Alexander Romance (3rd century AD), wrongly ascribed in antiquity to Callisthenes (the historian of Alexander the Great) is extant in various Greek versions, whose complicated textual relationships have been unraveled by Merkelbach. Merkelbach has analyzed the form of the Alexander Romance as an amalgam of several kinds of text: 1. an Alexander's vita, 2. an "epistolary" Romance based on Alexander's correspondence with various kings and others, and 3. some other letters that Alexander exchanged with his mother Olympias and his teacher Aristotle. These letters narrated the miraculous adventures of Alexander in India. The work belongs to the genre

⁴ L'vov-Basirov 2001, 101–7.

⁵ See Ucko 1969–70, 270.

Burial customs for Alexander the Great

“fabulous historiography” which, as E. Schwartz has made clear,⁶ developed in Alexandrian times.⁷

It was in the midst of his preparations for his expedition to Arabia – an expedition that, at least in part, was undertaken for the sake of having his divinity recognized by a recalcitrant people (or so it was reported) – that Alexander suddenly fell ill. He had been the most powerful man in the world, the master of an empire that extended from Greece to India. It was believed that he was descended from the gods and some even viewed him as divine. In the person of Alexander history and myth merged.

On 10 June 323 Alexander died. The date of Alexander’s death is also known from Babylonian records to have been 10 June 323.⁸ Alexander died prematurely and unexpectedly. The nature of his fatal illness has inevitably excited speculation: poisoning at the instigation of Antipater was suggested almost at once, in the course of the propaganda war among the Successors, and it still finds defenders. Moreover, the independent composition which was known as “Alexander’s Last Days” has generated elaborate hypotheses about Alexander’s death and its treatment as a matter of propaganda in the years immediately after the king’s death.⁹ Rumours of poisoning by an enemy arose in antiquity when an eminent man died before his time, and they were certainly readily used in political propaganda. However, the rumours of poison played an important part in the subsequent dynastic conflict and were consistently used to harass the family of Antipater. It seems clear that the list of those present at the party, who took part in the conspiracy against Alexander the Great, is independent of the story of the poisoning plot and separate from the narrative.¹⁰ In another version it is stated that Alexander the Great died of disease that can never be diagnosed from those descriptions with any degree of confidence.¹¹

Arab historians did not know exactly the place where Alexander the Great died. They refer to the controversy over the place in which Alexander died and give different traditions which locate his death either in Jerusalem (Dīnawārī), Iraq (Mas‘ūdī), Sawṣd (Hishām b. Mu‘ammad al-Kalbī, Miskawayh), Shahrāzār (ʿabārī, Sa‘īd b. al-Biārīq, Mas‘ūdī, Tha‘ālibī, Miskawayh), or Niḥbēn (Mas‘ūdī). While they cite that Alexander was sick in Iraq, only two authors, Sa‘īd b. al-Biārīq and ʿamza al-Iḥfahānī mention that Alexander was poisoned, as stated in the Romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes.

⁶ Schwartz 1896; *idem* 1957.

⁷ Giangrande 2003, 894.

⁸ Samuel 1965, 8. For the date see Sachs 1955, nr. 209.

⁹ Bosworth 1971, 112–36; *idem* 1988, 171–3. Ausfeld 1907, 199–210; Merkelbach ²1977, 167–89; Fox 1975.

¹⁰ Samuel 1986, 435–6.

¹¹ Gershevitch 1985, 489–90.

Funeral rites are but two components of the several that could define the customary Greek (Athenian) funeral including the form of the burial structure and some ritual activities at the time of burial: preparation of the body (anointing, clothing), *πρόθεσις* (the laying out of the body), *ἐκφορά* (the procession to the grave), lamentation (at various stages), burial (tomb construction), *περίδειπνον* (funeral meal), and conclusion of mourning (twelve-day rites).¹² Some of these ritual activities underline the description of the Arab historians we examine. The method of burial chosen for Alexander, according to Arabic historiography and the Alexander Romance, was inhumation and the type of burial was solitary. It is characteristic that social stratification of a society is reflected first and foremost in the wealth of burials of men such as Alexander the Great.

As far as the preparation and the laying out of the body are concerned, the Arab historian Dīnawarī does not give details about the burial customs.¹³ He only narrates that Alexander was placed in a gold sarcophagus.¹⁴ A gold sarcophagus is mentioned in the Syriac and Ethiopic version of the Alexander Romance. On the contrary, the Greek Pseudo-Callisthenes mentions that Alexander was buried in a leaden coffin.¹⁵ The epic of the Persian poet Firdawsī, the Syriac version of Alexander Romance (6th century) and the Latin version called *Historia Alexandri Magni regis Macedoniae, de proeliis* (11th century) of Leo the Archipresbyter mention that the body of Alexander the Great was covered with honey. The detail of the filling of the sarcophagus with honey is found also in the *recensio vetusta* (a recension 3rd–4th century AD) of Pseudo-Callisthenes,¹⁶ the Armenian version of the Alexander Romance (5th century),¹⁷ the Ethiopic version of the Alexander Romance (14th–16th century)¹⁸ and in the work of the Arab historian Saʿīd b. al-Bīrīq. The use of honey was probably a custom of that area, and was thought to act as a preservative. Yaʿqūbī narrates that, after the death of Alexander, his associates clothed him, embalmed him and put his body in a gold sarcophagus.¹⁹ According to the Armenian version of Pseudo-Callisthenes, Ptolemy took Alexander to Egypt and made a leaden coffin for him and poured upon him honey and hepatic aloe. The body was embalmed with incense and oil and put upon a mule cart and taken to Egypt.²⁰

¹² This is a generic list of funeral rites. See Stears 1998, 113–17; Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 142–8 and Garland 2001, 21–41.

¹³ On royal burials, see Kriiger 1971; Miiller-Wille 1982, 350–411; Anderson 1987, 159–73.

¹⁴ Dīnawarī, 35.

¹⁵ See Wallis Budge 1976, III, 141; Idem 1896, 427. Chugg 2002, 19–20; Erskine 2002, 168–9. Also, Stewart 1993, 215–21.

¹⁶ For the burial customs of Alexander the Great, see Kroll 1958, III, 145 ‘ἐλαβε δὲ λάρνακα μολυβδίνην καὶ ἐνέθηκεν αὐτῇ μέλι νησιωτικὸν καὶ ἀλόην καὶ μύρραν Τρωγοδυτικὴν...’.

¹⁷ Wolohojian 1969, para 283, 158.

¹⁸ Wallis Budge 1896, 349.

¹⁹ Yaʿqūbī 1969, vol. I, 162.

²⁰ Wolohojian, para 283, 158.

Burial customs for Alexander the Great

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, whose opinion is quoted by Ḥabārī, Alexander's body was transported to Alexandria in a gold sarcophagus.²¹ The same narrative is described by the Arab historian Miskawayh.²² This shows the close relationship of the two writers. Sa'īd b. al-Biārīq accomplishes his narration about the death of Alexander the Great with another element. He reports that Philemon, a consultant of Alexander, put his body into a gold coffin to honour him. Furthermore, Sa'īd b. al-Biārīq mentions that in other manuscripts it is stated that the sarcophagus was filled with honey by Philemon (not Ptolemy as we read in *Alexander Romance*) Alexander's consultant and that the death of Alexander was concealed. Alexander's troops and his treasures were transferred to Alexandria. Alexander is also said to have expressed his strong desire to be buried in Alexandria according to the γ recension (9th century AD).²³ When the dead Alexander was transferred to Alexandria, his death was announced to the people. His sarcophagus was placed in the middle of the palace.²⁴

Mas'ūdī in his work *Murūj al-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawhar* also describes the manner in which Alexander's body was prepared for burial. This narration about the last days of Alexander says that the body of Alexander was coated by substances that protected the body from decay. The body was then put into a gold coffin which was decorated with precious stones.²⁵ On the other hand, the Ethiopian version of *Alexander Romance* contains a unique reference, that is Alexander's last wishes: "Alexander commanded that a coffin of red gold be made for him, and that they placed his body therein ... Then Alexander ... commanded Chronos (?), the prince of blacksmiths, to make a leaden coffin, and to fill it with honey, and myrrh, and rose water, and he said, "Lay ye my body therein that it may be kept from corruption," and thus saying, he gave up the ghost".²⁶ These substances recall the burial rites related to Christ. The fact that Mas'ūdī gives the same information as the Ethiopian version perhaps shows that he drew this narrative from an Arabic translation of the *Romance*, from which came the Ethiopian version, as Budge has shown.

Mas'ūdī also says that Alexander commissioned his successor to send his coffin to his mother in Alexandria, when he should die. The queen, as we read in Mas'ūdī's description about the death of Alexander the Great, put the remains of Alexander into a marble sarcophagus. It is noticeable that Alexander's mother first coated the dead body with myrrh and substances that protected the body from instant corruption. Olympias had the body taken

²¹ Ḥabārī 1879–1901, vol. I, 694.

²² Miskawayh 1366/1987, vol. I, 35.

²³ Parthe 1969, ch. 33, 452.

²⁴ Sa'īd b. al-Biārīq 1906–9, vol. I, 82–3 and Migne 1857–66, vol. 111, 972.

²⁵ Mas'ūdī 1968–74, ch. 25, para 675, 252. See Nöldeke 1890, 47.

²⁶ For the coffin of Alexander see Wallis Budge 1896, 348–9.

out of the gold coffin and dipped in pitch, and afterwards laid in a marble sarcophagus for she knew that greed would draw kings from afar to steal the gold coffin. The sarcophagus was then placed upon blocks of white and coloured marbles, each of them placed beside the other. This marble pedestal, according to the narrative of Mas'ūdī, was to be seen up to his time, that is the era when he lived (AH 332/AD 943), at Alexandria in Egypt. This place was known by the name of the "Tomb of Alexander". Mas'ūdī speaks of a marble tomb which still existed in his day and was thought to be Alexander's.²⁷

The Zoroastrian *\amza al-İbfahānī* briefly records that a tomb was manufactured for Alexander the Great.²⁸ On the other hand the historian Tha'alibī describes with many details the death of Alexander the Great. Emphasis is given to the fact that Nature lamented Alexander's death. His body was put in a gold sarcophagus and was transferred to Alexandria. Because Alexander was such a glorious person, his body was placed, for burial, on a scaffold. People mourned for him and were moved to tears, due to his glory and his virtues.²⁹ Our sources do not give information about the grave goods in the tomb of Alexander the Great.

The Ethiopian version reports that, after Alexander's death, they made him ready for burial, and they put him in the coffin and conveyed it on a chariot-hearse drawn by mules. They brought him to the city of Babylon in Egypt. Alexander was brought to the old Egyptian capital of Memphis in obedience to the words of the oracle which said: 'ἔστι πόλις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τ'οὔνομα Μέμφις, κ'ἀκεῖ δεῖ ἐνθρονίσαι τοῦτον',³⁰ (i.e. there is a city in Egypt named Memphis where he must be enthroned). As they were journeying there, they arrived at the town called Baremān, and the people of Memphis and many of the people of the government of that city went out to receive the body of Alexander. It is often said that Alexander's embalmed body was on public display.³¹ Then, they sang divine praises unto him.

According to the description of the Armenian version, when they reached Pellas, the Memnians came forth with trumpeters and all kinds of music to meet at the altars in their accustomed way. And they took him to Memphis near Sesonchosis, the world-conquering demi-god.³² The Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes reports that all the Macedonians in Babylon began to make a mourning and outcry with bitter weeping and sore lamentation. The gender of the mourners and the manner of their lamentation are not clarified. Nothing is said about the manner of mourning and their role

²⁷ Mas'ūdī 1968–74, ch. 25, para. 679, 254–5. The description of the tomb of Alexander is a testimony that Mas'ūdī saw the tomb. See also Nöldeke 1890, 48.

²⁸ *\amza al-İbfahānī* 1340, 33.

²⁹ Tha'alibī 1900, 448–50.

³⁰ Müller 1846, 151, col. 1; Wolohojian 1969, para 282–3, 157–8.

³¹ For public display: Stewart 1993, 252; Green 1996, 17; Errington 1976, 145; Ellis 1994, 35.

³² Kroll 1958, III, 145; Wolohojian 1969, para 283, 158

Burial customs for Alexander the Great

in the given death ritual.³³ In addition, people praised the body of Alexander with doleful voices, saying that he was welcome as ruler of the world. They kept the body of Alexander in that place twelve days, and each day they made elegies and lamentations and weeping over him afresh. They also wished to retain his body there.³⁴

In another story, while they were bringing Alexander's body into Egypt and were carrying him hither and thither from place to place and from district to district in the country, two governors, ἑκέσες and ἰεστές, said to Κένυς, the prophet of the oracle of Memphis, not to bury him there, but in the city which he himself founded. They gave reasons for this that his body should lie in that city that has no cease from war and from turmoil. This is the Egyptian town called Rhakotis. Rhakotis had incorporated a major pharaonic necropolis.³⁵ So Ptolemy decided to build a tomb for him in Alexandria and laid the body of Alexander the king in it.³⁶

Something analogous we read in Müller's edition of Alexander's Romance: When Alexander died the Persians and Macedonians fought over his body, for the former people wished to take him to their country and to honour him under the form of the god Mithras, βουλόμενοι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνακομίσασθαι καὶ Μίθραν ἀναγορεῦσαι.³⁷ The Macedonians wanted to convey him in Macedonia.³⁸

The move to Alexandria³⁹ was but another way of emphasizing the bond between Alexander and Ptolemy. This was the city founded by Alexander and named after him, and now thanks to the abilities of Ptolemy, it contained even his body. As the founder of the city his burial within the city would have been appropriate. The worship of a founder as a hero and his burial within the city-walls had long been a common practice.⁴⁰

So at that time, Ptolemy made a grave for Alexander in Alexandria, which is still called "Alexander's Body". The city of Alexandria in which Ptolemy buried Alexander served a vital role. Ptolemy I, the founder of the dynasty, was still establishing his power, asserting himself both over Egypt and over his rivals. Alexandria was more likely to have resembled a gigantic building site than a prestigious capital city. Moreover, he put him there with splendid honour, since Alexander had requested that this be done.⁴¹ Kroll's

³³ For discussions of male grief and mourning, see, e.g., van Wees 1998, 10–53.

³⁴ Wallis Budge 1976, III, 142.

³⁵ Kroll 1958, III, 145; Müller 1846, 151. See also Chugg 2002, 14.

³⁶ Wallis Budge 1896, 350–1.

³⁷ Müller 1846, 150, col. 2, at the foot.

³⁸ Kroll 1958, III, 145. See also Schmidt-Colinet 1996, 87–90, who refers to the tomb of Alexander in Memphis in relation to the temple of Nectanebus II. Cf. Chugg 2002, 14–20 (The Memphite Tomb of Alexander); Thompson 1988, 121; Clarke 1805; Wilcken 1917, 149–203; Lauer, Picard 1955; Matz 1957, 84–93; Fraser 1972, part 2 from n. 86 to ch. 1, n. 512 to ch. 5; Idem 1967, 23 ff.

³⁹ Cf. Chinnock 1893, 245–6.

⁴⁰ Malkin 1987, 189–203; Erskine 2002, 174–5.

⁴¹ Wolohojian 1969, para 283, 158.

edition of Alexander's Romance (version α) narrates that the tomb that Ptolemy built in Alexandria, it is called "Alexander's 'Sema'" / ($\Sigma\eta\mu\alpha$) or 'Soma'. 'Soma' means body and that is a strange name for what appears to have been a substantial dynastic burial complex.⁴² In the minds of Alexandrians the tomb of Alexander is closely associated with those of the Ptolemaic dynasty, an association that had been deliberately fostered by the Ptolemies themselves. The geographer Strabo notes firstly that the tomb was within the royal grounds and secondly that the burial place of the Ptolemaic dynasty was part of the same complex as Alexander's tomb. Ptolemy, however, wanted the body of Alexander for different reasons. Although there is no sign that he sought the whole empire, Ptolemy had his own interests to look after Alexander's burial: the possession of Alexander's body served to legitimize his own rule in Egypt.⁴³

It should also be noted that males were most probably responsible for conducting the act of burial itself (i.e. inhumation). The responsibility for and management of the performance of funeral rites of the dead Alexander fell to a male, Ptolemy. This narrative is found only in Alexander Romance.

In addition to the story of a pact between Ptolemy and Perdicas, another section of the Romance can be traced back to some Alexandrian novel. This concerns Alexander's burial in Egypt, first at Memphis, then in Alexandria, according to the instructions of oracle and prophecy. This scene is prefigured in the episode of the founding of Alexandria, in which the oracle of Serapis prophesies that Alexandria will contain the tomb of Alexander (I, 33). It is with good reason that the Alexandrian story should have continued up to Alexander's death, and these two episodes show the same concern with legitimacy and oracles. Alexander's death is truly part of the Alexandrian story.⁴⁴ Besides, Memphis was the capital of Pharaohs and only an Egyptian writer would suggest this as a burial place.

With respect to lamentation, the Arab historians dwell, with particular interest, on the wise sayings supposed to have been delivered at Alexander's funeral. It is said that many philosophers and sages had gathered among the mass of people surging round Alexander's coffin. They delivered short speeches concerned with the meaning of life on the occasion of Alexander's death. Four Arab historians (Ya'qūbī,⁴⁵ Mas'ūdī,⁴⁶ Tha'alibī⁴⁷ and Sa'id b. al-

⁴² Kroll 1958, III, 145, where $\Sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ is also emended to $\Sigma\eta\mu\alpha$ by its editor. Cf. Wallis Budge 1976, III, 142. Nonetheless, Sema is not the only name on record for this burial complex. The manuscripts of Strabo actually read 'Soma', not 'Sema', but scholars tend to feel that 'Sema' makes much better sense, so 'Soma' is usually emended to 'Sema' in the text of Strabo. Cf. Erskine 2002, 166–7 and n. 17.

⁴³ Erskine 2002, 164–5, 172; Errington, 1969, 233–42; Roisman 1984, 373–85. Alexander's tomb has never discovered, though many have sought it: Fraser 1972, 16–7; Chugg 2002, 8–26; Schwartz 1983.

⁴⁴ Berg 1973, 386–7; Pfister 1976, 48–9.

⁴⁵ Ya'qūbī 1969, vol. I, 162–3 refers the names of eight speakers.

⁴⁶ Mas'ūdī 1968–74, ch. 25, para 676, 252–4 quotes the sayings of thirty sages (included the sayings of Rushanak and Olympias), which enumerates. Cf. Shboul 1979, 119.

⁴⁷ Tha'alibī 1900, 450–5 mentions twenty six aphorisms of the philosophers.

Burial customs for Alexander the Great

Biārīq⁴⁸) and the Ethiopian version⁴⁹ of the Alexander Romance complete the episode of Alexander's death with short speeches or aphorisms that philosophers of the day uttered.⁵⁰ It is perhaps an indication of the Arab authors' awareness of the literary, as distinct from the historical, value of this tradition, that in their accounts the words, put into the mouths of the speakers, are frequently at variance one from another. It is very interesting that the number of the names of the philosophers differs considerably between Arab writers and the Ethiopian version. The forms of the names are sometimes uncertain. The speakers expressed their feelings in words of wisdom through short speeches or sayings. It appears that these sayings or aphorisms served to admonish and console the elite, and at the same time to offer a moral lesson for the common people.

In content these aphorisms refer to the significance of life and death. They, of course, are not so much funeral orations or eulogies, but rather aphorisms on the lessons of death. These aphorisms or apophthegms form a short literary work.⁵¹ Its background is Greek or Syriac or, it can even be said, the Arab authors made use of Arabic or Persian sources too. The aphorisms of the philosophers played a fundamental role for the image of Alexander the Great as "philosopher". Man's helplessness before death and the futility of all things are recurrent motifs in Persian Alexander Romances even though they celebrate ambition, power, and grandeur. At the height of his success Alexander learns that not much is left of his life. The philosophers lamenting over Alexander's coffin contrast his helplessness in death with his past power and grandeur. They also refer to fate, to the fragility of the human being and the vanity of his acts in this base world.⁵²

Some of these aphorisms were incorporated into later versions of Alexander Romance, for example the version *Historia de Proeliis*, and in other European traditions. They were also spread in Persian tradition, but they did not form part of the Syriac version of Alexander Romance, though they are extant in separate versions.⁵³ Before the end of the 10th century, Syrian-Arab translators translated a collection of sayings or thoughts that philosophers are said to have pronounced during the burial of Alexander. This collection of

⁴⁸ Sa'īd b. al-Biārīq 1906–9, vol. I, 83–5 and Migne 1857–66, vol. 111, 972–3 mentions the speeches of thirty two sages as well as the sayings of the wife and mother of Alexander.

⁴⁹ Wallis Budge 1896, 377–9, 398–400, 432–4. The speeches are enumerated in the Ethiopian text.

⁵⁰ For further discussion see: Brock 1970, 205–18; Goodman 1990, 482–3; Strohmaier 1991, 167; Buhler 1941; Zajaczkowski 1965, 13–57; Nöldeke 1890, 47–8 n. 1–2.

⁵¹ Nöldeke 1890, 47–8 and n. 1–2; Buhler, 1941. For further reading about wisdom literature: Gutas 1975; *Idem* 1981, 49–86. For some general remarks on the source situation in Arabic gnomology, see Rosenthal 1958, 29–54, 150–83.

⁵² See Southgate 1977, 281.

⁵³ Doufikar-Aerts 2003, 30; Aerts, Hermans & Visser 1978; Jonxis-Henkemans 1978, 142–69.

sayings is very important because it seems to represent the negative point of view that Cynics adopted about the Macedonian king's wars of conquest.⁵⁴

Apart from the extensive report in Ibn Abî d-Dunyâ's *Kitâb al-Iḥtibâr*, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥâq (d. A.D. 873) appears to have preserved the longest version of this famous story. His version and others, such as those in al-Mubashshir or the Istanbul MS Fatih 5323, however, all differ considerably from one another and from that of the Arab historians.⁵⁵ Al-Mubashshir points out that there exist many other aphorisms coined on this occasion. All this testifies to the immense popularity of this famously edifying tale. It remains to be investigated whether all the preserved material goes back to a single source or to several sources.⁵⁶

Besides the various aspects of the funeral rites, scholarly attention has also focused on women's involvement in mourning rituals such as lament. This attention is explicable, because the mother of Alexander the Great, Olympias, and his wife, Rushanak, illustrate two examples of funerary lament found in Arabic historical sources.⁵⁷ The role of these two women here differs from the role which women played in Greek tragedy. Olympias and Rushanak appear as performers of lament, and mourning in general, and not as prominent players in and managers of death ritual.⁵⁸ Rushanak, Alexander's wife and the daughter of Darius, is said to have spoken the following words in front of the coffin of Alexander: "King, you who vanquished Darius and humbled him to the dust, I never thought that death could conquer you". Again, addressing the Macedonian leaders and all those present, Olympias, Alexander's mother, is said to have delivered the following short speech: "You have brought to an end your words of consolation to me for Alexander whom I feared, and now it has happened that we have no victorious king left unto us. He conquered the world before he conquered you, therefore ascribe righteousness to yourselves; now, I have accepted your words of consolation". Then Olympias commanded them to bury him.⁵⁹

It is noticeable that the speech of Rushanak stands in close connection with Ethiopian Romance and the Arab historians Sa'îd b. al-Biārîq⁶⁰ and

⁵⁴ Grignaschi 1993, 205; Latham 1983, 162. See also Tarn 1939, 41–70.

⁵⁵ For further reading: Ḥunayn ibn Isḥâq 1896; Strohmaier 1960–2002, vol. III, 578; *idem* 1991, 163–70; Merkle 1921. Cf. Hertz 1905, 139–41; Cary 1956, 22–3; Plessner 1955, 60–72 (English translation: "Analecta to Hunain Ibn Ishaq's Apophthegms of the Philosophers and its Hebrew Translation," vi–vii).

⁵⁶ Rosenthal 1975, 120–4.

⁵⁷ Hame 2008, 1 ff. n. 1.

⁵⁸ Goff 2004, 31 writes that the process of death, like birth, was "particularly suitable for women's management". See also Lefkowitz, Fant 1992 and Blundell 1995, 72–3, 162–3.

⁵⁹ Wallis Budge 1896, 379–80, 400–1, 434–5. Cf. Loraux 1998.

⁶⁰ Sa'îd b. al-Biārîq 1906–9, vol. I, 84–5 and Migne 1857–66, vol. 111, 973–4. Cf. Tha'ālībī 1900, 454.

Burial customs for Alexander the Great

Mas'ūdī.⁶¹ The exact narrative preserved in the work of Sa'īd b. al-Biārīq about the speech of Olympias has similarities with the Ethiopian text.

With respect to the funeral meal, the versions of the Arab historians Ya'qūbī, Sa'īd b. al-Biārīq and Mas'ūdī and in the β recension of Alexander Romance refer to the preparation of a dinner that Olympias had to organize. The funeral meal seems to be part of the ceremonies for the dead. The way our narrators present this rite appears that it aims at mitigating the sorrow that the mother of Alexander felt. In contrast to the other two writers Ya'qūbī narrates that the dinner was open only to women. According to the historian Mas'ūdī, the dinner was organized by Olympias, when she realized that her son was dead.⁶²

Regarding women's role in the Greek funeral activities, Margaret Alexiou writes: "It remains to explain why women were so hard hit by the restrictive legislation. From earliest times the main responsibility for funeral ritual and lamentation had rested with them: they were therefore in control of something which in the archaic period had played a vital part in the religious and social life of *génos*...."⁶³ Funeral legislation cited by Alexiou indicates that it was, in fact, the male members of the society who exerted control over funeral rites, at least at the state level and, in turn, at the domestic level.⁶⁴ No extant historical evidence documents the role of women or female relatives as the traditional controllers or managers of funeral rites. In addition, female relatives may not have automatically participated in any preparatory rites for a relative, but in certain circumstances had to ask permission of a male-in-charge.⁶⁵

It should be noted here that in the Arabic historical tradition Alexander's funeral has some similarities to that of Darius the King of Persia as presented in the Alexander Romance. In the Armenian version of Alexander Romance, we read that Alexander wrote to Darius' mother and wife a letter in which he stated that he had ordered that Darius be put in a heroic tomb (in a casket) among his heroic ancestors. He also added that he had sent his body to be prepared for burial according to Persian custom. Alexander ordered the noblest of the Macedonians and Persians, in panoply, to go first. He, the king himself, lifted upon his shoulder and alone bore through the midst of the satraps the body of Darius. The people following along were moved not so much at seeing Darius as by the fact that Alexander was carrying him. Alexander placed him in the grave of the Persian kings. Subsequently, by sacrificing many oxen and sheep, Alexander carried out the funeral

⁶¹ Mas'ūdī 1968–74, ch. 25, para 676, 254.

⁶² Zampaki 2008, 299–308.

⁶³ Alexiou 2002, 21.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem* 14–23.

⁶⁵ Hame 2008, 4.

ceremonies.⁶⁶ In the *a* recension of Pseudo-Callisthenis Romance, Alexander seems to bury Darius's body and he orders first the Persians and then the Macedonians to parade fully armed.⁶⁷

The Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes reports the burial customs for Darius' funeral: washing the body of the dead, arraying him in royal apparel, parading all the officers of the Macedonian and Persian armies in full armour before the dead body of Darius. Alexander together with the Persian nobles bore the bier of Darius, and he went on foot to the grave, and the bier of Darius was carried to the grave upon their shoulders.⁶⁸

According to the Ethiopian version of the Alexander Romance, Alexander appears to have ordered people to bring a splendid bier meet for a king, which was perfumed with all manner of sweet scents, and to make for Darius a coffin, wrought with gold and studded with precious stones, such as was suitable for a king. He also ordered a herald to go round about through the camp, and proclaim that the soldiers should gather together, bearing their weapons of war on their shoulders, and that they should march before the bier containing the dead body of Darius. Furthermore, he ordered the chiefs and generals of his army should march by the side of it on the right hand and on the left. Alexander came down from his horse and went on foot by the side of the bier to the grave, together with his bodyguard, and with the Persian soldiers, and with all the people in their various grades. Then he commanded his soldiers to lay him in the grave, but he did not himself bury him.⁶⁹

The similarity between the burial customs for Alexander the Great and Darius III Codomannus can also be seen in the magnificent tomb prepared for the two kings. Although Darius's burial is said to follow Persian custom, in fact we meet the customary Greek activities of preparation of the body (bathing, scenting, clothing), *πρόθεσις* (the laying out of the body), *ἐκφορά* (the procession to the grave), burial (tomb construction), post-funeral customs (sacrifice). It may be said that the Arab historians did not dwell on the differences of the rites for the funeral of Alexander the Great from those of Darius's burial. It is noteworthy that the duty of responsibility and management of the performance of funeral rites for Darius fell to male person, i.e. Alexander the Great.

In conclusion, it should be said that the narratives of the Arab historians reflect the infiltration of Greek ideas, beliefs and symbols in the world of the East. It was not Alexander's historical reality, but his significance as a symbol and as a paradigm of world rule and gentile glory and victory which was used by Arab historians, mainly in its legendary form. In a sense, Alexander was taken over by Arab writers, in that they made him confront not only his

⁶⁶ Wolohojian 1969, para 198, 105, para. 204, 109–10.

⁶⁷ Kroll 1958, II, 92; Engelmann 1963, ch. 21, 204.

⁶⁸ Wallis Budge 1976, II, 81.

⁶⁹ Wallis Budge 1896, 95–6.

Burial customs for Alexander the Great

own limitations, his mortality and his consequent wisdom, but also death. The ethical or moral element is surely one of the most important features of the Arabic traditions concerning Alexander the Great.⁷⁰ Alexander, very soon after his death, became an important “bearer of meaning” for the preoccupations of the cultures in which the legends originated. Whether it was hero cult or divine cult that Alexander received is not so important as the indisputable fact that he was no ordinary mortal.

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⁷⁰ van Bekkum 1986, 226 n. 3.

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Burial customs for Alexander the Great

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